

THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW.

JANUARY AND APRIL,
1880.

“ Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep
SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß
GÖTTE

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THE
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REVIEW.

JANUARY 1, 1880.

ART. I.—COLONIAL AID IN WAR TIME.

1. *Colonial Defence and Colonial Opinion.* By Capt. J. C. R. COLOMB. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1877.
2. *A Colonial Naval Volunteer Force.* By THOMAS BRASSEY, M.P. London: Longmans & Co. 1878.

PUBLIC Opinion in England has lately advanced to the realisation of two facts: the one that the interests of the British race have assumed characteristics unique in history; and the other that these interests demand special means for their due preservation. Among the many voices raised to emphasise these developments may be selected those of Captain Colomb and Mr. Brassey. Captain Colomb, in "*Colonial Defence*," gives, in the first place, an amplified lecture on the pregnant subject of Colonial Defences; and, in the second place, a collection of reviews of his brochure from the leading Colonial newspapers—thereby affording to the English public a really valuable insight into the independent opinions of the Colonists themselves. Mr. Brassey, with the thoroughness and clearness that were to be expected of him, and at the same time with commendable succinctness, summarises the present state of the whole case. These and similar patriotic endeavours to urge Public Opinion to take up so urgent a question have not been without their due effect, and this autumn has seen the issue of a Royal Commission "to inquire into the condition and sufficiency of the means, both naval and military, provided for the defence of the more important

Colonial Aid in War Time.

seaports within our Colonial possessions and their dependencies, and to report as to the stations required for coaling, refitting, or repairing men-of-war, and for the protection of the commerce of the Colonies with the United Kingdom, with each other, and with foreign countries."

The issue of this Commission marks a definite step in a movement that has been for some time in silent progress. The closing years of the last century saw Great Britain a powerful State among European States, and possessing the then customary complement of trading factories and fruitful plantations in various savage lands beyond the seas. The first half of this century, with its vaunted scientific triumphs, saw the countries of Western Europe, Great Britain foremost among them, advance in rapid strides in the matter of increase of population and the prolific fertility of more scientific knowledge. But Great Britain alone, among modern nations, spread herself outside of her own boundaries; and in North America, at the Cape, and above all in Australia, set about the foundation of communities essentially English in every respect. In brief, outside the British Isles there has come to exist an *alter ego* of Great Britain, and an *alter ego* of great and growing size and strength.

In the year of the Battle of Waterloo, the United Kingdom held a prominent position among the nations of Europe in respect of warlike strength and power. In that year the whole British population numbered less than 20 millions. Since then, though the local population has increased to something like 35 millions, there has sprung up over the seas this *alter ego* of England with an English population which has already attained the significant total of 10 millions, or one-half that of the United Kingdom when the Battle of Waterloo was fought. This crucial addition to the human force of the British nation has developed in silence, indeed, but is none the less a present and potent factor in the power for good or for evil of the British Empire. More especially is this evident when it is remembered that this same nation, in addition, has developed the system of trading factories and tropical plantations into an Indian Empire, backed by a flourishing girdle of colonies along the tropics from Ceylon and the Straits Settlement to the West Indies and coasts of Equatorial Africa.

In the late European complications, palpable evidence, startling alike to Continental politicians and to many unobservant Englishmen, was given of this silent procession by the sudden arrival in the heart of the Mediterranean of several thousand fully-equipped troops from India; and Europe was surprised into the acknowledgment that England's war strength was no longer confined to the actual thirty odd millions of inhabitants resident within the chalk-cliffs of the British Isles. The question has been raised as to whether this introduction of these troops to the Mediterranean was politic

or impolitic, constitutional or unconstitutional, but there is no question of the lesson this introduction conveyed.

And, during the same complications, throughout our Colonies, there was at once a putting forth of defensive strength, a willing voting of the public moneys, an energetic sacrifice of time and energy on the part of the quasi-militia or volunteer forces, that gave ample proof that this *alter ego* of England was not only ready but willing to defend its liberties and its opportunities of successful existence. The whole self-preservation forces of the British nation were roused into active being.

Until all this took place it was the fashion to entertain a vague conception that England possessed somewhere an indefinite, vast, and for the most part undeveloped, Colonial Empire, on which the sun never set. But of late years palpable and frequent have been the evidences of the very substantial existence and rapid development of this *alter ego* of England, and amongst them the prompt, warlike measures during the threatening Eastern complications, and the brilliant show made by the British Colonies at the Paris Exhibition, have perhaps done most to open the eyes of the world to the actual facts of the case.

In few words, the British race has come, by inheritance and by toil, into the possession of a vast estate. In the face of the present, and, so far as cycles see, the eternal characteristics of the human race, self preservation and self-defence become necessities of continued existence—and necessities all the more vigorous the more a nation believes good and profit to result from its existence. It is the self-preservation of this estate and of the liberties and freedom of its inhabitants that forms that great question on the boundaries of which this latest Royal Commission enters. And it is only by reviewing, even though briefly, the whole question, that we are enabled to investigate any important portion with success, or, in other words, in true relation to its actual environments.

The estate thus in the hands of the English race consists of the British Isles and the vast provinces of the Empire away over the sea. The question remains how duly to organise the fighting or self-preservative force of such an estate. "A nation, like an individual, may have great and inherent strength for war, yet may it stand almost helpless in presence of a foe—yet may it even invite the attack of the unscrupulous or the ambitious, by reason of the fact that this, its strength, is undeveloped or untrained. But once let this strength be consciously organised and duly educated to proficiency, and the nation, like the individual, will be enabled to fight successfully the battles of its life, to defy attack, and to brave with confidence the onslaughts and antagonism even of the strong."

England has of late years given evidence of the possession of

unheeded fighting strength The very powerful fleets she sent to sea during the Russo-Turkish war, and the powerful armies she has poured with ease into Affghanistan and Zululand, have been some of the signs of a strength for war that was apparently unsuspected. But the powerful activity, of which these are some of the outward signs, is sustained, it must be remembered, by the resources of the British Isles alone These isles contain a population of 31 millions, contributing a revenue of 80 millions sterling, and yet the *alter ego* of these, the British isles and British continents away over the sea, boast already a population of 10 millions, contributing a revenue of 30 millions sterling, add to this India's revenue of 50 millions, and we find the *alter ego* and dependencies already contributing a revenue equal to that of the Old Country Nor may we forget that there exists a native population in India and South Africa capable of supplying excellent and abundant material for the rougher rank and file of armies

Already this thriving *alter ego* is doing much for its defence At first, indeed, these efforts were confined to the local defence of territory A consciousness is, however, fast arising that the communications by sea, that the retention of access to markets that the possibilities and facilities of trade, are at the least as vital to the security and prosperity of each province of the Empire as is the inviolability of its own particular soil And each province, as it develops in growth, shows signs of recognition of these facts Thus it is becoming the most vital question of the present to determine the right lines along which this imminent movement of provincial aid in war time should advance.

The present Royal Commission, how far soever it assume the form of a preliminary inquiry, nevertheless touches on the whole of this wide and comprehensive question The Commission is issued "to consider and determine in which stations and ports it is desirable, on account of their strategic importance to provide an organised system of defence, in addition to the protection afforded by the navy, whether such defence should consist of permanent works, manned by garrisons of Imperial or local troops, or both combined, or any local naval organisation . . . To consider whether and in what proportions the cost of such measures of defence should be divided between the Imperial Government and the Colonies to which they relate, or should be wholly defrayed by the Imperial Government or by the Colonies?" In other words, the Commission is to consider the strategy, the Imperial and local forces and, above all, the financial necessities of an organised system of defence

Thus has come prominently forward the question of the self-preservation of this present extensive British Power. Self-

preservation is the equivalent of the continuance to the mother-country and to the Colonies of those conditions of security and free communication which are enjoyed at the present, and which the past teaches us must be the sole bases of a future prosperity which will equal or rival that of the past. The chief fault to be borne in mind, is that the age is close upon us when the Colonies, or at all events a large proportion of them, shall be no longer dependencies, but integral portions of the British Power. According to the present process of growth, at the close of the present century the Crown will have nearly as many subjects of European descent in the Colonies as in the United Kingdom. It is perfectly obvious that when these things come to pass, it would be irrational to suppose that "self-preservation" will be left in the hands and to the charge of one-half only of the population. And the present day sees the leading Colonies passing, in the words of Lord Norton, from the "false relation of tutelage to the true relationship of community." Now is the accepted time of change; now is the day arriving for the discovery and recognition of the path future developments are to follow. And the most prominent and the first of the questions to be determined by and for the Empire as a whole, is the means to its self-preservation—the consolidation of its war strength.

Hitherto the Colonies have been dependencies; they have been sons nurtured, cared for, and protected in their infancy and boyhood; educated and trained after the most approved fashion, and liberally and ungrudgingly, by the parent State; even the extravagances of youthful excesses, rare, indeed, and by no means general, have been condoned and even liquidated by the parent State. For the future there are only two possibilities. Either these sons are to set up separate businesses, and to face the world in isolation and independence, or they are to enter the old "House," and, by such accession of fresh blood and brain-power, render possible a vast extension of the present business, and a prospect of future increase, whose limits are unrecognisable at present. But in this latter case they must enter the House as partners, for the days of apprenticeship will be over; and as they become sharers in these increased profits, so must they take upon themselves their quota of the responsibilities and the duties. We can look with confidence to the immediate future for an arrangement of the reorganisation of this thriving House of Business. In the words of the Poet Laureate—

"If our slowly-grown

And crowned Republic's crowning common sense
That saved her many times, not fail—"

Englishmen will assuredly see this fresh constitutional growth triumphantly achieved.

- The tendency to these ends is already distinctly visible. Everywhere the coming unity of the Empire is casting its shadow before. The very Colonial Office no longer solely representing "that superior wisdom of home statesmen necessary or useful for the ordinary guidance of distant Colonial communities," has come to be, in addition, the guardian of a steady, determinate policy, tending actually to this one end—the consolidation of the Empire. Its mouthpieces are the Colonial governors, scattered over the Empire, and influenced, not by the greed of the ambitious pro-consul or captain general, not by the personal caprice or noble independent ambitions of an Albuquerque or a Clive, but by a persistent officialism which retains them as the reliable exponents of a uniform English policy. They change their venue over the extent of the whole Empire, connecting one part with another, embodiments as it were of a national correspondence of ideas and sentiments.

The 'Imperial' nature of the connection, innate and inherent, is constantly manifesting itself. Thus, the "Imperial Act (16 & 17 Victoria) provides for "a freedom of navigation between the United Kingdom or the British Provinces, and foreign countries. Again we find, in 1867 a special warrant issued extending the coveted Victoria Cross to "such persons as may be employed in the local forces raised, or which may be raised, in our Colonies or their dependencies for the suppression of rebellion or for repelling invasion by a foreign enemy.

It is well to bear in mind the nature of this connection. It has been said: "The peculiar condition of England, her vast Colonial possessions, and the treaties she has been able to impose on weaker countries, such as Turkey and China have rendered her comparatively independent of her nearer neighbours. In other words, the British Empire is rapidly becoming, as it were, a huge House of Business which by its extensive local branches, absorbs to itself a vast proportion of the native trade of the world. And this thriving business is enabled by its very magnitude to hold its own against all competition. Sir W. Denison once familiarly derided the 'Disintegration Policy' of a certain bygone school as being 'altogether regardless of the commercial advantages of having relations and friends in every corner of the globe.' The great desire of the future is the perpetuation of these present circumstances. These facilities of commercial intercourse, this safe passage over the seas, and, above all, the maintenance of the relationship and friendly allegiance of these various outposts—these are the essentials to the securing those markets without which any transaction of

business is impossible. It was long ago written in the *Edinburgh Review*, "the great commercial advantage of a Colonial Empire is not in excluding the rest of the world, but in protecting ourselves against exclusion from such vast sources of enterprise." And the converse is equally true in regard to the great advantage accruing to a Colony in continuing part and parcel of a vast trading empire, and thereby securing access to these "vast sources of enterprise."

Cobden, writing down Protection, penned the well-known passage—"Gibraltar, with its triple lines of batteries, aided by thirty-six vessels of war and a greater quantity of artillery than was put in requisition to gain the victory of Waterloo, Trafalgar, or the Nile, surrenders our commerce into the hands of the Swiss and Saxons, unable to protect us against the cheaper commodities of those countries" Cobden, with the spirit of old Protectionist days still haunting his mind, assumed that the only use of our fleet and its armed stations was to *protect our commerce in the sense of excluding all other*. He calls earnest attention to the fact that, at the time, the great commerce of the United States was protected by no more than twenty-one ships, whereas that of England was in the charge of 118, and asks where is the use of these extra 127 ships. It is curious for us that come after to see the commerce of the States swept from the seas by a few *Alabamas*. The "Protection" that is necessary is the *efficient* guaranteeing of perfect freedom of intercourse, the protecting ourselves against exclusion from the markets of the world—not the achieving the exclusion of others, the securing for ourselves freedom in the exchange of products and commodities—not the monopoly of this freedom.

It is evident that this protection and security are attainable with great ease and certainty by the mere maintenance of the British Empire as it now exists. And in these days of "exchange values" there is no more distinct evidence of these things than the money view of the question. The independent State, to secure its independence and to secure its access to other lands, must maintain an expensive establishment—an army, a navy and a diplomatic service, and yet increase in the size of the State does not imply a proportionate increase in the size of these accompaniments. An Embassy at Paris, costing 15,000/ a year, is the efficient representation of the British Empire, no less than of the United Kingdom. So, too, a small addition to the army and navy of the United Kingdom makes them the efficient arms of an Empire with twice the population and twice the trade of the United Kingdom. Again, the vastly increased power of this agglomeration of heterogeneous States is seen when we consider the absolute helplessness of any one of them.

were it independent, and were it "wanted" by any of the larger military Powers of the earth.

Or, again, it is seen when we remember the position of India in the Empire. It was once well put in the *Spectator*, Oct. 6th, "the resources of India are absolutely at the disposal of the British Parliament. . . . From Egypt to Japan, whatever the work to be performed, the aid of India is worth more in direct assistance than the aid of France. . . . The army (in India) can be raised to any numerical strength for which funds can be procured, to a million thoroughly trained troops, for example, without the faintest difficulty, and within six weeks of the arrival of the order. . . . India could, if stirred to vehement action, pour three armies of a hundred thousand men each into Asiatic Turkey; move, fight, and keep them there, without assistance from England, for at least two years." It may be objected that this statement is overdrawn, nevertheless, it is based on the undeniable truth that the available manhood for fighting purposes of India is just that element in defence which the Colonies are and should be loth to supply in their present stage of semi-population.

And there are other signs of the value from a defensive point of view from participation in Empire. For instance, the Colonial Docks Loan Act (23 & 29 Vic., cap. 106) empowers the Admiralty to advance loans at 4 per cent. to Colonies for dock purposes. The Hong Kong and Whampoa residents have availed themselves of this invaluable assistance: so, too, the authorities at Table Bay have looked for aid from the same source. It should be borne in mind that the British Empire is, with the exception of one point, unassailable by land. And, in that one point, in Canada, the possibly hostile power is a near kindred in blood, language, sentiment, and religion; and of a race, moreover, which every succeeding year unites closer in the bonds of family feeling. There is, in consequence, far less effort necessary for efficient self-preservation than in such countries as France or Germany, where the invader, unless defeated in the field, is forthwith among the hearths and homes of the people.

It is well to bear in mind the prospective relations of England and of the Colonies, always remembering that at the present and in the immediate future the British Isles possess three times the English population, and three times the revenue of all her Colonies set together. But in the after-future the day may come when England will find the Imperial connection as useful to her as ever it was to her Colonies. At the present England has been and is paying more than her share of self-preservation expenses; and the very distinct question has been asked, Why should the taxpayers of Oxfordshire support

men-of-war to be stationed in Sydney harbour? Mr. Grant Duff, not long ago, alluding to the reasons for withdrawing British troops from the Colonies, spoke of "the absurdity of taxing our own struggling population to defend persons who were far more rich and prosperous at the other end of the world." These facts are now forcing themselves on all practical minds.

It is hardly necessary to state that the Colonies, being English communities, acknowledge their duty in this respect, and no sooner do they arrive at a period of growth when first the troubled and discordant elements of pioneering have fallen into the order of a more settled state of things, than there comes upon these communities the dual English desire for self-government and self-defence. And, previously to the stage of sufficient population, they are willing and eager to contribute their 50% or 60% per annum for every English soldier allotted to their defence. It is the same spirit of fairness which even urged some to offer to aid in the expenses of local annexations—as in the cases of New South Wales and New Zealand in regard to Fiji. They readily acknowledge the principle that each portion of the Empire must "contribute to, and not deduct from, the aggregate strength of the whole." This spirit frequently shows itself in the patriotic arguments of the Colonial press, and frequently do the Colonists allude with emphasis to their retrospective debt to the Mother Country on the score of protection and aid when, in early days, these Colonies were of themselves unable to stand and walk alone.

Even with the Crown Colonies it is held that though they are dependencies they are only so "in the sense that they depend on the central power for their government, and not that they are chargeable on the metropolitan people for their expenses." These are the words of the present Lord Norton; and in the same passage he well describes the true position of the larger Colonies in regard to their duty of self-preservation: "To Colonies with representative assemblies the answer is: The physical accident of distance, which prevents your congress with the Imperial Parliament for common affairs, in no way entitles you to lay the burden of those common affairs on your fellow-subjects who live near enough to be represented in it, and who, by the fact of their old metropolitan residence, are more heavily burdened than you young occupants of fresh territory; still less does your absence from the metropolitan council, even if it ever practically controlled you, which it never does more than you indirectly control it, oblige or enable it to relieve you of your responsibilities *or to assume the charge of your protection.*"

And this duty is what the Colonies one and all acknowledge. They cannot but feel that their stake in an effective Imperial

defence is large. For instance, Victorians know that their Mint and that of Sydney coined in 1876 nearly 4,000 000 sovereigns—that is to say, a larger number than were ever coined in any one year at the London Mint. This is an undeniable sign of the vast amount of Australian gold which annually is trusted along the communications of the Empire. They acknowledge, too, that hitherto the task of defence has been left mainly in the hands of the British army and navy and the British Parliament. But that this Parliament which pays the other two does not include Colonial representatives, consequently is it unable to obtain from the Colonies contributions in support of this payment.

And yet the larger Colonies are rich and flourishing to overflowing. New South Wales, for instance, has during seven years expended no less a sum than 300 000/ in developing a *third* mail service to Europe, *via* San Francisco. She already enjoys and pays for two other services, and it must be a question of some importance to consider whether a portion of such expenditure will not find its true and legitimate issue in the contributing to the support of that Imperial security which has given rise to and which maintains the opportunities necessary for the very existence of such material success.

And when we look round we find that these avowed opinions of the Colonists are endeavouring to clothe themselves in substantial action. "Contributions from the Colonies in aid of military expenditure" form no inconsiderable item on the right side of the army estimates. For the year 1879 we find the following sums paid to the Imperial Exchequer under the above heading—Cape of Good Hope, 10,000/ , Ceylon, 112,371/ , Malta, 5000/ , Hong Kong, 20,000/ , Mauritius, 28,000/ ., Natal, 4000/ , Straits Settlements, 50 000/ , or a total from these seven Colonies of nearly 220 000/ . Again, we find that with New South Wales and Victoria alone, and without any thought of demur, each of them adopted the advice of Sir William Jervois, and proposed forthwith to devote to purposes of local defence capital to the amount of some 350 000/ , together with an annual expenditure of 70,000/ to 80,000/ . It is needless to draw fresh attention to the well-known energy of Canada, which results in a charge on the revenue of over 200,000/ a year.

Thus, the will and the ability are both present throughout the Empire. What is doing, then, at the present, to embody this will and ability? We find two courses of action at present adopted—the one legislative and the other political.

The legislative course may be described as permissive. Many of the Imperial statutes take special notice of the Colonial aspect of the question they deal with, and specially imply the

Imperial nature of the question of defence. Thus, the "Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, which threatening any one fitting out or commissioning ships for war service on behalf of foreign Powers with the penalties of misdemeanour and with the seizure of ships and stores, &c, specially extends jurisdiction to *all parts* of the Queen's dominions. Again, we find the governor regarded as the representative of the Empire in respect of defence.

The Reserve Force Act of 1867' has a clause empowering Colonial Governors to raise and equip a local force within their Colony out of the various classes of pensioners and ex-soldiers to whom the Act applies. And in his Royal Instructions the Governor is authorised to "reserve the Royal Assent to any Bill passed by the Local Parliament "interfering with the discipline or control of our forces in the Colony by land or sea." Again, Article 30 of the Colonial Regulations runs — 'The Governor's attention is at all times to be directed to the state of discipline and equipment of militia and volunteers in the Colony, and when either force may be embodied he should send home monthly returns, with a particular account of their arms and accoutrements.' And not only he is thus to watch and care for the efficiency of local efforts but by Article 31, "If anything should happen which may be for the advantage or security of the Colony, and is not provided for in the Governor's Commission and Instructions, he may take order *for the present* therein.'

We have already alluded to the 'Colonial Docks Loan Act of 1865, the preamble to which runs — "Whereas with a view to secure accommodation for vessels of the Royal Navy in British possessions abroad, it is expedient to authorise loans in aid of the formation there of docks of dimensions greater than would be requisite for commercial or other private purposes," &c &c. The Act then proceeds to authorise loans, at a low rate of interest, to be made up to a certain amount out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom. Thus the Imperial Parliament invites Colonists to do their share in the perfecting of Imperial defences by aiding to provide docks for the fleet of the Empire. The same principle prevailed in the transactions which supplied Victoria with her powerful 'Cerberus,' the basis being material contributions, on the part of the Home and the Victorian Governments, to the expenditure necessary. The same principle pervades the whole establishment of the Canadian Marine.

The most prominent Act on the subject is the "Colonial Naval Defence Act of 1865." The preamble declares it to be 'expedient to enable the several Colonial possessions of Her Majesty the Queen to make better provision for naval defence, and to that end to provide and man vessels of war, and also to

raise a volunteer force to form part of the Royal Naval Reserve established under Act of Parliament." The Act then proceeds to details, and Section 3 runs:—"In any Colony it shall be lawful for the proper authorities, with the approval of Her Majesty in Council from time to time, to make provision for effecting at the expense of the Colony all or any of the purposes following." And these "purposes" are—providing and arming vessels of war and their crews; forming a reserve force bound to serve when called out; appointing thereto commissioned and warrant officers; obtaining from the Admiralty, Royal Navy officers and men for the above purposes; enforcing the good order and discipline of this force; and making all its officers and men subject, while serving, to all the enactments and regulations for the time being in force in the Royal Navy.

The Act further authorises the Admiralty to accept the services of such vessels and forces if placed at their disposal by the respective Local Governments, and concludes with a special enactment that nothing in the Act shall either impose any charge on the revenues of the United Kingdom, or curtail in any way the powers of self-government enjoyed by any Colony in question.

Thus, the spirit of this legislative course is distinctly Imperial in tendency, and though jealously guarding the rights of British communities and self-government, yet tells in no ambiguous terms of the duty of British communities to organise their self-defence.

Turning to the political course of recent Colonial action, we shall find that this wholesome unison in English ideas is marching on apace to the desirable goal. The present wise policy of those in authority evidently points to the grouping together or confederating those fragments of British development whose geographical position renders them natural parts one of another. Such a consummation will vastly facilitate effective defence, and not only does it render far more effective any local defence system by uniting in one common purpose and system the whole defensive power of a given locality, but by its means the equitable distribution of the burden of defence is more readily adjusted, and inequality of pressure thereby obviated. Climate, inhabitants, products, in short, geographical environments, give to Colonies their special type of existence, and, as we have seen, on this type intimately depends the style of defence necessary. Thus, to the scheme we have outlined there attaches the natural corollary of banding together, for purposes of defence if for nothing else, the groups of Colonies according to geographical position.

The British Empire, as it now is, presents us with seven distinct groups. *North America*, with its coastline exposed to hostile

cruisers from Europe or from the China seas, and with a long land frontier facing the United States, forms a unique group. Climate, temperate; population, European, both employers and labourers. Next we have a group of tropical colonies dotted over the North Atlantic. In the *West India Islands and the Settlements* along the West Coast of Africa, we find a series of insulated settlements where the labourers are non-European, while the employers are European. Passing across the equator at the *Cape of Good Hope* we find a totally different group of Colonies. A temperate climate renders white labour possible, but there is a preponderating native element in the population to be dealt with. At the Cape the dominant race is represented by some 300,000 Europeans, and the "native" by some two million Kaffirs, Zulus, and others. *India*, inhabited by some 240 millions of natives, is presided over by about 150,000 Europeans, and is thus in truth an Empire, and in a totally different category for all purposes of defence. The *Straits Settlement, Hong Kong, and Labuan, and Fiji* form, again, another important group with distinct characteristics, and they are rather the factories of traders than the plantations of planters, and must be dealt with accordingly. In *Australia*, again, we find a large group which, in its turn, differs from all others. A temperate climate enables European labour; and of the native population the Blacks of Tasmania are gone, and the Blacks of Australia and the Maories of New Zealand, in so far as they are native races, will soon be no more known in the land of the living, than the Diprotodon or the Moa.

There is one remaining group of Colonies which includes what has been termed the "propaganda," or "strategic outposts" of the Empire. Such are Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, St. Helena, Fiji, the Falkland Islands, and, in a measure, Esquimaux, Hong Kong, &c. To these trade or industry are merely secondary considerations, the chief object of their maintenance being the security and advantage of the national commerce.

These are the principal groups, each of which needs peculiar schemes for local defence, and the confederation of the elements of each group for such purposes will greatly facilitate the efficacy of the attempt. *In so far as local defence* is concerned, it is obvious that the West Indies, for instance, chiefly need ships, while at the Cape ships would be of entirely secondary importance. The "integrity" of India, again, depends entirely on the existence of a well-organised land force, whereas in the Straits Settlements sea forces are the only resource against a resurrection of piracy or the plots of the Rajahs of the Islands.

This policy of local confederation is in true accord with the undeniable tendency of Colonial growth. The various groups of

British Colonies must eventually constitute so many State systems which may now grow up in organised unison in regard to all common affairs, however independent in all that is deemed rightly left to local or individual activity; whereas, in the future such union would be impossible, and the component Colonies, the more vigorous their activity, the more precocious their strength, would the more inevitably meet the sad fate of which the turbulent South American States, the enterprising Italian Republics, and the wealthy cities of Greece, afford the well-worn historical examples.

This local confederation, which so simplifies local defence, and further, the assessment of contribution, has yet another link with the general scheme. Such confederations obviously group themselves round the various "independent arsenals and dockyards" which form the outlying forts, which, connected with the central citadel by block-house outposts, maintain the security of the estates of the nation, and retain for them free access to markets. There must be outlying forts and there must be block-house outposts. There must be "self-reliant arsenals" and there must be coaling-stations and harbours of refuge. The present Commission, basing its inquiries on the results of such "Permissive Bills" as the Colonial Docks Loan Act of 1865, and the Colonial Naval Defence Act of the same year, will conduct an inquiry into the defences, actual or desirable, of those seaports scattered over our provinces which may serve for outposts or for arsenals, both absolutely indispensable to a fleet composed, as modern fleets are, of ironclads and steamers, and whose very efficiency depends on the supply of coal and properly-equipped refitting stations.

The Commission is to inquire into the present conditions and arrangements of our naval forces abroad. Prominent in regard to this question is the object of the presence of this force in distant waters. This object is the protection of our commerce and of the communications between the various detached portions of the British Empire. To achieve this object we must have not only ironclads and capable cruisers, but ports secured for them, where they may coal, refit, and repair the damages of war or the ravages of wear. A chief point will be the determination of the proper strategic positions of those "self-reliant impregnable arsenals and dockyards" which are to become the outlying guardians of British commercial prosperity. Such arsenals already exist in various stages of maturity at Malta, Gibraltar, Aden, Halifax, Bermuda, and Simon's Bay; and there are the elements of their proximate existence in Vancouver's Island, Hong Kong, Sydney, and other ports. Six such arsenals, of the first class, would go far towards satisfying the needs of the Empire, and guarding the communications of the

Empire in behalf of all peaceful traffic. These six would be distributed somewhat as follows:—In the Eastern Pacific, say at Nanaimo; in the Australian seas, say at Sydney; in the Indian seas, say at Trincomalee; in the Cape Sea, say at Simon's Bay; in the Mediterranean, say at Malta; and in the West Indies, say at Bermuda. This would enable a powerful monad, even of the *Demistation* type, to be kept in each of those districts of the Empire to be the efficient sentinel of their communications. And the scheme is completed by the addition of an indefinite number of lesser coaling-stations—the block-house outposts—sufficiently fortified to ward off the attack of the enemy's skirmishers. A long list of available ports, each commanding certain meeting points in the world's ocean highways, would include Barbadoes, Ascension, the Falkland Isles, Durban, Aden, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Labuan, Hong Kong, Fiji, Wellington, Melbourne, and King George's Sound. With six larger fortified arsenals and some fifteen smaller fortified coaling-stations, British commerce would be enabled on the outbreak of war to seek temporary security in the nearest fortified port—while the British fleet, enjoying the indispensable advantage of these multiplied bases, could have in its favour every chance of clearing the seas of the ships of an enemy.

Self-preservation has been our theme. The lessons of the present teach us two apposite facts. The one, that there must be material strength; the other, that there must exist timely organisation of this strength. The Russian and the Turk in their centuries of struggle have proved of very equal capacity as leaders and as fighting men. But the Turk has gradually and inevitably to yield before the material superiority of his foe. France, greater than Germany in material strength, and at the least equal in soldierly qualities, is nevertheless laid low purely and simply because of the fact that the war-strength of Germany was thoroughly organised and equipped betimes, that of France taken unawares and in disorder. The English race at the present possesses probably greater material strength for self-preservation than has been possessed by any other race in history. Moreover, it is a strength which is capable of most easy and ready organisation. There is, too, a growing national conviction of the desirability, nay, the necessity, of such action. And ere long public conviction will assert itself; it is for the leaders of the public to see that it do so in time. We hear now frequently such words as those which Colonel Strange lately addressed to the Canadian Militia. "Without due preparation," said he, "we must endure in pocket and in person the rapacity of our invaders, and even contribute to the support of war for our own conquest; whereas a little foresight, a little self-denial

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in peace, will produce that preparedness for war which is the palladium of national security."

Mr. Brassey, in his able lectures before the United Service Institution and the Royal Colonial Institute, has placed before the public some of the latest phases of this movement. All who have devoted thought to the matter have come to the conclusion that a Royal Commission on the subject must accomplish much good. If we look to the past we see that after the Crimean War and the Mutiny—when the country once again had repose—among the most important undertakings was the series of inquiries and discussions which culminated in the Royal Commission of 1862, appointed to report upon the subject of Colonial Defence. But twenty years have seen unprecedented strides in Colonial growth, and, above all, in the scientific nature of the science of war; so much so that the whole conditions have altered; and it is held that any repose which it may be hoped will follow the Berlin Treaty, and our "little wars," will see statesmen with their energies set free and their powers at liberty to consider this most important question of the provincial aid to the self-preservation of their own Empire.

It has been our object to sketch the possibilities of a due organisation of the war strength of the British Empire. We have run over, necessarily in a cursory manner, the numerous features of the case; and we have seen the signs of the times shining clearly through the fogs of the present. We have endeavored to show that, after British fashion, things are tending to evolve a constitutional method of consolidating this power in war. There then remains the requisite that the statesmen of the day—both those of the Old Country and of her various flourishing offshoots—those into whose hands it is given, for the time being, to hold in safety the yet phable shape of the British Empire—may duly recognise the true form it should finally assume; and so set their faces resolutely against those unthinking and isolated policies which twist and mould the shape to meet any and every ephemeral suggestion, until its consistency be strained, its grain crossed, its whole substance deteriorated. Rather should it forthwith substantially assume, so far as may be, its final shape, leaving to the whims of the moment the mere petty alterations of external detail. So will its substance remain whole and thorough, ready to endure unimpaired the very roughest usage the most unkind future could have in store for it.

ART II.—EARLY GREEK THOUGHT.

Die Philosophie der Griechen Von Dr EDUARD ZEILER.
Erster Theil *Die Vorsokratische Philosophie*. Leipzig
1877

DURING the two centuries that ended with the close of the Peloponnesian war, a single race, weak numerically, and weakened still further by political disunion, simultaneously developed all the highest human faculties to an extent possibly rivalled but certainly not surpassed by the collective efforts of that vastly greater population which now wields the accumulated resources of modern Europe. This race, while maintaining a precarious foothold on the shores of the Mediterranean by repeated prodigies of courage and genius, contributed a new element to civilisation which has been the mainspring of all subsequent progress but which as it expanded into wider circles and encountered an increasing resistance from without, unavoidably lost some of the enormous elasticity that characterised its earliest and most concentrated reaction. It was the just boast of the Greek that to Asiatic refinement and Thracian valour he joined a disinterested thirst for knowledge unshared by his neighbours on either side. And if a contemporary of Pericles could have foreseen all that would be thought, and said, and done during the next twenty three centuries of this world's existence, at no period during that long lapse of ages, not even among the kindred Italian race, could he have found a competitor to contest with Hellas the olive crown of a nobler Olympia, the guerdon due to a unique combination of supreme excellence in every variety of intellectual exercise, in strategy, diplomacy, statesmanship, in mathematical science, architecture, plastic art, and poetry, in the severe fidelity of the historian whose paramount object is to relate facts as they have occurred, and the dexterous windings of the advocate whose interest leads him to evade or to disguise them, in the far-reaching meditations of the lonely thinker grappling with the enigmas of his own soul, and the fervid eloquence by which a multitude on whose decision hang great issues is inspired, directed, or controlled. He would not, it is true, have found any single Greek to pit against the athletes of the Renaissance, there were none who displayed that universal genius so characteristic of the greatest Tuscan artists such as Leonardo and Michael Angelo nor, to take a much narrower range, was there a single Greek writer who excelled, or even attempted to excel, in poetry and prose alike. But our

imaginary prophet might have observed that such versatility better befitted a sophist like Hippias than an earnest master of the Pheidian type. He might have quoted Pindar's sarcasm about highly educated persons who have an infinity of tastes and bring none of them to perfection ; holding with Plato that one man can only do one thing well, he might have added that the heroes of modern art would have done much nobler work had they concentrated their powers on a single task instead of attempting half a dozen and leaving most of them incomplete.

A people so endowed were the natural creators of philosophy. There came a time when the harmonious universality of the Hellenic genius sought for its counterpart and completion in a theory of the external world. Such is the most general significance we can attach to that memorable series of speculations on the nature of things which, beginning in Ionia, was carried by the Greek colonists to Italy and Sicily, whence, after receiving important additions and modifications, the stream of thought flowed back into the old country, where it was directed into an entirely new channel by the practical genius of Athens. Thales and his successors down to Democritus were not exactly what we should call philosophers in any sense of the word that would include a Locke or a Hume, and exclude a Boyle or a Black ; for their speculations never went beyond the confines of the material universe ; they did not even suspect the existence of those ethical and dialectical problems which long constituted the sole object of philosophical discussion, and have continued since the time when they were first mooted to be regarded as its most peculiar province. Nor yet can we look on them altogether or chiefly as men of science, for their paramount purpose was to gather up the whole of knowledge under a single principle ; and they sought to realise this purpose not by observation and experiment, but by the power of thought alone. It would, perhaps, be truest to say that from their point of view philosophy and science were still undifferentiated, and that knowledge as a universal synthesis was not yet divorced from special investigations into particular orders of phenomena. Here, as elsewhere, advancing reason tends to reunite studies that have been provisionally separated, and we must look to our own contemporaries—to our Tyndalls and Thomsons, our Helmholtzes and Zöllners—as furnishing the fittest parallel to Anaximander and Empedocles, Leucippus and Diogenes.

It has been the fashion in certain quarters to look down on these early thinkers—to depreciate the value of their speculations because they were thinkers, because, as we have already noticed, they reached their most important conclusions by thinking, the means of truly scientific observation not being

within their reach. Nevertheless they performed services to humanity comparable for value with the legislation of Solon and Cleisthenes, or the victories of Marathon and Salamis; while their creative imagination was not inferior to that of the great lyric and dramatic poets, the great architects and sculptors, whose contemporaries they were. They first taught men to distinguish between the realities of nature and the illusions of sense; they discovered or divined the indestructibility of matter and its atomic constitution, they taught that space is infinite, a conception so far from being self-evident that it transcended the capacity of Aristotle to grasp, they held that the seemingly eternal universe was brought into its present form by the operation of mechanical forces which will also effect its dissolution, confronted by the seeming permanence and solidity of our planet, with the innumerable varieties of life to be found on its surface, they declared that all things had arisen by differentiation from a homogeneous attenuated vapour, while one of them went so far as to surmise that man is descended from an aquatic animal. But higher still than these fragmentary glimpses and anticipations of a theory which still awaits confirmation from experience we must place their central doctrine that the universe is a cosmos, an ordered whole governed by number and law, not a blind conflict of semi-conscious agents, or a theatre for the arbitrary interference of partial, jealous, and vindictive gods, that its changes are determined, if at all, by an immanent unchanging reason, and that those celestial luminaries which had drawn to themselves in every age the unquestioning worship of all mankind were in truth nothing more than fiery masses of inanimate matter. Thus, even if the early Greek thinkers were not scientific they first made science possible by substituting for a theory of the universe which is its direct negation, one that methodised observation has increasingly tended to confirm. The garland of poetic praise woven by Lucretius for his adored master should have been dedicated to them, and to them alone. His noble enthusiasm was really inspired by their lessons, not by the wearisome trifling of a moralist who knew little and cared less about those studies in which the whole soul of his Roman disciple was absorbed.

When the power and value of these primitive speculations can no longer be denied, their originality is sometimes questioned by the systematic detractors of everything Hellenic. Thales and the rest, we are told, simply borrowed their theories without acknowledgment from a storehouse of Oriental wisdom on which the Greeks are supposed to have drawn as freely as Coleridge drew on German philosophy. Sometimes each system is affiliated on one of the great Asiatic religions, sometimes they are all traced back to

the schools of Hindostan. It is natural that no two critics should agree when the rival explanations are based on nothing stronger than superficial analogies and accidental coincidences. Dr Zeller in his wonderfully learned, clear, and sagacious work on Greek philosophy has carefully sifted some of the hypotheses referred to, and shown how destitute they are of internal or external evidence, and how utterly they fail to account for the facts. The oldest and best authorities, Plato and Aristotle, knew nothing about such a derivation of Greek thought from Eastern sources. Isocrates does, indeed, mention that Pythagoras borrowed his philosophy from Egypt, but Isocrates did not even pretend to be a truthful narrator. No Greek of the early period except those regularly domiciled in Susa seems to have been acquainted with any language but his own. Few travelled very far into Asia, and of those few, only one or two were philosophers. Democritus who visited more foreign countries than any man of his time, speaks only of having discussed mathematical problems with the wise men whom he encountered, and even in mathematics he was at least their equal. It was precisely at the greatest distance from Asia, in Italy and Sicily, that the systems arose which seem to have most analogy with Asiatic modes of thought. Can we suppose that the traders of those times were in any way qualified to transport the speculations of Confucius and the Vedas to such a distance from their native homes? With far better reason might one expect a German merchant to carry a knowledge of Kant's philosophy from Königsberg to Canton. But a more convincing argument than any is to show that Greek philosophy in its historical evolution exhibits a perfectly natural and spontaneous progress from simpler to more complex forms, and that system grew out of system by a strictly logical process of extension, analysis, and combination. This is what, chiefly under the guidance of Zeller, we shall now attempt to do.

Thales, of Miletus, an Ionian geometrician and astronomer about whose age considerable uncertainty prevails, but who seems to have flourished towards the close of the seventh century before our era, is by general consent regarded as the father of Greek physical philosophy. Others before him had attempted to account for the world's origin, but none like him had traced it back to a purely natural beginning. According to Thales all things have come from water. That the earth is entirely enclosed by water above and below as well as all round was perhaps a common notion among the Western Asiatics. It was certainly believed by the Hebrews as we learn from the accounts of the creation and the flood contained in Genesis. The Milesian thinker showed his originality by generalising still further and

declaring that not only did water surround all things, but that all things were derived from it as their first cause and substance, that water was so to speak the material absolute. Never have more pregnant words been spoken; they acted like a ferment on the Greek mind; they were the grain whence grew a tree that has overshadowed the whole earth. At one stroke they substituted a comparatively scientific, because a verifiable, principle for the confused fancies of mythologising poets. Not that Thales was an atheist, or an agnostic, or anything of that sort. On the contrary, he is reported to have said that all things were full of gods; and the report sounds credible enough. Most probably the saying was a protest against the popular limitation of divine agencies to certain special occasions and favoured localities. A true thinker seeks above all for consistency and continuity. He will more readily accept a perpetual stream of creative energy than a series of arbitrary and isolated interferences with the course of Nature. For the rest Thales made no attempt to explain how water came to be transformed into other substances, nor is it likely that the necessity of such an explanation had ever occurred to him. We may suspect that he and others after him were not capable of distinguishing very clearly between such notions as space, time, cause, substance, and limit. It is almost as difficult for us to enter into the thoughts of these primitive philosophers as it would have been for them to comprehend processes of reasoning already familiar to Plato and Aristotle. Possibly the forms under which we arrange our conceptions may become equally obsolete at a more advanced stage of intellectual evolution, and our sharp distinctions may prove to be not less artificial than the confused identifications that they have superseded.

The next great forward step in speculation was taken by Anaximander, another Milesian, also of distinguished attainments in mathematics and astronomy. We have seen that to Thales water, the all-embracing element, became as such the first cause of all things, the absolute principle of existence. His successor adopted the same general point of view, but looked out from it with a more penetrating gaze. Beyond water lay something else which he called the Infinite. He did not mean the empty abstraction which has stalked about in modern times under that ill-omened name, nor yet did he mean infinite space, but something richer and more concrete than either; a storehouse of materials whence the waste of existence could be perpetually made good. The growth and decay of individual forms involve a ceaseless drain on Nature, and the deficiency must be supplied by a corresponding influx from without. For be it observed that, although the Greek thinkers were at this period well aware that,

nothing can come from nothing, they had not yet grasped the complementary truth inalienably wedded to it by Lucretius in one immortal line, that nothing can return to nothing; and Kant is quite mistaken when he treats the two as historically inseparable. Common experience forces the one on our attention much sooner than the other. Our incomings are very strictly measured out and accounted for without difficulty, while it is hard to tell what becomes of all our expenditure, physical and economical. Yet, although the indestructibility of matter was a conception that had not yet dawned on Anaximander, he seems to have been feeling his way towards the recognition of a circulatory movement pervading all Nature. Everything, he says, must at last be reabsorbed in the Infinite as a punishment for the sin of its separate existence. Some may find in this sentiment a note of Oriental mysticism. Rather does its very sadness illustrate the healthy vitality of Greek feeling to which absorption seemed like the punishment of a crime against the Absolute, and not, as to so many Asiatics, the crown and consummation of spiritual perfection. Be this as it may, a doctrine that identified the death of the whole world with its reabsorption into a higher reality would soon suggest the idea that its component parts vanish only to reappear in new combinations.

Anaximander's system was succeeded by a number of others, which cannot be arranged according to any order of linear progression. Such arrangements are, indeed, false in principle. Intellectual life, like every other life, is a product of manifold conditions and their varied combinations are certain to issue in a corresponding multiplicity of effects. Anaximenes, a fellow-townsmen of Anaximander, followed most closely in the footsteps of the master. Attempting, as it would appear, to mediate between his two predecessors, he chose air for a primal element. Air is more omnipresent than water, which, as well as earth, is enclosed within its plastic sphere. On the other hand, it is more tangible and concrete than the Infinite, or may even be substituted for that conception by supposing it to extend as far as thought can reach. As before, cosmogony grows out of cosmography; the enclosing element is the parent of those embraced within it. Speculation now leaves its Asiatic cradle and travels with the Greek colonists to new homes in Italy and Sicily, where new modes of thought were fostered by a new environment. A name, round which mythical accretions have gathered so thickly that the original nucleus of fact almost defies definition, first claims our attention. Aristotle, as is well known, avoids mentioning Pythagoras, and always speaks of the Pythagoreans when he is discussing the opinions held by a certain Italian school. A philosophy based on the doctrine that

all things are made out of number, was, by a remarkable coincidence, associated with a plurality of teachers. Braudis regards Pythagoreanism as an entirely original effort of speculation, standing apart from the main current of Hellenic thought, and to be studied without reference to Ionian philosophy. Zeller, with more plausibility, treats it as an out-growth of Anaximander's system. In that system the finite and the infinite remained opposed to one another as unreconciled moments of thought. Number, according to the Greek arithmeticians, was a synthesis of the two, and therefore superior to either. To a Pythagorean the finite and the infinite were only one among several antithetical couples, such as odd and even, light and darkness, male and female, and, above all, the one and the many whence every number after unity is formed. The tendency to search for antitheses everywhere, and to manufacture them where they do not exist, became ere long an actual disease of the Greek mind. A Thucydides could no more have dispensed with this cumbrous mechanism than a rope-dancer could get on without his balancing pole; and many a schoolboy has been sorely puzzled by the fantastic contortions that Italiote reflection imposed for a time on Athenian oratory.

Returning to our more immediate subject, we must observe that the Pythagoreans did not maintain in anticipation of modern quantitative science that all things are determined by number, but that all things are numbers, or are made out of numbers, two propositions not easily distinguished by unpractised thinkers. Numbers, in a word, were to them precisely what water had been to Thales, what air was to Anaximenes, the absolute principle of existence; only with them the idea of a limit, the leading inspiration of Greek thought, had reached a higher degree of abstraction. Number was, as it were, the exterior limit of the finite, and the interior limit of the infinite. Add to this that mathematical studies, cultivated in Egypt and Phœnicia for their practical utility alone, were being pursued in Hellas with ever-increasing ardour for the sake of their own delightfulness, for the intellectual discipline that they supplied—a discipline even more valuable then than now, and for the insight which they bestowed or were believed to bestow into the secret constitution of Nature; and that the more complicated arithmetical operations were habitually conducted with the aid of geometrical diagrams, thus suggesting the possibility of applying a similar treatment to every order of relations. Consider the lively emotions excited among an intelligent people at a time when multiplication and division, squaring and cubing, the rule of three, the construction and equivalence of figures, with all their manifold applications to industry, commerce, fine art, and tactics, were just as strange and

wonderful as electrical phenomena are to us; consider also the magical influence still commonly attributed to particular numbers, and the intense eagerness to obtain exact numerical statements, even when they are of no practical value, exhibited by all who are thrown back on primitive ways of living, as, for example, in Alpine travelling, or on board an Atlantic steamer, and we shall cease to wonder that a mere form of thought, a lifeless abstraction, should once have been regarded as the solution of every problem, the cause of all existence; or that these speculations were more than once revived in after ages, and perished only with Greek philosophy itself.

We have not here to examine the scientific achievements of Pythagoras and his school; they belong to the history of science, not to that of pure thought, and therefore lie outside the present discussion. Something, however, must be said of Pythagoreanism as a scheme of moral, religious, and social reform. Alone among the præ-Socratic systems, it undertook to furnish a rule of conduct as well as a theory of being. Yet, as Zeller has pointed out, it was only an apparent anomaly, for the ethical teaching of the Pythagoreans was not based on their physical theories, except in so far as a deep reverence for law and order was common to both. Perhaps, also, the separation of soul and body with the ascription of a higher dignity to the former, which was a distinctive tenet of the school, may be paralleled with the position given to number as a kind of spiritual power creating and controlling the world of sense. So also political power was to be entrusted to an aristocracy trained in every noble accomplishment, and fitted for exercising authority over others by self-discipline, by mutual fidelity, and by habitual obedience to a rule of right. Nevertheless, we must look with Zeller for the true source of Pythagoreanism as a moral movement in that great wave of religious enthusiasm that swept over Hellas during the sixth century before Christ, intimately associated with the importation of Apollo-worship from Lycia, with the concentration of spiritual authority in the oracular shrine of Delphi, and the political predominance of the Dorian race, those Normans of the ancient world. Legend has thrown this connection into a poetical form by making Pythagoras the son of Apollo; and the Samian sage, although himself an Ionian, chose the Dorian cities of Southern Italy as a favourable field for his new teaching, just as Calvinism found a readier acceptance in the advanced posts of the Teutonic race than among the people whence its founder sprang. Perhaps the nearest parallel, although on a far more extensive scale, for the religious movement of which we are speaking, is the spectacle offered by mediæval Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of our era, when a series of great Popes had

concentrated all spiritual power in their own hands, and were sending forth army after army of Crusaders to the East; when all Western Europe had awakened to the consciousness of its common Christianity, and each individual was thrilled by a sense of the tremendous alternatives committed to his choice; when the orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis were founded; when Gothic architecture and Florentine painting arose; when the Troubadours and Minnesängers were pouring out their notes of scornful or tender passion, and the love of the sexes had become a sentiment as lofty and enduring as the devotion of friend to friend had been in Greece of old. The bloom of Greek religious enthusiasm was more exquisite and evanescent than that of feudal Catholicism; inferior in pure spirituality and of more restricted significance as a factor in the evolution of humanity, it at least remained free from the ecclesiastical tyranny, the murderous fanaticism, and the unlovely superstitions of mediæval faith. But polytheism under any form was fatally incapable of coping with the new spirit of inquiry awakened by philosophy, and the old myths, with their naturalistic crudities, could not long satisfy the reason and conscience of thinkers who had learned in another school to seek everywhere for a central unity of control, and to bow their imaginations before the passionless perfection of eternal law.

Such a thinker was Xenophanes, of Colophon. Driven, like Pythagoras, from his native city by civil discords, he spent the greater part of an unusually protracted life wandering through the Greek colonies of Sicily and Southern Italy, and reciting his own verses, not always, as it would appear, to a very attentive audience. Elea, an Italiote city, seems to have been his favourite resort, and the school of philosophy which he founded there has immortalised the name of this otherwise obscure Phocæan settlement. Enough remains of his verses to show with what terrible strength of sarcasm he assailed the popular religion of Hellas. "Homer and Hesiod," he exclaims, "have attributed to the gods everything that is a shame and reproach among men—theft, adultery, and mutual deception." Nor is Xenophanes content with attacking these unedifying stories, he strikes at the anthropomorphic conceptions which lay at their root. "Mortals think that the gods have senses, and a voice and a body like their own. The negroes fancy that their deities are black-skinned and snub-nosed, the Thracians give theirs fair hair and blue eyes; if horses or lions had hands and could paint, they too would make gods in their own image." It was, he declared, as impious to believe in the birth of a god as to believe in the possibility of his death. The current polytheism was equally false. "There is one Supreme God among gods and men, unlike mortals both in

mind and body." There can be only one God, for God is Omnipotent, so that there must be none to dispute His will. He must also be perfectly homogeneous, shaped like a sphere, seeing, hearing, and thinking with every part alike, never moving from place to place, but governing all things by an effortless exercise of thought. Had such daring heresies been promulgated in democratic Athens, their author would probably have soon found himself and his works handed over to the tender mercies of the Eleven. Happily at Elea, and in most other Greek States, the gods were left to take care of themselves.

Xenophanes does not seem to have been ever molested on account of his religious opinions. He complains bitterly enough that people preferred fiction to philosophy, that uneducated athletes engrossed far too much popular admiration, that he, Xenophanes, was not sufficiently appreciated; but of theological intolerance, so far as our information goes, he says not one single word. It will easily be conceived that the rapid progress of Greek speculation was singularly favoured by such unbounded freedom of thought and speech. The views just set forth have often been regarded as a step towards spiritualistic monotheism, and so considered in the light of subsequent developments they unquestionably were. Still, looking at the matter from another aspect, we may say that Xenophanes, when he shattered the idols of popular religion, was rather returning to the past than anticipating the future; feeling his way back to the deeper, more primordial faith of the old Aryan race, or even of that still older stock whence Aryan and Turanian alike diverged. He turns from the brilliant, passionate, fickle Dyaus, to Zên, or Ten, the ever-present, all-seeing, all-embracing, immovable vault of heaven. Aristotle, with a sympathetic insight unfortunately too rare in his criticisms on earlier systems, observes that Xenophanes did not make it clear whether the absolute unity he taught was material or ideal, but simply looked up at the whole heaven and declared that the One was God. Aristotle was himself the real creator of philosophic monotheism, just because the idea of living, self-conscious personality had a greater value, a profounder meaning for him than for any other thinker of antiquity, one may almost say than for any other thinker whatever. It is, therefore, a noteworthy circumstance that, while warmly acknowledging the anticipations of Anaxagoras, he nowhere speaks of Xenophanes as a predecessor in the same line of inquiry. The latter might be called a pantheist were it not that pantheism belongs to a much later stage of speculation, one, in fact, not reached by the Greek mind at any period of its development. His leading conception was obscured by a confusion of mythological with purely physical ideas, and could only bear full fruit when the religious

element had been entirely eliminated from its composition. This elimination was accomplished by a far greater thinker, one who combined poetic inspiration with philosophic depth ; who was penetrating enough to discern the logical consequences involved in a fundamental principle of thought, and bold enough to push them to their legitimate conclusions without caring for the shock to sense and common opinion that his merciless dialectic might inflict.

Parmenides, of Elea, flourished towards the beginning of the fifth century B.C. We know very little about his personal history. According to Plato, he visited Athens late in life, and there made the acquaintance of Socrates, at that time a very young man. But an unsupported statement of Plato's must always be received with extreme caution ; and this particular story is probably not less fictitious than the dialogue which it serves to introduce. Parmenides embodied his theory of the world in a poem, the most important passages of which have been preserved. They show that, while continuing the physical studies of his predecessors, he proceeded on an entirely different method. Their object was to deduce every variety of natural phenomena from a fundamental unity of substance. He declared that all variety and change were a delusion, and that nothing existed but one indivisible, unalterable, absolute reality ; just as Descartes' antithesis of thought and extension disappeared in the infinite substance of Spinoza, or as the Kantian dualism of object and subject was eliminated in Hegel's absolute idealism. Again, Parmenides does not dogmatise : he attempts to demonstrate his theory by the inevitable necessities of being and thought. Existence, he tells us over and over again, *is*, and non-existence is not, cannot even be imagined or thought of as existing, for thought is the same as being. This is not an anticipation of Hegel's identification of being with thought ; it only amounts to the very innocent proposition that a thought is something and about something—enters therefore into the general indistinguishable mass of being. He next proceeds to prove that what is can neither come into being nor pass out of it again. It cannot come out of the non-existent, for that is inconceivable ; nor out of the existent, for nothing exists but being itself ; and the same argument proves that it cannot cease to exist. Here we find the indestructibility of matter, a truth that Anaximander had not yet grasped, virtually affirmed for the first time in history. We find also that our philosopher is carried away by the enthusiasm of a new discovery, and covers more ground than he can defend in maintaining the permanence of all existence whatever. The reason is that to him, as to every other thinker of the præ-Socratic period, all existence was material, or, rather, all reality

was confounded under one vague conception, of which visible resisting extension supplied the most familiar type. To proceed: Being cannot be divided from being, nor is it capable of condensation or expansion (as the Ionians had taught); there is nothing by which it can be separated or held apart; nor is it ever more or less existent, but all is full of being. Parmenides goes on in his grand style:—

“ Therefore the whole extends continuously,
 Being by Being set; immovable,
 Subject to the constraint of mighty laws;
 Both increate and indestructible,
 Since birth and death have wandered far away
 By true conviction into exile driven;
 The same, in self-same place, and by itself
 Abiding, doth abide most firmly fixed,
 And bounded round by strong Necessity.
 Wherefore a holy law forbids that Being
 Should be without an end, else want were there,
 And want of that would be a want of all.”

Thus does the everlasting Greek love of order, definition, limitation reassert its supremacy over the intelligence of this noble thinker, just as his almost mystical enthusiasm has reached its highest pitch of exaltation, giving him back a world which thought can measure, circumscribe, and control.

Being, then, is finite in extent, and, as a consequence of its absolute homogeneity, spherical in form. There is good reason for believing that the earth's true figure was first discovered in the fifth century B.C., but whether it was suggested by the *à priori* theories of Parmenides, or was generalised by him into a law of the whole universe, or whether there was more than an accidental connection between the two hypotheses, we cannot tell. Aristotle at any rate was probably as much indebted to the Eleatic system as to contemporary astronomy for his theory of a finite spherical universe. It will easily be observed that the distinction between space and matter, so obvious to us, and even to Greek thinkers of a later date, had not yet dawned upon Parmenides. As applied to the former conception most of his affirmations are perfectly correct, but his belief in the finiteness of Being can only be justified on the supposition that Being is identified with matter. For it must be clearly understood (and Zeller has the great merit of having proved this fact by incontrovertible arguments) that the Eleatic Being was not a transcendental conception, nor an abstract unity, as Aristotle erroneously supposed, nor a Kantian noumenon, nor a spiritual essence of any kind, but a phenomenal reality of the most concrete description. We can only not call Parmenides a materialist,

because materialism implies a negation of spiritualism, which in his time had not yet come into existence. He tells us plainly that a man's thoughts result from the conformation of his body, and are determined by the preponderating element in its composition. Not much, however, can be made of this rudimentary essay in psychology, connected as it seems to be with an appendix to the teaching of our philosopher, in which he accepts the popular dualism, although still convinced of its falsity, and uses it under protest as an explanation of that very genesis which he had rejected as impossible.

As might be expected, the Parmenidean paradoxes provoked a considerable amount of contradiction and ridicule. The Reids and Beatties of that time drew sundry absurd consequences from the new doctrine, and offered them as a sufficient refutation of its truth. Zeno, a young friend and favourite of Parmenides, took up arms in his master's defence, and sought to prove with brilliant dialectical ability that consequences still more absurd might be deduced from the opposite belief. He originated a series of famous puzzles respecting the infinite divisibility of matter and the possibility of motion, subsequently employed as a disproof of all certainty by the Sophists and Sceptics, and occasionally made to serve as arguments on behalf of agnosticism by writers of our own time. Stated generally they may be reduced to two. A whole composed of parts and divisible *ad infinitum* must be either infinitely great or infinitely little; infinitely great if its parts have magnitude, infinitely little if they have not. A moving body can never come to the end of a given line, for it must first traverse half the line, then half the remainder, and so on for ever. Aristotle thought that the difficulty about motion could be solved by taking the infinite divisibility of time into account; and Coleridge, according to his custom, repeated the explanation without acknowledgment. But Zeno would have refused to admit that any infinite series could come to an end, whether it was composed of successive or of co-existent parts. So long as the abstractions of our understanding are treated as separate entities, these and similar puzzles will continue to exercise the ingenuity of metaphysicians. Our present business, however, is not to solve Zeno's difficulties, but to show how they illustrate a leading characteristic of Greek thought, its tendency to perpetual analysis, a tendency not limited to the philosophy of the Greeks, but pervading the whole of their literature and even of their art. Homer carefully distinguishes the successive steps of every action, and leads up to every catastrophe by a series of finely graduated transitions. Like Zeno, again he pursues a system of dichotomy, passing rapidly over the first half of his subject, and relaxes the speed of

his narrative by going into ever-closer detail until the consummation is reached. Such a poem as the "Achilleis" of modern critics would have been perfectly intolerable to a Greek, from the too rapid and uniform march of its action. Herodotus proceeds after a precisely similar fashion, advancing from a broad and free treatment of history to elaborate minuteness of detail. So, too, a Greek temple divides itself into parts so distinct, yet so closely connected, that the eye, after separating, as easily recombines them into a whole. The evolution of Greek music tells the same tale of progressive subdivision, which is also illustrated by the passage from long speeches to single lines, and from these again to half lines in the dialogue of a Greek drama. No other people could have created mathematical demonstration, for no other would have had skill and patience enough to discover the successive identities interposed between and connecting the sides of an equation. The dialectic of Socrates and Plato, the somewhat wearisome distinctions of Aristotle, and last of all, the fine-spun series of triads inserted by Proclus between the superessential One and the fleeting world of sense, were all products of the same fundamental tendency, alternately most fruitful and most barren in its results. It may be objected that Zeno, so far from obeying this tendency, followed a diametrically opposite principle, that of absolutely unbroken continuity. True; but the "Eleatic Palamedes" fought his adversaries with a weapon wrested out of their own hands; rejecting analysis as a law of real existence, he continued to employ it as a logical artifice with greater subtlety than had ever yet been displayed in pure speculation.*

Besides Zeno, Parmenides seems to have had only one disciple of note, Melissus, the Samian statesman and general; but under various modifications and combined with other elements, the Eleatic absolute entered as a permanent factor into Greek speculation. From it were lineally descended the Sphairos of Empedocles, the eternal atoms of Leucippus, the Nous of Anaxagoras,

* The tendency which it has been attempted to characterise as a fundamental moment of Greek thought can only be called analytical in default of a better word. It is a process by which two related terms are at once parted and joined together by the insertion of one or more intermediary links; as, for instance, when a capital is inserted between column and architrave, or when a proposition is demonstrated by the interposition of a middle term between its subject and predicate. The German words *Vermitteln* and *Vermittelung* express what is meant with sufficient exactitude. They play a great part in Hegel's philosophy, and it will be remembered that Hegel was the most Hellenic of modern thinkers. So understood there will cease to be any contradiction between the Eleatics and Greek thought generally, at least from one point of view, as their object was to fill up the vacant spaces supposed to separate one mode of existence from another.

the Megaric Good, the supreme solar idea of Plato, the self-thinking thought of Aristotle, the imperturbable tranquillity attributed to their model sage by Stoics and Epicureans alike, the sovereign indifference of the Sceptics, and, finally, the Neo-platonic One. Modern philosophers have sought for their supreme ideal in power, movement, activity, life, rather than in any stationary substance, yet even among them we find Herbart partially reviving the Eleatic theory, and confronting Hegel's fluent categories with his own inflexible monads.

We have now to study an analogous, though far less complicated, antagonism in ancient Greece, and to show how her most brilliant period of physical philosophy arose from the combination of two seemingly irreconcilable systems. Parmenides, in an address supposed to be delivered by Wisdom to her disciple, warns us against the method pursued by "ignorant mortals, the blind, deaf, stupid, confused tribes, who hold that to be and not to be are the same, and that all things move round by an inverted path." What Parmenides denounced as arrant nonsense was deliberately proclaimed to be the highest truth by his illustrious contemporary, Heraclitus, of Ephesus. This wonderful thinker is popularly known as the weeping philosopher, because, according to a very silly tradition, he never went abroad without shedding tears over the follies of mankind. No such morbid sentimentality, but bitter scorn and indignation marked the attitude of Heraclitus towards his fellows. A self-taught sage, he had no respect for the accredited instructors of Hellas. "Much learning," he says, "does not teach reason, else it would have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, Xenophanes and Hecataeus." Homer, he declares, ought to be flogged out of the public assemblies, and Archilochus likewise. When the highest reputations met with so little mercy, it will readily be imagined what contempt he poured on the vulgar herd. The feelings of a high-born aristocrat combine with those of a lofty genius to point and wing his words. "The many are bad and few are the good. The best choose one thing instead of all, a perpetual well-spring of fame, while the many glut their appetites like beasts. One man is equal to ten thousand if he is the best." This contempt was still further intensified by the very excusable incapacity of the public to understand profound thought conveyed in a style proverbial for its obscurity. "Men cannot comprehend the eternal law, when I have explained the order of Nature they are no wiser than before." What, then, was this eternal law, a knowledge of which Heraclitus found so difficult to popularise? Let us look back for a moment at the earlier Ionian systems. They had taught that the universe arose either by differentiation or by condensation and expansion from a single primordial

substance, into which, as Anaximander at least held, everything at last returned. Now Heracleitus taught that this transformation was a universal, never-ending, never-resting process ; that all things are moving ; that Nature is like a stream in which no man can bathe twice ; that rest and stability are the law, not of life, but of death. Again, the Pythagorean school, as we have seen, divided all things into a series of sharply-distinguished antithetical pairs. Heracleitus either directly identified the terms of every opposition, or regarded them as necessarily combined, or as continually passing into one another. Perhaps we shall express his meaning most thoroughly by saying that he would have looked on all three propositions as equivalent statements of a single fact. In accordance with this principle he calls war the father and king and lord of all, and denounces Homer's prayer for the abolition of strife as an unconscious blasphemy against the universe itself. Yet, even his powerful intellect could not grasp the conception of a shifting relativity as the law and life of things without embodying it in a particular material substratum. Following the Ionian tradition, he sought for a world-element, and found it in that cosmic fire which enveloped the terrestrial atmosphere, and of which the heavenly luminaries were supposed to be formed. "Fire," says the Ephesian philosopher, no doubt adapting his language to the comprehension of a great commercial community, "is the general medium of exchange, as gold is given for everything, and everything for gold." "The world was not created by any god or any man, but always was and is and shall be, an ever-living fire, periodically kindled and quenched." By cooling and condensation, water is formed from fire, and earth from water ; then, by a converse process called the way up as the other was the way down, earth again passes into water and water into fire. At the end of certain stated periods the whole world is to be reconverted into fire, but only to enter on a new cycle in the series of its endless revolutions—a conception so far remarkably confirmed by modern science. The whole theory, including a future world-conflagration was afterwards adopted by the Stoics, and probably exercised a considerable influence on the eschatology of the early Christian Church. Imagination is obliged to work under forms that thought has already superseded, and Heracleitus as a philosopher had forestalled the dazzling consummation to which as a prophet he might look forward in wonder and hope. For his elemental fire was only a picturesque presentation indispensable to him, but not to us, of the sovereign law wherein all things live and move and have their being. To have introduced such an idea into speculation was his distinctive and inestimable achievement, although it may have been suggested by the *εἰμαρμένη* or destiny

of the theological poets, a term occasionally employed in his writings. It had a moral as well as a physical meaning, or rather it hovers ambiguously between the two. "The sun shall not transgress his bounds, or the Erinyes who help justice will find him out." It is the source of human laws, the common reason that binds men together, therefore they should hold by it even more firmly than by the laws of the State. It is not only all-wise but all-good even where it seems to be the reverse, for our distinctions between good and evil, just and unjust, vanish in the divine harmony of Nature, the concurrent energies and identifying transformations of her universal life.

According to Aristotle the Heracleitean flux was inconsistent with the highest law of thought, and made all predication impossible. It has been shown that the master himself recognised a fixed recurring order of change that could be affirmed if nothing else could. But the principle of change once admitted seemed to act like a corrosive solvent, too powerful for any vessel to contain. Disciples were soon found who pushed it to extreme consequences with the effect of abolishing all certainty whatever. In Plato's time it was impossible to argue with a Heracleitean; he could never be tied down to a definite statement. Every proposition became false as soon as it was uttered, or rather before it was out of the speaker's mouth. At last a distinguished teacher of the school declined to commit himself by using words and disputed exclusively in dumb show. A dangerous speculative crisis had set in. At either extremity of the Hellenic world the path of scientific inquiry was barred; on the one hand by a theory eliminating non existence from thought, and on the other hand by a theory identifying it with existence. The luminous beam of reflection had been polarised into two divergent rays, each light where the other was dark and dark where the other was light, each denying what the other asserted and asserting what the other denied. For a century physical speculation had taught that the universe was formed by the modification of a single eternal substance, whatever that substance might be. By the end of that period, all becoming was absorbed into being at Elea, and all being into becoming at Ephesus. Each view contained a portion of the truth, and one which perhaps would never have been clearly perceived if it had not been brought into exclusive prominence. But further progress was impossible until the two half-truths had been recombined. We may compare Parmenides and Heracleitus to two lofty and precipitous peaks on either side of an Alpine pass. The fertilising stream of European thought originated with neither of them singly, but had its source midway between.

We now enter on the last period of purely objective philosophy, an age of mediating and reconciling, but still profoundly original speculation. Its principal representatives, with whom alone we have to do, are Empedocles, the Atomists Leucippus and Democritus, and Anaxagoras. There is considerable doubt and difficulty respecting the order in which they should be placed. Anaxagoras was unquestionably the oldest and Democritus the youngest of the four, the difference between their ages being forty years. It is also nearly certain that the Atomists came after Empedocles. But if we take a celebrated expression of Aristotle's literally (as there is no reason why it should not be taken), Anaxagoras, although born before Empedocles, published his views at a later period. Was he also anticipated by Leucippus? We cannot tell with certainty, but it seems likely from a comparison of their doctrines that he was; and in all cases the man who naturalised philosophy in Athens, and who by his theory of a creative reason furnishes a transition to the age of subjective speculation, will be most conveniently placed at the close of the præ-Socratic period.

A splendid tribute has been paid to the fame of Empedocles by Lucretius, the greatest didactic poet of all time, and by Mr. Matthew Arnold, the greatest of our own time. But the still more rapturous panegyric pronounced by the Roman enthusiast on Epicurus makes his testimony a little suspicious, and the lofty chant of our own contemporary must be taken rather as an expression of his own youthful opinions respecting man's place in Nature than as a faithful exposition of the Sicilian thinker's creed. Many another name from the history of philosophy might with better reason have been prefixed to that confession of resigned and scornful scepticism entitled "Empedocles on Etna." The real doctrines of an essentially religious teacher would hardly have been so cordially endorsed by Mr. Swinburne. But perhaps no other character could have excited the deep sympathy felt by one poetic genius for another, when with both of them thought is habitually steeped in emotion. Empedocles was the last Greek of any note who threw his philosophy into a metrical form. Neither Xenophanes nor Parmenides had done this with so much success. No less a critic than Aristotle extols the Homeric splendour of his verses, and Lucretius, in this respect an authority, speaks of them as almost divine. But, judging from the fragments still extant, their speculative content exhibits a distinct decline from the height reached by his immediate predecessors. Empedocles betrays a distrust in man's power of discovering truth, almost, although not quite, unknown to them. Too much certainty would be impious. He calls on the "much-wooed white-armed virgin muse" to—

“ Guide from the seat of Reverence thy bright car,
And bring to us the creatures of a day,
What without sin we may aspire to know ”

We also miss in him their single-minded devotion to philosophy and their rigorous unity of doctrine. The Acragantine sage was a party-leader (in which capacity to his great credit he victoriously upheld the popular cause), a rhetorician, an engineer, a physician, and a thaumaturgist. The well-known legend relating to his death may be taken as a not undeserved satire on the colossal self-conceit of the man who claimed divine honours during his lifetime. Half-mystic and half-rationalist, he made no attempt to reconcile the two inconsistent sides of his intellectual character. It may be compared to one of those grotesque combinations in which, according to his morphology, the heads and bodies of widely different animals were united during the beginnings of life before they had learned to fall into their proper places. He believed in metempsychosis, and professed to remember the somewhat miscellaneous series of forms through which his own personality had already run. He had been a boy, a girl, a bush, a bird, and a fish. Nevertheless, as we shall presently see, his theory of Nature altogether excluded such a notion as the soul's separate existence. We have now to consider what that theory actually was. It will be remembered that Parmenides had affirmed the perpetuity and eternal self-identity of being, but that he had deprived this profound divination of all practical value by interpreting it in a sense which excluded diversity and change. Empedocles also declares creation and destruction to be impossible, but explains that the appearances so denominated arise from the union and separation of four everlasting substances—earth, air, fire, and water. This is the famous doctrine of the four elements which, adopted by Plato and Aristotle, was long regarded as the last word of chemistry, and still survives in popular phraseology. Its author may have been guided by an unconscious reflection on the character of his own philosophical method, for was not he, too, constructing a new system out of the elements supplied by his predecessors? They had successively fixed on water, air, and fire as the primordial form of existence, he added a fourth, earth, and effected a sort of reconciliation by placing them all on an equal footing. Curiously enough the earlier monistic systems had a relative justification that his crude eclecticism lacked. All matter may exist either in a solid, a liquid, or a gaseous form, and all solid matter has reached its present condition after passing through the two other degrees of consistency. That the three modifications should be found coexisting in our own experience is a mere accident of the present régime, and

to enumerate them is to substitute a description for an explanation, the usual fault of eclectic systems. Empedocles, however, besides his happy improvement on Parmenides, made a real contribution to thought when, as Aristotle puts it, he sought for a moving as well as for a material cause, in other words, when he asked not only of what elements is the world composed, but also by what forces were they brought together. He tells us of two such causes, Love and Strife, the one a combining, the other a dissociating power. If for these half mythological names we read attractive and repulsive forces, the result will not be very different from our own current cosmologies. Such terms when so used as to assume the existence of occult qualities in matter, driving its parts asunder or drawing them close together are in truth as completely mythological as any figments of Hellenic fancy. Unlike their modern antitypes the Empedoclean goddesses did not reign together, but succeeded one another in alternate dominion during protracted periods of time. The victory of Love was complete when all things had been drawn into a perfect sphere, evidently the absolute Eleatic Being subjected to a Heraclitean law of vicissitude and contradiction. For Strife lays hold on the consolidated orb, and by her disintegrating action gradually reduces it to a formless chaos, till at the close of another world-period the work of creation begins again. Yet growth and decay are so inextricably intertwined that Empedocles failed to keep up this ideal separation and was compelled to admit the simultaneous activity of both powers in our everyday experience, so that Nature turns out to be composed of six elements instead of four, the mind which perceives it being constituted in a precisely similar manner. But Love, although on the whole victorious, can only gradually get the better of her retreating enemy, and Nature as we know it is the result of their continued conflict. Empedocles described the process of evolution, as he conceived it, in somewhat minute detail. Two points only are of much interest to us, his alleged anticipation of the Darwinian theory and his psychology. The former, such as it was, has occasionally been attributed to Lucretius, but the Roman poet most probably copied Epicurus, although the very brief summary of that philosopher's physical system preserved by Diogenes Laertius contains no allusion to such a topic. We know, however, that in Aristotle's time a theory identical with that of Lucretius was held by those who rejected teleological explanation of the world in general and of living organisms in particular. All sorts of animals were produced by spontaneous generation, only those survived that were accidentally furnished with appliances for procuring nourishment and for propagating their kind. The notion itself originated with Empedocles, whose

fanciful suppositions have already been mentioned in a different connection. Most assuredly he did not offer it as a solution of problems which in his time had not yet been mooted, but as an illustration of the confusion that prevailed when Love had only advanced a little way in her ordering, harmonising, unifying task. Prantl writing a few years before the appearance of Mr. Darwin's book, on the "Origin of Species," and therefore without any prejudice on the subject, observes with truth that this theory of Empedocles was deeply rooted in the mythological conceptions of the time. Perhaps he was seeking for a rationalistic explanation of the centaurs, minotaurs, hundred-handed giants and so forth in whose existence he had not, like Lucretius, learned completely to disbelieve. His strange supposition was afterwards freed from its worst extravagancies; but even as stated in the "*De Rerum Naturâ*," it has no claim whatever to rank as a serious hypothesis. Anything more unlike the Darwinian doctrine, according to which all existing species have been evolved from less highly-organised ancestors by the gradual accumulation of minute differences, it would be difficult to conceive. Every thinker of antiquity with one exception believed in the immutability of natural species. They had existed unchanged from all eternity, or had sprung up by spontaneous generation from the earth's bosom in their present form. The solitary dissentient was Anaximander, who conjectured that man was descended from an aquatic animal. Strange to say this lucky guess has not yet been quoted as an argument against the Ascidian pedigree. It is chiefly the enemies of Darwinism who are eager to find it anticipated in Empedocles or Lucretius. By a curious inversion of traditionalism it is fancied that a modern discovery can be upset by showing that somebody said something of the kind more than two thousand years ago. Unfortunately authority has not the negative value of disproving the principles that it supports. We must be content to accept the truths brought to light by observation and reasoning even at the risk of finding ourselves in humiliating agreement with a philosopher of antiquity.

Passing from life to mind we find Empedocles teaching an even more pronounced materialism than Parmenides, inasmuch as it is stated in language of superior precision. Our souls are, according to him, made up of elements like those that constitute the external world, each of these being perceived by a corresponding portion of the same substances within ourselves—fire by fire, water by water, and so on with the rest. It is a mistake to suppose that speculation begins from a subjective stand-point, that men start with a clear consciousness of their own personality, and proceed to construct an objective universe after the same

pattern. Doubtless they are too prone to personify the blind forces of Nature, and Empedocles himself has just supplied us with an example of this tendency, but they err still more by reading outward experience into their own souls, by materialising the processes of consciousness, and resolving human personality into a loose confederacy of inorganic units. Even Plato, who did more than any one else towards distinguishing between mind and body, ended by laying down his psychology on the lines of an astronomical system. Meanwhile to have separated the perception of an object from the object itself, in ever so slight a degree, was an important gain to thought. We must not omit to notice a hypothesis by which Empedocles sought to elucidate the mechanism of sensation, and which was subsequently adopted by the whole atomic school; indeed, as will presently be shown, we have reason to believe that the whole atomic theory was developed out of it. He held that emanations were being continually thrown off from the surfaces of bodies, and that they penetrated into the organs of sense through fine passages or pores. This may seem a crude guess, but it is at any rate much more scientific than Aristotle's explanation. According to the latter, possibilities of feeling are converted into actualities by the presence of an object, in other words we feel when and because we do; a safe assertion, but hardly an addition to our positive knowledge of the subject.

We have seen how Greek thought had arrived at a perfectly just conception of the process by which all physical transformations are effected. The whole extended universe is an aggregate of bodies, while each single body is formed by a combination of everlasting elements, and is destroyed by their separation. But if Empedocles was right, if these primary substances were no other than the fire, air, water, and earth of everyday experience, what became of the Heracleitean law, confirmed by common observation, that so far from remaining unaltered they were continually passing into one another? To this question the atomic theory gave an answer so conclusive, that, although ignored or contemned by later schools, it was revived with the great revival of science in the sixteenth century, was successfully employed in the explanation of every order of phenomena, and still remains the basis of all physical inquiry. The undulatory theory of light, the law of universal gravitation, and the laws of chemical combination can only be expressed in terms implying the existence of atoms; the laws of gaseous diffusion and of thermodynamics generally can only be understood with their help; and the latest developments of chemistry have tended still further to establish their reality, as well as to elucidate their remarkable properties. In the absence of sufficient information it is difficult to deter-

mine by what steps this admirable hypothesis was evolved. Yet, even without external evidence, we may fairly conjecture that, sooner or later, some philosopher, possessed of a high generalising faculty, would infer that if bodies are continually throwing off a flux of infinitesimal particles from their surfaces, they must be similarly subdivided all through, and that if the organs of sense are honeycombed with imperceptible pores, such may also be the universal constitution of matter. Now, according to Aristotle, Leucippus, the founder of atomism, did actually use the second of these arguments, and employed it in particular to prove, against Empedocles, the existence of indivisible solids. Other considerations equally obvious suggested themselves from another quarter. If all change was expressible in terms of matter and motion, then gradual change implied interstitial motion, which again involved the necessity of fine pores to serve as channels for the incoming and outgoing molecular streams. Nor, as was supposed, could motion of any kind be conceived without a vacuum, the second great postulate of the atomic theory. Here its advocates directly joined issue with Parmenides. The chief of the Eleatic school had, as we have seen, presented being under the form of a homogeneous sphere, absolutely continuous but limited in extent. Space dissociated from matter was to him, as afterwards to Aristotle, non-existent and impossible. It was, he exclaimed, inconceivable, nonsensical. Unhappily inconceivability is about the worst negative criterion of truth ever yet invented. His challenge was now taken up by the Atomists, who boldly affirmed that if non-being meant empty space, it was just as conceivable and just as necessary as being. A further stimulus may have been received from the Pythagorean school, whose doctrines had just at this time been systematised and committed to writing by Philolaus, its most eminent disciple. The hard saying that all things were made out of number might be explained and confirmed if the integers were interpreted as material atoms.

It will have been observed that so far the merit of originating atomism has been attributed to Leucippus instead of to the more celebrated Democritus with whose name it is usually associated. The two were fast friends, and seem always to have worked together in perfect harmony. But Leucippus, although next to nothing is known of his life, was apparently the older man, and from him, so far as we can make out, emanated the great idea which his brilliant coadjutor carried into every department of inquiry, and set forth in works that are a loss to literature as well as to science, for the poetic splendour of their style was not less remarkable than the encyclopædic range of their contents. Democritus was born at Abdera, a Thracian city, 470 B.C., a

year before Socrates, and lived to a very advanced age—more than a hundred, according to some accounts. However this may be, he was probably like most of his great countrymen possessed of immense vitality. His early manhood was spent in Eastern travel, and he was not a little proud of the numerous countries that he had visited, and the learned men with whom he had conversed. His time was mostly occupied in observing Nature and in studying mathematics; the sages of Asia and Egypt may have acquainted him with many useful scientific facts, but we have seen that his philosophy was derived from purely Hellenic sources. A few fragments of his numerous writings still survive—the relics of an intellectual Ozymandias. In them are briefly shadowed forth the conceptions that Lucretius, or at least his modern English interpreters have made familiar to all educated men and women. Everything is the result of mechanical causation. Infinite worlds are formed by the collision of infinite atoms falling for ever downward through infinite space. No place is left for supernatural agency; nor are the unaided operations of Nature disguised under Olympian appellations. Democritus goes even further than Epicurus in his rejection of the popular mythology. His system provides no interstellar refuge for abdicated gods. He attributed a kind of objective existence to the apparitions seen in sleep and even a considerable influence for good or for evil, but denied that they were immortal. The old belief in a Divine Power had arisen from their activity and from meteorological phenomena of an alarming kind, but was destitute of any stronger foundation. For his own part he looked on the fiery spherical atoms as a universal reason or soul of the world without, however, assigning to them the distinct and commanding position occupied by a somewhat analogous principle in the system which we now proceed to examine, and with which our survey of early Greek thought will most fitly terminate.

Reasons have already been suggested for placing Anaxagoras last in order among the physical philosophers notwithstanding his priority in point of age to more than one of them. He was born, according to the most credible accounts, 510 B.C., at Clazomenæ, an Ionian city, and settled in Athens when twenty years of age. There he spent much the greater part of a long life, and there he would probably have remained until death but for a disgraceful outbreak of popular fanaticism. He was the intimate companion of Pericles, and Pericles had made many enemies by his domestic as well as by his foreign policy. A coalition of harassed interests and offended prejudices was formed against him. A cry arose that religion and the Constitution were in danger. The Athenians had too much good sense to dismiss their great Democratic Minister, but they permitted the illus-

trious statesman's political opponents to strike at him through his friends. Aspasia was saved only by the tears of her lover. Pheidias, the grandest, most spiritual-minded artist of all time, was arrested on a charge of impiety, and died in a prison of the city whose temples were adorned with the imperishable monuments of his religious inspiration. A decree against "astronomers and atheists" was so evidently aimed at Anaxagoras that the philosopher retired to Lampsacus, where he died at the age of seventy-two universally admired and revered. His whole existence had been devoted to science. When asked what made life worth living, he answered, "The contemplation of the heavens and of the universal cosmic order." The reply was like a title-page to his works. We can see that specialisation was beginning, that the positive sciences were separating themselves from general theories about Nature, and could be cultivated independently of them. A single individual might, indeed, combine philosophy of the most comprehensive kind with a detailed inquiry into some particular order of phenomena, but he could do this without bringing the two studies into any immediate connection with each other. Such seems to have been the case with Anaxagoras. He was a professional astronomer and also the author of a modified atomic hypothesis. This, from its greater complexity, seems more likely to have been suggested by the purely quantitative conception of Leucippus than to have preceded it in the order of evolution. Democritus, and probably his teacher also, drew a very sharp distinction between what were afterwards called the primary and secondary qualities of matter. Extension and resistance alone had a real existence in Nature, while the attributes corresponding to our special sensations, such as temperature, taste, and colour, were only subjectively, or, as he expressed it, conventionally true. Anaxagoras affirmed no less strongly than his younger contemporaries that the sum of being can neither be increased nor diminished, that all things arise and perish by combination and division, and that bodies are formed out of indestructible elements; like the Atomists, again, he regarded these elementary substances as infinite in number and inconceivably minute; only he considered them as qualitatively distinct, and as resembling on an infinitesimal scale the highest compounds that they build up. Not only were gold, iron, and the other metals formed of homogeneous particles, but such substances as flesh, bone, and blood were according to him equally simple, equally decomposable into molecules of like nature with themselves. Thus, as Aristotle well observes, he reversed the method of Empedocles, and taught that earth, air, fire, and water were really the most complex of all bodies, since they supplied nourishment to the living tissues, and

therefore must contain within themselves the multitudinous variety of units by whose aggregation individualised organic substance is made up. Furthermore, our philosopher held that originally this intermixture had been still more thoroughgoing, all possible qualities being simultaneously present in the smallest particles of matter. The resulting state of chaotic confusion lasted until *Nous*, or Reason, came and segregated the heterogeneous elements by a process of continuous differentiation leading up to the present arrangement of things. Both Plato and Aristotle have commended Anaxagoras for introducing into speculation the conception of Reason as a cosmic world-ordering power, both have censured him for making so little use of his own great thought, for attributing almost everything to secondary, material, mechanical causes, for not everywhere applying the teleological method, in fact, for not anticipating the *Bridgewater Treatises* and proving that the world is constructed on a plan of perfect wisdom and goodness. Less fortunate than the Athenians, we cannot purchase Anaxagoras's work on Nature at an orchestral book stall for the moderate price of a drachma, but we know enough about its contents to correct the somewhat petulant and superficial criticism of a school perhaps less in sympathy than we are with its author's method of research. Evidently the Clazomenian philosopher did not mean by Reason an ethical force, a power that makes for human happiness or virtue, nor yet a reflecting intelligence, a designer adapting means to ends. To all appearances the *Nous* was not a spirit in the sense that we attach, or that Aristotle attached, to the term. It was, according to Anaxagoras, the subtlest and purest of all things, totally unmixed with other substances, and therefore able to control and bring them into order. This is not how men speak of an immaterial inextended consciousness. The truth is that no amount of physical science could create, although it might lead towards, a spiritualistic philosophy. Spiritualism first arose from the sophistic negation of an external world, from the exclusive study of man, from the Socratic search after general definitions. Yet if *Nous* originally meant intelligence, how could it lose this primary signification and become identified with a mere mode of matter? The answer is, that Anaxagoras, whose whole life was spent in tracing out the order of Nature, would instinctively think of his own intelligence as a discriminating, identifying faculty, would, consequently, conceive its objective counterpart under the form of a differentiating and integrating power. All preceding thinkers had represented their supreme being under material conditions, either as one element singly or as a sum total where elemental differences were merged. Anaxagoras differed from them chiefly by the very sharp distinction

drawn between his informing principle and the rest of Nature. The absolute intermixture of qualities that he presupposes bears a very strong resemblance both to the Sphairos of Empedocles and to the fiery consummation of Heracleitus, may even have been suggested by them. Only, what with them was the highest form of existence becomes with him the lowest; thought is asserting itself more and more, and interpreting the law of evolution in accordance with its own imperious demands.

A world where ordering reason was not only raised to supreme power, but also jealously secluded from all communion with lower forms of existence, meant to popular imagination a world from which divinity had been withdrawn. The astronomical teaching of Anaxagoras was well calculated to increase a not unfounded alarm. Underlying the local tribal mythology of Athens and of Greece generally, was an older, deeper Nature-worship, chiefly directed towards those heavenly luminaries that shone so graciously on all men, and to which all men yielded, or were supposed to yield, grateful homage in return. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. Every Athenian citizen from Nicias to Strepsiades would feel his own belief strengthened by such a universal concurrence of authority. Two generations later Plato held fast to the same conviction, severely denouncing its impugners, whom he would, if possible, have silenced with the heaviest penalties. To Aristotle, also, the heavenly bodies were something far more precious and perfect than anything in our sublunary sphere, something to be spoken of only in language of enthusiastic and passionate love. At a far later period Marcus Aurelius could refer to them as visible gods; and just before the final extinction of Paganism highly-educated men still offered up their orisons in silence and secrecy to the moon. Judge, then, with what horror an orthodox public received Anaxagoras's announcement that the moon shone only by reflected light, that she was an earthy body, and that her surface was intersected with mountains and ravines, besides being partially built over. The bright Selônê, the Queen of Heaven, the most interesting and sympathetic of goddesses, whose phases so vividly recalled the course of human life, who was firmly believed to bring fine weather at her return and to take it away at her departure, was degraded into a cold, dark, senseless clod. Democritus observed sneeringly that all this had been known a long time in the Eastern countries where he had travelled. Possibly; but fathers of families could not have been more disturbed if it had been a brand new discovery. The sun, too, they were told, was a red-hot stone larger than Peloponnesus—a somewhat unwieldy size even for a Homeric god. Socrates, little as he cared about physical investigations generally, took this theory very seriously

to heart, and attempted to show by a series of distinctions that sun-heat and fire-heat were essentially different from each other. A duller people than the Athenians would probably have shown far less suspicion of scientific innovations. Men who were accustomed to anticipate the arguments of an orator before they were half out of his mouth, with whom the extraction of reluctant admissions by cross-examination was habitually used as a weapon of attack and defence in the public law courts and practised as a game in private circles, who were perpetually on their guard against insidious attacks from foreign and domestic foes, had minds ready trained to the work of an inquisitorial priesthood. An Athenian, moreover, had mythology at his fingers' ends; he was accustomed to see its leading incidents placed before him on the stage not only with intense realism, but with a systematic adaptation to the demands of common experience, and a careful concatenation of cause and effect that gave his belief in them all the force of a rational conviction while retaining all the charm of a supernatural creed. Then, again, the constitution of Athens less than that of any other Greek State could be worked without the devoted, self-denying co-operation of her citizens, and in their minds sense of duty was inseparably associated with religious belief based in its turn on mythological traditions. A great poet has said, and said truly, that Athens was "on the will of man as on a mount of diamond set," but the crystallising force which gave that collective human will such clearness, and keenness, and tenacity was faith in the protecting presence of a diviner Will at whose withdrawal it would have crumbled into dust. Lastly, the Athenians had no genius for natural science; none of them were ever distinguished as savans. They looked on the new knowledge much as Swift looked on it two thousand years afterwards. It was, they thought, a miserable trifling waste of time, not productive of any practical good, breeding conceit in young men, and quite unworthy of receiving any attention from orators, soldiers, and statesmen. Pericles, indeed, thought differently, but Pericles was as much beyond his age when he talked about Nature with Anaxagoras as when he charged Aspasia with the government of his household and the entertainment of his guests.

These reflections are offered, not as an excuse for, but as an explanation of Athenian intolerance, a phenomenon for the rest unparalleled in ancient Greece. We cannot say that men were then or ever have been logically obliged to choose between atheism and superstition. If instead of using *Nous* as a half-contemptuous nickname for the Clazomenian stranger, his contemporaries had taken the trouble to understand what *Nous* really meant, they might have found in it the possibility of a

deep religious significance ; they might have identified it with all that was best and purest in their own guardian goddess Athênê , have recognised it as the very foundation of their own most characteristic excellencies . But vast spiritual revolutions are not so easily accomplished , and when before the lapse of many years Nous was again presented to the Athenian people, this time actually personified as an Athenian citizen, it was again misunderstood, again rejected, and became the occasion for a display of the same persecuting spirit, unhappily pushed to a more fatal extreme

Under such unfavourable auspices did philosophy find a home in Athens. The great maritime capital had drawn to itself every other species of intellectual eminence, and this could not fail to follow with the rest. But philosophy, although hitherto identified with mathematical and physical science, held unexhausted possibilities of development in reserve . According to a well-known legend, Thales once fell into a tank while absorbed in gazing at the stars . An old woman advised him to look at the tank in future, for there he would see the water and the stars as well. Others after him had got into similar difficulties, and might seek to evade them by a similar artifice . While busied with the study of cosmic evolution, they had stumbled unawares on some perplexing mental problems. Why do the senses suggest beliefs so much at variance with those arrived at by abstract reasoning ? Why should reason be more trustworthy than sense ? Why are the foremost Hellenic thinkers so hopelessly disagreed ? What is the criterion of truth ? Of what use are conclusions that cannot command universal assent ? Or, granting that truth is discoverable, how can it be communicated to others ? Such were some of the questions now beginning urgently to press for a solution . " I sought for myself," said Heracleitus in his oracular style . His successors had to do even more—to seek not only for themselves but for others , to study the beliefs, habits, and aptitudes of their hearers with profound sagacity in order to win admission for the lessons they were striving to impart . And when a systematic investigation of human nature had once begun it could not stop short with a mere analysis of the intellectual faculties , what a man did was after all so very much more important than what he knew, was in truth that which alone gave his knowledge any practical value whatever. Moral distinctions, too, were beginning to grow uncertain . When every other traditional belief had been shaken to its foundations, when men were taught to doubt the evidence of their own senses, it was not to be expected that the conventional laws of conduct, at no time very exact or consistent, would continue to be accepted on the authority of ancient usage. Thus, every kind of deter-

involving a possible revelation of past history, of the wondrous adventures that each individual had passed through before assuming his present form. Hence the peculiar force of Pindar's congratulation to the partaker in the Eleusinian mysteries; after death he knows not only "the end of life," but also "its god-given beginning." Even the present was not intelligible until it had been projected back into the past or interpreted by the light of some ancient tale. Sappho in her famous ode to Aphroditê recalls the incidents of a former passion precisely similar to the unrequited love that now agitates her heart, and describes at length how the goddess then came to her relief as she is now implored to come again. Modern critics have spoken of this curious literary artifice as a sign of delicacy and reserve. We may be sure that Sappho was an utter stranger to such feelings; she ran her thoughts into a predetermined mould just as a bee builds its wax into hexagonal cells. Curtius, the German historian, has surmised with much plausibility that the entire legend of Troy owes its origin to this habit of throwing back contemporary events into a distant past. According to his view the characters and scenes recorded by Homer, although unhistorical as they now stand, had really a place in the Achæan colonisation of Asia Minor. But, apart from any disguised allusions, old stories had an inexhaustible charm for the Greek imagination. Even during the stirring events of the Peloponnesian war elderly Athenian citizens in their hours of relaxation talked of nothing but mythology. When a knowledge of reading became universally diffused, and books could be had at a moderate price, ancient legends seem to have been the favourite literature of the lower classes, just as among ourselves in Caxton's time. Still more must the same taste have prevailed a century earlier. A student who opens Pindar's epinician odes for the first time is surprised to find so little about the victorious combatants and the struggles in which they took part, so much about mythical adventures seemingly unconnected with the ostensible subject of the poem. Furthermore we find that genealogies were the framework by which these distant recollections were held together. Most noble families traced their descent back to a god or to a god-like hero. The entire interval separating the historical period from the heroic age was filled up with more or less fictitious pedigrees. A man's ancestry was much the most important part of his biography. It is likely that Herodotus had just as enthusiastic an admiration as we can have for Leonidas. Yet one fancies that a historian of later date would have shown his appreciation of the Spartan king in a rather different fashion. We should have been told something about the hero's personal appearance, and perhaps some characteristic inci-

dents from his earlier career would have been related. Not so with Herodotus. He pauses in the story of Thermopylæ to give us the genealogy of Leonidas up to Hercules; no more and no less. That was the highest compliment he could pay, and it is repeated for Pausanias, the victor of Platæa. The genealogical method was capable of wide extension, and could be applied to other than human or animal relationships. Hesiod's Theogony is a genealogy of heaven and earth, and all that in them is. According to Æschylus gain is bred from gain, slaughter from slaughter, woe from woe. Insolence bears a child like unto herself, and this in turn gives birth to a still more fatal progeny. The same poet terminates his enumeration of the flaming signals that sped the message of victory from Troy to Argos, by describing the last beacon as "not ungrandsired by the Idæ in fire." Now, when the Greek genius had begun to move in any direction, it rushed forward without pausing until arrested by an impassable limit, and then turned back to retrace at leisure the whole interval separating that limit from its point of departure. Thus, the ascending lines of ancestry were followed up until they led to a common father of all; every series of outrages was traced through successive reprisals back to an initial crime; and more generally every event was affiliated on a preceding event, until the whole chain had been attached to an ultimate self-existing cause. Hence the records of origination, invention, spontaneity were long sought after with an eagerness that threw almost every other interest into the shade. "Glory be to the inventor," sings Pindar, in his address to victorious Corinth; "whence came the graces of the dithyrambic hymn, who first set the double eagle on the temples of the gods?" The Prometheus of Æschylus tells how civilisation began, and the trilogy to which it belongs was probably intended to show how the supremacy of Zeus was first established and secured. A great part of the Agamemnon deals with events long anterior to the opening of the drama, but connected as ultimate causes with the terrible catastrophe which it represents. In the Eumœides we see how the family, as it now exists, was first constituted by the substitution of paternal for maternal headship, and also how the worship of the Avenging Goddesses was first introduced into Athens, as well as how the Areopagite tribunal was founded. It is very probable that Sophocles's earliest work, the Triptolemus, represented the origin of agriculture, under a dramatic form; and if the same poet's later pieces, as well as all those of Euripides, stand on quite different ground, occupied as they are with subjects of contemporaneous, or rather of eternal interest, we must regard this as a proof that the whole current of Greek thought had taken a new direction, corresponding to that

simultaneously impressed on philosophy by Socrates and the Sophists.

Returning to our previous line of inquiry, we may note further that the *Æginetan* sculptures, executed soon after Salamis, though evidently intended to commemorate that victory, represent a conflict waged long before by the tutelary heroes of *Ægina* against an Asiatic foe. We may also see in our own British Museum how the birth of *Athênê* was recorded in a marble group on one pediment of the Parthenon, and the foundation of her chosen city on the other. The very temple which these majestic sculptures once adorned was a petrified memorial of antiquity, and, by the mere form of its architecture, must have carried back men's thoughts to the earliest Hellenic habitation, the simple structure in which a gabled roof was supported by cross-beams on a row of upright wooden posts. Turning back once more from art and literature to philosophy, is it not abundantly clear that if the Greeks speculated at all they must at first have speculated according to some such method as that which history proves them to have actually followed? They must have begun by fixing their thoughts as *Thales* and his successors did on the world's remotest past; they must have sought for a first cause of things and conceived it not as any spiritual power but as a kind of natural ancestor homogeneous with the forms that issued from it, although greater and more comprehensive than they were; in short, as an elemental body, water, air, fire, or more vaguely as an infinite substance. Did not the steady concatenation of cause and effect resemble the unrolling of a heroic genealogy? And did not the reabsorption of every individual existence in a larger whole translate into more general terms that subordination of personal to family and civic glory which is the diapason of *Pindar's* music? Yet, however, much may be accounted for by these considerations, they still leave something unexplained. Why should one thinker after another so unhesitatingly assume that the order of Nature as we know it has issued not merely from a different but from an exactly opposite condition, from universal confusion and chaos? Their experience was far too limited to tell them anything about those vast cosmic changes which we know by incontrovertible evidence to have already occurred, and to be again in course of preparation. We can only answer this question by bringing into view what may be called the negative moment of Greek thought. The science of contraries is one, says *Aristotle*, and it certainly was so to his countrymen. Not only did they delight to bring together the extremes of weal and woe, of pride and abasement, of security and disaster, but whatever they most loved and clung to in reality seemed to interest their imagination most powerfully

by its removal, its reversal, or its overthrow. The Athenians were peculiarly intolerant of regal government and of feminine interference in politics. In Athenian tragedy the principal actors are kings and royal ladies. The Athenian matrons occupied a position of exceptional dignity and seclusion. They are brought upon the comic stage to be covered with the coarsest ridicule and also to interfere decisively in the conduct of public affairs. Aristophanes was profoundly religious himself, and wrote for a people whose religion, as we have seen, was pushed to the extreme of bigotry. Yet he shows as little respect for the gods as for the wives and sisters of his audience. To take a more general example still, the whole Greek tragic drama is based on the idea of family kinship, and that institution was made most interesting to Greek spectators by the violation of its eternal sanctities, by unnatural hatred, and still more unnatural love; or by a fatal misconception that causes the hands of innocent persons, more especially of tender women, to be armed against their nearest and dearest relatives in utter unconsciousness of the awful guilt about to be incurred. By an extension of the same psychological law to abstract speculation we are enabled to understand how an early Greek philosopher who had come to look on Nature as a cosmos, an orderly whole, consisting of diverse but connected and interdependent parts, could not properly grasp such a conception until he had substituted for it one of a precisely opposite character out of which he reconstructed it by a process of gradual evolution. And if it is asked how in the first place did he come by the idea of a cosmos, our answer must be that he found it in Greek life, in societies distinguished by a many-sided but harmonious development of concurrent functions, and by voluntary obedience to an impersonal law. Thus, then, the circle is complete; we have returned to our point of departure and again recognise in Greek philosophy a systematised expression of the Greek national genius.

We must now bring this long and complicated, but it is hoped not uninteresting, study to a close. We have accompanied philosophy to a point where it enters on a new field, and embraces themes sufficiently important to form the subject of a separate review. The contributions made by its first cultivators to our positive knowledge have already been summarised. It remains to mention that there was nothing of a truly transcendental character about their speculations. Whatever extension we may give to that terrible bugbear, the Unknowable, they did not trespass on its domain. Heracleitus and his compeers, while penetrating far beyond the horizon of their age and country, kept very nearly within the limits of a possible experience. They confused some conceptions that we have learned to

distinguish, and separated others that we have learned to combine; but they were the lineal progenitors of our highest scientific thought; and they first broke ground on a path where we must continue to advance under pain of seeing our intellectual activity degenerate into a plaything of senseless terrors or an instrument for the satisfaction of ignoble greed.

ART. III.—THE GRAND DUKES OF TUSCANY.

Geschichte Toscana's seit dem Ende des Florentinischen Freistaates. Von ALFRED VON REUMONT. I. Band. *Die Medici.* J. 1530—1737. Gotha, 1876. II. Band. *Haus Lothringen-Habsburg.* J. 1737—1859. Gotha, 1877.

THE great drama of Florentine history closes appropriately with a great catastrophe. The curtain falls on the last struggles of the Republic, and so completely has it absorbed the interest of the spectators that they no longer care to follow the fortunes of the city which survived her liberties. From the poetical point of view her life is ended, and her story completed with her surrender of independence, and we scarcely wish to know how she bore her bereavement and reconciled herself to the yoke of a new lord. The old tragedians understood their art when they swept away all their leading characters at the close of the piece, leaving no possibilities of after-life to mar the completeness of the crowning triumph of despair. Sympathy flags after having reached the utmost point of tension, and a great crisis makes subsequent events seem tame and uninteresting. Nor are historians, perhaps, to be severely blamed if their view of facts is unconsciously modified by a sense of sentimental fitness, and if they occasionally narrate rather in the spirit of dramatists than of chroniclers. Florence is so fair a heroine, and has so much of romance in her story, that there is a certain temptation to treat it from an imaginative point of view, and to heighten its effect by blackening the memory of her oppressors while idealising that of her champions. We may almost be excused if we sometimes forget that her real prosperity dates from her imaginary ruin, and that the yoke of her so-called tyrants was light in comparison with that of her would-be deliverers.

Baron von Reumont has then rendered a double service to the cause of historical truth in treating of an epoch hitherto

neglected for the more dramatic events which preceded it, while at the same time, clearing away some of the prepossessions those stirring times had left behind. The martyred Republic, like all political martyrs, shed a halo of fictitious glory on the cause for which she suffered ; and a heroic end in the case of the municipality as of an individual has blinded history to the true merits of the antecedent career. On a closer examination lovers of liberty will find little to regret in a system which made democratic forms the servile instrument of the tyranny of faction, and enabled each little clique in turn to triumph over its adversaries in the sternest excesses of political persecution. The bare idea of genuine liberty had never entered into a society where power was only desired as an instrument of oppression, and where commonwealths and individuals alike regarded licence to slay or proscribe as the highest prerogative of authority.

The early annals of Florence, like those of all her sister municipalities, are written in blood ; for the first vivifying spirit that animated these little political units was an instinct of mutual destruction. The internecine war, revealed by the microscope among the denizens of a drop of water, is not more unreasoning or ferocious than the series of reciprocal aggressions with which the Italian Republics made their *début* in history. Florence, while yet under the nominal suzerainty of the great Countess Matilda, asserted her independence by making war on her neighbours, and was thenceforward engaged in almost perpetual hostilities against Lucca, Pisa, or Siena. The cities, in that early phase of their existence, exercised no jurisdiction beyond the circuit of their walls ; and the intervening country was ruled by territorial magnates holding their fiefs immediately of the Empire. These chieftains, descended from the Lombard invaders of the sixth century, had kept their fierce Teutonic race uncontaminated by any admixture with the conquered people ; and living in their rural strongholds, under their own law, and surrounded by their hereditary retainers, had remained a nation of aliens encamped upon the soil. The great social revolution, by which their territory was gradually absorbed and their privileges curtailed through the growth of the adjacent commonwealths, was accomplished gradually and silently ; until, about the middle of the twelfth century, the despised burghers were strong enough to compel the proud feudal nobles to reside within their municipal boundaries.

They brought with them to their new abode their turbulent and domineering spirit, and grouping themselves together by tribes and clans, according to hereditary classification, reared great piles of rock-faced masonry in the heart of the cities, and made their towers high, and their battlements strong. Shorn of

the substantial jurisdiction, in those days implied by titles of nobility, they claimed no nominal rank, but transmitted the tradition of their superiority of race, and exalted caste privileges, as the proudest inheritance of their posterity.

The seeds of dissension were sown in their ranks by the infusion into them of a new element. The successive Frankish and German emperors from Charlemagne down, had lavished on their followers, fiefs and investitures in Italy, thus creating a nobility of more recent Teutonic origin, beside that descended from the older Lombard stock. This diversity of extraction divided the upper classes into two sections, of which the one would naturally maintain the ascendancy of the Imperial power which had ennobled their ancestors, while the other would entertain a hereditary grudge against it, as the supplanter of their national dynasty. And thus when the cry of Guelph and Ghibelline was suddenly raised throughout Italy, it was but the spark that exploded a mine of smouldering hates and jealousies, kindling among the rival aristocracies that fury of inveterate animosity which convulsed the cities of the Peninsula for so many generations.

During that time every square and market-place was a battle-ground, whose pavement was slippery with blood whenever the opposing parties chanced to meet there; street armed itself against street, and housetop against housetop; the inhabitants of one quarter of the city carried on hostilities against the other, beleagured and beleaguers in turn; and deadly missiles were launched from roof to roof of adjoining dwellings, by the engines of destruction arming the palace towers. Each party, as it temporarily gained the ascendant, enforced a ruthless decree of proscription and confiscation against its defeated adversaries, so that half the influential citizens of every town, on the one side or the other, as the chances of war decreed, were outlawed and banished from their homes. These exiles hovered on the frontiers of their native State, seeking for opportunities to devastate its territories, and stirring up enemies against it, in any neighbouring community, where their party chanced to be in power. Then, when Italy became the battle-ground of rival potentates, their aid was eagerly sought by the contending factions, who were thus alternately triumphant and proscribed, as the balance of power shifted between France and Germany.

Such were some of the results produced by the rule of the alien aristocracy in the Italian cities; but in Florence a counter-balancing element gradually rose to dispute its supremacy, in the growing wealth and importance of the upper *bourgeoisie*. In 1292, the first attempt to check the overweening insolence of the nobles was made by Giano della Bella, himself a man of good

birth. Under him was instituted the office of *gonfaloniere di giustizia*, with a guard of a thousand armed men attached to it; while two other laws were passed, both directed against the influence of the upper classes, and conceived in a spirit of severe exclusiveness. By the one the whole clan or *consorteria* was rendered responsible for the outrages committed by its members; while the other declared the whole body of the aristocracy or *grandi* ineligible for offices of State. The families thus excluded were defined as those which had ever had knights or *cavalieri* among their members, and were thirty-three in number. Although these enactments produced no immediate effect in checking the turbulence of the great nobles, and were followed by the scenes of violence and anarchy that signalised the feuds of the Cerchi and Donati, yet thenceforward the wealthy burghers began to take a more and more prominent part in public matters, as well as in the lawless excesses of their patrician rivals.

Among these *popolani grassi*, or “fat citizens,” one family soon began to make themselves conspicuous by their stirring spirit, and the pages of the early chroniclers make frequent mention of a name destined to be still more familiar to later history. The Medici came originally from the Mugello, a mountainous district in the Apennines, to the north of Florence, where they had held land for generations. Obsequious genealogists have sought to illustrate their pedigree by various mythical additions, one of which gives them Perseus as an ancestor, and identifies the *palle* of their coat-of-arms with the golden apples of the Hesperides; while another traces their origin to a warrior of the Mugello, who defeated a famous giant in single combat, and obtained from Charlemagne the privilege of commemorating in the bosses of his shield the dints it had received from the monster’s blows. They were probably descended, in reality, from some stout Lombard arimann, or man-at-arms, as their race bore, for generations, the impress of Teutonic vigour in its hereditary stamp. Their name was doubtless adopted when they migrated to Florence; and, in conformity with the law which required association in a trade guild as a preliminary to exercising the rights of citizenship, inscribed themselves among the physicians, with Sts. Cosmas and Damian as their patrons. Their dwellings formed a compact knot in the Mereato Vecchio, the stirring heart of Florence.

While history records many names greater than that of any individual Medici, it is not too much to say that no one race has ever, through so many generations, given leaders to the march of thought, and influenced the destinies of humanity. Combining administrative and artistic instinct in a measure never attained before or since, it was their mission at once to close the

era of anarchy in Florence, thereby giving her leisure and tranquillity to play her great part in the history of culture, and at the same time to foster all forms of genius by their personal encouragement and appreciation, making Italy the centre and rallying-point of the dawning civilisation of Europe. Cosimo was the pillar of the earlier Renaissance, as Lorenzo and Leo X. were of the later, and these three men moulded the art and literature of their time, and stamped their impress on the currency of human thought for ever.

Before the close of the thirteenth century, the Medici had already, in 1296 and 1299, given two *gonfalonieri* to Florence; and in 1314, Averardo, another of the family, filled the same office. It was, however, in that rising of the classes deprived of the political franchise, known as the riots of the *Ciompi*, or wool-carders, that the great citizen-house was first recognised as the bulwark of the Florentine democracy, and their policy thenceforward was to rely on the lower classes for support, against the usurpation of the rival oligarchy, of which the Albizi, a family originally transplanted from Arezzo, were the hereditary chiefs. They were absolute in Florence for half a century; but the Medici for several generations continued to consolidate their power and influence in the State. Giovanni, distinguished as the son of Averardo, or *Bicci*, laid the foundation of their colossal fortune by his successful banking enterprises; while his prudence and discretion avoided a collision with the power his son was destined to overthrow.

In Cosmo's character, caution and daring, patience in waiting for the maturity of events, and rapidity in seizing the moment of action when it came, intuitive perception in gauging the complex force acting on society, and skill in turning them to his own account, insight into other men's motives, and subtle craft in concealing his own, formed that extraordinary combination of qualities which make up the sum of what we call genius. A consummate tactician, he broadened the basis of his power ingratiating himself with the lower classes, while he formed his party of men too insignificant to stand alone, and deriving their sole importance from his reflected greatness. His adversaries did not, however, give way without a struggle, in which he was nearly crushed. He was arrested and imprisoned, but they committed the fatal error of sparing his life, and condemning him to exile from the city.

His absence only proved how indispensable he was to its welfare. The unskilled hands of his enemies were utterly unequal to the direction of the State machine they had wrested from him; public affairs fell into the utmost disorder; chaos reigned in every branch of the administration, and his native city, conscious of her loss,

at the end of a year, recalled Cosmo by acclamation. His departure had been the exile of a disgraced citizen ; his return resembled a royal progress. The joy of the people showed itself in the triumphal honours of his reception ; and Florence, having learned his worth in absence, threw herself at his feet in repentant submission. His enemies were slain or banished ; his power was established beyond the possibility of its overthrow ; and the date of his return, 1434, marks the establishment of the Medicean dynasty.

Cosmo died full of years and honours, after thirty years of prosperous administration, and the slab, covering his tomb in front of the high altar of San Lorenzo, records, in its simple inscription, *Pater Patriae*, the gratitude of his fellow citizens who decreed him the title. Of his two sons, one preceded him to the grave ; and the other, all his life a martyr to gout, the hereditary disease of his family, followed him thither in five years.

Lorenzo, at the age of twenty-one, succeeded to the position of chief of the State, now became an inheritance in his house, and doubled its popularity by his geniality and exquisite tact. His character, though gentler and more engaging than that of his grandfather, was wanting in some of the qualities which enabled the sagacious old merchant-prince to found a dynasty. The financial ability, which was the basis of the fortunes of his house, was entirely absent in Lorenzo ; and his encroachments on the public funds to supply the expenditure his own income could no longer meet, is the chief stain on his administration.

The principal source of Lorenzo's power was the personal fascination he exercised over others ; no small element of authority in a little community like Florence, where the aspect of the ruler must have been familiarly known to every citizen. This charm was owing to no external gifts, for his features were irregular and his voice defective and broken, but must have emanated from a mind and disposition whose faint reflection on the page of history still has power to win our hearts after the lapse of four centuries. An intense yearning for the sympathy of others is expressed in his face, and the haggard eyes that haunt us from Vasari's canvas seem still animated by this passionate longing. The desire for popularity was thus probably, in him, an instinct of his nature, irrespective of the desire for power, which coexisted with it. Of Lorenzo's mental gifts, his artistic appreciation was the one in which he far outstripped all his contemporaries ; and it may be said that his mind, anticipating the results of all subsequent culture, had reached the same level of æsthetic perception attained by modern taste. Florentine society, under his influence, touched its meridian of

intellectual cultivation; but the moral tone of the population was lowered, by the licence given to public amusements and spectacles, a decline against which Savonarola's preaching was one indignant protest.

The tyranny of Cosmo and Lorenzo, who had not a single man-at-arms in their pay, was the tyranny of intellectual supremacy alone, representing the power exerted by the greatest mind in a small community. The personal character of their sway was shown in the utter failure of Piero, the weak and frivolous son of the Magnifico, to maintain the family ascendancy. By that curious freak of race, which resembles a fault in stratification, he, however, transmitted the qualities he did not himself possess, and the hereditary type of his house, after missing two generations, reappeared in the third, in his granddaughter Catherine, Queen of France.

His brief reign of two years ended in ignominious expulsion, and he died in exile, fighting in the service of France. But the accession to the Pontificate of his brother Giovanni (Leo X.) temporarily restored the fortunes of his family, and Piero's son, Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, was installed in the palace in Via Larga as ruler of Florence. The early deaths of this prince and of his uncle Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, second son of the Magnifico, without lawful heirs, were a fresh blow to the hopes of the dynasty, as in them was extinguished the line of Cosmo Pater Patriae, the reigning branch of the house. There remained, indeed, three descendants whose birth did not entitle them to be ranked as representatives of the family rights; but this blot on the scutcheon was overlooked in the desire to keep the line unbroken, and Alexander, son of the Duke of Urbino, Ippolito, of the Duke of Nemours, and Giulio, sole offspring of the Magnifico's younger brother Giuliano, were adopted as the heirs of the house, to the exclusion of the legitimate collateral branch.

Giulio, created Cardinal by Leo X., ruled Florence for some years as regent for his young cousins, and when he went to Rome to fill the Papal Chair as Clement VII., left Cardinal Passerini as his legate. But the sack of Rome by Bourbon's troops in 1527 was followed instantly by a rising of the Florentine populace, and the flight of the young Medici and all their adherents. The austere rule of the "Piagnoni," as the disciples of Savonarola were called, followed, and the sway of these Florentine Puritans was, under popular forms, a far more real tyranny than that which had preceded it. It was the triumph of a sect, of all forms of despotism the most odious, and its supporters carried out their tenets to the logical extreme of stern repression of all hostile opinion.

Clement's restoration was quickly followed by his compact

with Charles V., who undertook to reinstate the family in Florence by force of arms. The famous siege by the Imperial troops was the result, and the city, after a heroic defence of eleven months, was only driven to capitulate by the stress of famine, combined with the treachery of her commander-in-chief and the hostile intrigues within her walls. The external unanimity of the citizens was, in fact, the result of a true reign of terror. The merest suspicion of disaffection was punished with death, and an unfortunate priest (to take one instance out of many) was executed for an incautious remark on the personal beauty of the boy Cosmo, the future Grand Duke, then eleven years old.

It will thus be seen that the theocracy superseded by the later Medici was no ideal free government, any more than the oligarchical clique undermined and overthrown by their ancestors. The real reproach to which the dynasty is open is that its foundation was due to the triumph of foreign arms; as it is the true glory of the besieged Republicans to have struggled, not merely for popular government, but for national independence. The crime of Giulio and Alessandro in allying themselves with Spain against their native city not only affects the verdict of history on all the later scions of their house, but casts a retrospective shadow on the memory of their ancestors; and from Cosmo Pater Patriæ, the great founder of a great race, to Gian Gastone, its last and most degenerate descendant, the Medici, for ten generations, have suffered more or less in repute to the deed of their cousins under the bar sinister.

But those of the elder branch, though reviled by Republican historians, have left behind them in their works a splendid apology; and while their usurpation of power has been long forgiven, if not forgotten, the results they used that power to achieve are still the most glorious inheritance of their native city. The stones of Florence are eloquent in their praise, while the factious voices of their rivals in power are stilled for ever; all that was faulty in the results of their rule has passed away, the good it left behind is immortal and imperishable. Meantime the later princes of the house have been left almost entirely either to the panegyrics of Court flatterers or to the animadversions of political opponents, while the popular idea of the first Grand Duke is gathered from dramas and romances in which he figures as the evil genius. The Cosmo of Alfieri's tragedy "*Don Garzia*," and of Guerrazzi's novel "*Isabella Orsini*," owes his demoniacal attributes entirely to the lively fancy of those ultra-revolutionary writers, but has, nevertheless, a more substantial existence in many minds than the able and comparatively virtuous prince, whose character they will find summed up in the pages before us. And as there never was an age more disposed than

the present to cast aside all prepossession and reconsider the verdicts of the past, Baron von Reumont's work will not be the less welcome if it helps to readjust unfounded ideas, and correct false impressions as to the characters and times he treats of.

Having devoted a previous valuable study to the life and influence of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he makes his starting-point in the present work from the crisis where nearly all other modern historians, including Gino Capponi, have elected to leave off, and takes up the story of Florence after the momentous siege which decided her fate for three centuries. The capitulation signed on the 4th August, 1530, left the city absolutely at the disposal of Charles V., but though the hereditary presidency of the magistracy was then conferred by him on Alexander, Duke of Civit  di Penna, and his heirs, with reversion to his nearest kinsman in the male line, the Republican forms of Government endured for nearly two years longer. Owing to the intrigues of Clement VII. a still further modification in the Constitution then converted the State into a Principality, Giovan Francesco de' Nobili, memorable as closing the longer series of a thousand three hundred and seventy-two Gonfaloniers, resigned his office on the 1st of May, 1532, and Alexander, nicknamed the Moor, son of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, was proclaimed Duke of Florence to the old rallying cry of "Palle! Palle!"

There could scarcely have been a more unfortunate choice, or one less calculated to reconcile the citizens to the new order of things. Even after making every allowance for the prejudice excited against Alexander by his odious position as the nominee of a foreign potentate, even taking into account the embittered view taken of his character by the vanquished party, we must still regard him as a prince, devoid of all sense of public duty, and as a man without any law of conduct save his own evil desires. If he were, indeed, according to the popular belief, of Negro or Moorish descent on his mother's side, he fully realised the common idea ascribing low moral type of the African race. He was, however, by no means deficient in ability, and some of the measures adopted in the earlier part of his reign, while he yet devoted some attention to his administrative duties, were wise and well-considered, but he abandoned himself before long to the sole pursuit of pleasure. The sedate burghers, among whom the austere traditions of Savonarola yet survived, were scandalised by the wild revels now held in the palace in Via Larga, and by the nightly masquerading frolics of the Duke and his chamberlains; but the younger nobility at first found his gay doings a welcome change after the rule of the Piagnoni, and the lower populace rejoiced in the restored license of carnival

mummeries. There came, in fact, such a reaction as that after the Puritan *régime* in England, under the restored monarchy, and Alexander Medici personified the wild revulsion of public feeling as thoroughly as Charles Stuart.

He was early in his reign connected by marriage both with Spain and France; for in April, 1532, his half-sister Catherine, the fourteen year old bride of Henry, Duke of Orleans, played the hostess to the little Margaret of Austria, daughter of Charles V., who came at nine years of age to visit the dominions of her future husband on her way to Naples. And in September of the same year, the Duke escorted his sister as far as Porto Venere on the Gulf of Spezia, where she embarked on her way to France to enter on the eventful career that there awaited her. Secure in these powerful alliances, Alexander grew more overbearing and tyrannical, and the scandal caused by his riotous way of living, culminated in the maltreatment of a noble lady, Alessandra Mozzi Sacchetti, who was dragged from her home at night by his attendants, cruelly whipped, and left to languish for three days in the stables near St. Mark's. Her supposed crime was having given a philtre to the Duke to secure his volatile affections. The Pope addressed remonstrances to his kinsman in vain, and as Filippo Strozzi, hitherto the companion and preceptor in vice of the young Duke, who was his nephew by marriage, was inclined to take the part of the outraged lady, Clement tried to prevent further mischief by removing him from Florence, appointing him to escort Catherine on her journey to France. Then came a new scandal. Giuliano Salviati, one of the Duke's favourite companions, publicly insulted Luisa Strozzi, Filippo's beautiful and angelic daughter, at a ball, and was himself dangerously wounded by a midnight assassin shortly afterwards. The Strozzi brothers were suspected; the eldest, Piero, and two of his friends were arrested and lodged in the Bargello, and the Pope had to interfere for their release. The final catastrophe, however, which precipitated the exile and rebellion of the Strozzi, was the death of the unfortunate Luisa, then the wife of Luigi Capponi, which, occurring with mysterious suddenness, was ascribed to poison, and commonly regarded as the result of the Duke's pique at her rejection of his attentions. This tragical event forms the subject of one of the best Italian novels, "Luisa Strozzi," by Rosini, which gives a forcible picture of Alexander's tyranny.

The death of Clement VII. in September, 1534, and the election of Alexander Farnese (Paul III.), who was not favourable to the family of his predecessor, made Rome the rallying-point of the proscribed Florentine nobles, who, irritated by fresh severities and emboldened by the arrival of the Strozzi,

resolved to appeal to the Emperor for redress of their grievances. Meantime Florence was startled by another tragedy, a rumoured plot to destroy the Duke by blowing up a house where he was in the habit of passing some of his evenings, followed by the sudden deaths—again attributed to poison—of two of the supposed parties to the conspiracy. These were the poet Berni, celebrated for his jocose rhymes; and the Duke's cousin, the Cardinal Ippolito, who died at Itri, on his way to Naples, after a few days' illness. The investigation held by order of the Pope led to no result, but public opinion accused Alexander of the murder of his kinsman. Such were the events of the new *régime* forming a dark background to its revelries, which animated with unwonted life the sombre old palace reared by the elder Cosmo, as the cradle and stronghold of his race.

Charles V. had now reached Naples on his return from Tunis, and thither Alexander was summoned to answer in person the accusations of the exiled families. He was accompanied by a brilliant cortege of friends and adherents, among whom were two young kinsmen, Cosmo and Lorenzino, both descended in the fourth generation from Lorenzo, brother of Cosmo Pater Patriae, Lorenzino representing the elder branch. This is the first time that history mentions together the names of these three cousins, whose later destinies were intertwined in so dark a tragedy. Lorenzino was the most trusted intimate of the Duke, but Cosmo, a boy of fifteen, was under the tutelage of his mother, and habitually lived in retirement at his villa in the country,

Two historians, Jacopo Nardi and Francesco Guicciardini, stated the case on opposite sides; the latter for the Duke, whose influence with the Emperor triumphed over his opponents. They were so disgusted with the partial decree of amnesty he would have accorded them, that they preferred to reject it altogether, and declined to return on sufferance to their native city. Alexander's solemn betrothal to Margaret of Austria took place before he left Naples on the 29th of February, 1536; and in the following May the Emperor visited Florence, passing one night at the Certosa outside the Porta Romana, and the following seven days in visiting the sights of the city. Shortly after the bride made her entry in state attended by the Vice-Queen of Naples, and the marriage was celebrated with great splendour. The old Florentine costume was laid aside, and Spanish fashions adopted by Alexander and his courtiers during these festivities, while the etiquette of a Court, without its decorum, was gradually introduced into his circle. An amnesty was proclaimed at the same time, but few of the exiles condescended to avail themselves of it.

Alexander's days were numbered, but there was no change in

his way of life, nor did his bride, who was but a child, receive much of his attention. On Saturday night the 5th of January, 1537, the eve of the Epiphany was celebrated in Florence, as it still is, with the extraordinary uproar of the *Befana*. The hoarse braying of glass trumpets, the sharp dissonance of every kind of bird-call and whistle, the clash of cymbals, the roll of drums, fill the streets to a late hour on this anniversary with a perfect pandemonium of sound, which heard from the heights surrounding the city and mellowed into unison by distance, resembles the agitated hum of a great hive roused by an intruding enemy. Such a night of tumult Lorenzino, called from his deed "the Tuscan Brutus," selected as his opportunity, luring the Duke by a stratagem to pass it in his dwelling, then separated by a narrow street from the palace in *Via Larga*.

History is nowhere so vivid to the imagination as in Florence, where the stones of the old palaces testify with mute eloquence to the scenes they witnessed; where every street has a memory, and every house is a monument. A record of Alexander's murder still survives by the desire of Cosmo his successor, who decreed that no building should ever be erected over the room in which it took place; and the traveller approaching the great fortress palace of the Medici from San Lorenzo cannot fail to observe how the wall at one spot breaks off abruptly at the first floor, while the rest of the mass towers above it. This part of the building, now joined to its main portion by later additions which have effaced the old "*Via del Traditore*," was the house of Lorenzino, and here the death-struggle took place; when bending over the Duke as he lay in bed, and whispering in his ear false words of reassurance, "My lord, are you sleeping? My lord, are you afraid?" he suddenly grappled with him, beckoning forth at the same time the hired assassin whom he had in concealment to assist in the work of slaughter. Even thus over-matched and taken at disadvantage, Alexander, a vigorous young man, fought hard for life, and died at last with his strong white teeth clenched in the thumb of his treacherous kinsman.

Such was the evil life and dark end of the first Duke of Florence, a man who ill became honours unmerited either by his birth or conduct. His remains, in the confusion and agitation which followed his death, were hastily rolled in a carpet, and borne with scant ceremony to the small adjoining church of San Giovannino, whence they were carried to the sacristy of San Lorenzo, and rudely thrust into the sarcophagus which contained those of his father, the Duke of Urbino. Here they were found nearly three centuries and a half later, when, in February, 1875, the lid was removed to set at rest a doubt as to the identity of

Michael Angelo's monumental statues of the two Dukes. The delicately embroidered linen shirt which he wore the night of his murder was still visible, but crumbled into dust on the admission of the air. The shape of the skull did not confirm the popular idea of his Negro origin, as it was well-proportioned and of rather elegant contour, and the teeth were small, regular, and singularly perfect. His hair, which, if portraits or tradition can be trusted, was very dark, must have lost its colour with time, as it was found to be of a dull, sandy hue.

The murderer, who had provided himself with a pass for leaving Florence, rode that night with his accomplice, over the Apennines to Bologna. He boasted there of his deed; but his story was not believed at first, and he reached Venice in safety, where, after the lapse of years, the relentless vengeance of Cosmo overtook him in the stiletto of an assassin. Many attributed the eagerness of the latter in the pursuit, rather to the desire to dispose of a rival claimant to the throne, than to punish the deed which had rendered it vacant for himself. By bringing up Giuliano, Lorenzino's brother, to the priesthood, he secured the extinction of a branch of the family senior to his own. Lorenzino's motive for the murder seems to have been a morbid craving for notoriety, and some have believed he was mad; but his apology for the deed, though a strange document, shows no signs of insanity.

Alexander's death was not discovered for many hours, and though his non-appearance caused much dismay in his household, it was not till the evening of Sunday 6th, that his attendants broke into the room, and discovered his remains. All that day the tumult of the opening Carnival filled the Via Larga with joyous uproar, while the Duke lay dead in the room at the back of the silent palace. The Palleschi leaders kept the secret as long as possible, while they sent messages to the military authorities both in town and country to take all measures of precaution against a popular rising. There was, however, no movement among the people, for though they formed excited groups in the streets, their cry was "Palle! Palle!" and the Council of Notables held its deliberations on Tuesday undisturbed. Their choice fell on Cosmo, who had already been summoned from the Villa Trebbio, and from the pleasures of the chase in the woods of the Mugello, his actual occupation when the message reached him. Francesco Guicciardini, Baccio Valori, and the other adherents of his house, doubtless expected to rule the State as the advisers and preceptors of the young prince; but they were soon to learn that they had found a master in the gracious stripling of seventeen summers, who came to Florence at their bidding. He at once prepossessed the members of the Council in his favour, as

he appeared before them in the fair promise of his opening youth, beautiful, if we may trust contemporary sculpture, as the young Augustus. His features, as was not unusual in his race, seem to have undergone considerable modification between adolescence and maturity; for in the somewhat grimly energetic lines of Benvenuto Cellini's matchless photograph in bronze, we can scarcely trace the softer symmetry of his early years. His character, however, was fully formed, and from the hour of his proclamation on the 9th of January, 1537, he was lord of Florence in fact as well as in name.

By a strange coincidence the first and strongest type of the race—that of the elder Cosmo—seemed repeated with his name in this remote collateral descendant; while by a still stranger turn of fortune, he, the vigorous and legitimate off-set of the old stock, entered on his birthright as heir of its degenerate and base-born scion. Through his mother, however, Maria Salviati, and her mother, Lucrezia Medici, daughter of the Magnifico, Cosmo was directly descended from the magnates of his house; while his other grandmother, Catherine Sforza, had introduced a fresh inheritance of greatness into the race, by grafting on it the ruder energy of the rulers of Milan. Her son, Cosmo's father, was the renowned leader of the "Black Bands," who, dying at twenty-seven of a wound received in battle, left behind him a reputation for military genius second to no soldier of his time, and who still ranks among the heroes of Italian arms. His portrait in complete armour, by Titian, hangs in the Uffizi gallery, and is considered strikingly like those of the First Napoleon. It is strong and pitiless as a bronze mask, and may perhaps be considered to represent the Sforza type, as it stands alone among those of his own race. There are two statues of Giovanni in Florence, one in classical costume in front of San Lorenzo, the other under the arcade of the Uffizi, facing the river. The hero of the "Black Bands" made his baby son, within a few hours of his birth, the subject of a curious experiment, throwing him out of the window of a high floor to be caught by some one in the court below, as a test of his infant nerves.

The State which this boy survived to rule was a heterogeneous association of small communities, independent of, and generally hostile to each other, retaining their own laws and municipal forms, and bound to the sovereign city by ties varying in form, in origin, and in degree. Not Rome herself ruled her subject provinces in a more arbitrary spirit than Florence did her petty tributaries, bestowing their lucrative offices as rewards on her own deserving citizens, and often exciting riotous and seditious agitation by her disregard of their rights. The breadth of Cosmo's genius was in nothing more clearly shown than in his

intuitive perception of the requirements of the coming time, and of the necessity of a new system for governing the State as a homogeneous whole. This faculty of divining the future wants of society, and anticipating the results of centuries to come, was a birthright of the house of Medici, more prolific than any single race, of spirits fitted to pilot humanity on the path of progress, and while the task of his ancestors had been to direct a mighty revolution in thought, and reconstruct civilisation out of the wrecks of time, Cosmo's was the scarcely less difficult mission of carrying out a great social transformation, and fitting a mediæval municipality to take its place as a modern State. He found Florence the petty tyrant of a group of towns, ill-governed and disaffected—he left Tuscany an organised and coherent nationality, with a place and a voice in the councils of Europe. He, the first Duke, not of Florence alone, but of Florence and Etruria, could point to Leghorn and Porto Ferrajo called into existence—to Pisa resuscitated from decay—to Siena, not alone conquered, but reconciled to her conqueror—as the justification of his more extended title. He could claim to rule, not as head of a corporation, but as sovereign of a State, in right of the privilege of Florentine citizenship by him conceded to the provincial towns, of his indiscriminate admission to his councils of the natives of all parts of his dominions, and of the favour shown by him to other cities as well as the capital, which had hitherto regarded them as mere vassals and serfs. The political body gained in health and vigour from the extension of a vivifying sense of national life to all its members alike, and was able to bear the new burdens cast upon it in providing for its own defence. For Cosmo was resolved to depend on his own resources, and had to organise a military and financial system in a country whose exchequer had been drained, and its trade and agriculture crippled, by pestilence and war.

And if, in the fulfilment of tasks so arduous and so multifarious, he was somewhat unscrupulous as to the means employed, if, strong in a sense of his own great ends, he occasionally disregarded individual rights, and stretched to the utmost limit the privileges of his sovereign prerogative, it should be remembered that the very boldest minds, even in pursuit of aims far in advance of their age, can rarely shake off the trammels of traditional methods, but do their work for posterity by the light of their own day, and with the aid of systems already in use. There could, perhaps, scarcely be a stronger proof of Cosmo's superiority to the average rulers of his time than to find that we instinctively criticise him by a modern standard.

His reign opened with a great peril and a great triumph, commemorated by the pillar, erected in the Piazza, Sta Trinita, near

the bridge of the same name. The exiles, contemptuously rejecting the amnesty offered on his accession, had taken up arms against him, and, crossing the Apennines from Bologna, entered the Florentine territory above Pistoia, led by Filippo and Piero Strozzi. The former, however, seems to have had but little hope of final success, for, though he had received Lorenzino with open arms in Venice, red-handed from the murder of his kinsman, adopting his sisters Maddalena and Laudomia into his own family as the brides of his two sons, he yet wrote before the end of the same month, expressing grave doubts as to any practical result from the change. "I have but little hope," he says, "and am out of heart, for I think the deed of our Brutus will be as fruitless as that of his ancient prototype. Augustus follows Cæsar."

The correspondence between the chiefs of the opposite parties before the outbreak of hostilities is interesting, as it throws light on the genuinely patriotic motive influencing the adherents of the Medici in their support of the dynasty from the time of the siege. Their view, strongly and forcibly expressed in these letters, was that any attempt at establishing a Republic would but furnish a pretext for the annexation of Tuscany by Charles, that the strong places, though nominally held for Cosmo, were garrisoned by Imperialist forces, whom the French could never dislodge from the footing they had thus acquired; and that, with the fate of Milan before their eyes, they had better shun the French alliance, and the illusory dream of a restored Republic. This was the view of the situation—doubtless the correct one—taken by Francesco Guicciardini, to whom his supposed want of patriotism in supporting Alexander and Cosmo has so often been made a subject of reproach.

There was little concert among the rebels, a part of whom had taken up their quarters in Montemurlo, an old stronghold of the Counts Guidi, on the Apennines, about fifteen miles from Florence, while some occupied Prato and its environs, four miles nearer, and the remainder had not yet arrived from Bologna. On the evening of August 1st, Alessandro Vitelli, with less than a thousand men, marched out from Florence to meet them, while the gates of the city were locked behind him, and all ingress or egress cut off. It was an anxious night for the Florentines and their young Duke, who, after hours of sleepless expectancy, received at break of day the news of the partial defeat of the enemy.

All foreign visitors know the Church of the Servites, gorgeous with marbles and gilding, where the massive silver lamps given by Piero il Gottoso blaze in a perpetual constellation before the most venerated shrine in Florence; and the six

halls of the Medici, surmounted by the Grand-Ducal crown, are inlaid in agate and porphyry on the altar step. Here Cosmo repaired on the morning of the 2nd of August, 1537, to have a Mass of Thanksgiving offered for his success; and here, before the service was concluded, a second courier reached him with the tidings of his complete triumph. Ere the priest had left the altar the news had spread abroad, and the church was filled with men who made its frescoed walls resound to their cry of "Cosimo, Cosimo! Palle, palle!" The exulting crowd escorted the Duke to his palace, where the long and miserable train of prisoners, who soon began to arrive, were received by the victor with his mother by his side. Cosmo's bearing was calm, and showed no trace of resentment; but not the less was his resolve implacable. Mercy to the vanquished was no part of the Christianity of princes in those days, and the boy ruler of eighteen was a stern victor. The prisoners were tried and executed as rebels till the Piazza della Signoria ran red with blood; the remainder languished long in the fortresses of Pisa and Volterra, and it was seventeen years before Cosmo would consent to relax the severity of his edicts against the disaffected in exile. The remedy, though severe, was efficacious; the spirit of rebellion was thoroughly crushed, and his successors for 300 years had never to combat an attempt at insurrection.

Filippo Strozzi alone was retained in custody by the Spanish military authorities, who refused to give him up. The Pope and Catherine, the dauphiness, Filippo's wife's niece, exerted all their influence for his liberation, but in vain; he remained a prisoner until December, 1538, when he died, it was said, by his own hand, but, according to the common belief, by that of Cosmo's agents.

The battle of Montemurlo is a landmark in Florentine history, as it is the last episode of the long annals of rival factions, by turns proscribed and paramount—oppressing and oppressed—through the Middle Ages. And, in judging Cosmo's severity to the vanquished, we should remember, first, that only a strong Government can afford to show mercy; and, second, that it is but within very recent years that much tenderness has been shown to rebels taken with arms in their hands.

The Duke, on his accession, was anxious to maintain the family connection with the Emperor by marrying the widow of his predecessor; but Charles, at that time more bent on conciliating the Pope, gave her in marriage to the young Farnese, and she is best known in history as Margaret of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands. Cosmo's choice then fell upon Donna Eleonora, second daughter of Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, whom he married in June, 1539, he being then exactly twenty

years of age. This early union proved a happy one ; Eleonora of Toledo, though reserved and uninteresting to the rest of the world, was a devoted wife, and retained the affections of her husband till her death.

- Cosmo's long reign is interesting rather from its results, than from its events. Italy was still the theatre where the great European drama was principally played out, and her States can scarcely be said to have an independent history during that period. Yet Cosmo's policy was his own, adopted with far-seeing penetration from the moment of his accession to power, and pursued with unvarying constancy through all the vicissitudes of eight-and-thirty years. To free himself, as far as possible, from the humiliating dependence on Spain, which galled his proud and ambitious spirit, while he remained, under many provocations, true to her cause, was the ruling principle of his conduct; and his loyalty to the Emperor was inspired partly by gratitude for the restoration of his family, and partly by the political intuition with which he divined that to rely on France, weakened and distracted by internal dissensions, would be to trust to a broken reed. His remarkable letter of March, 1558, to Ercole d'Este, urging him to neutrality between France and Spain, shows that his mind had grasped a wider patriotism than was known to Italian politicians of his day, and had made a stride across the coming centuries, to an idea, such as even Dante had never conceived, of an Italy capable of subsisting without foreign intervention. "We must so bear ourselves," he writes, "in dealing with these Great Powers, that we keep their aims in mind, and mutually support each other in counteracting their usurpations; guiding ourselves, not by preference for France or Spain, but by the weal of Italy, our native land." Words which strike us as pregnant with prophetic insight, when we remember the provincial and municipal jealousies which the political education of three centuries has scarcely sufficed to root out below the Alps, and which, in Cosmo's time, made every Italian commonwealth see its own triumph in its neighbour's destruction.

The most important event of Cosmo's reign was the Sienese war, engaged in by him partly from ambition, partly from the necessity of self-defence, on the issue of which his whole fate and future were staked, and whose ultimate success was the crowning glory of his life. Siena, torn by intestine discord, had learned nothing since the Middle Ages; and only the French and Spanish garrisons, which alternated there as the balance of power shifted between the rival sovereigns, prevented sanguinary outbreaks of hostility amongst the numerous factions to which she was a prey. From the earliest ages the traditional foe of Florence, she still preserves the trophies of the crushing defeat

she inflicted on her rival in the battle of Montapert^o in 1260, when the chivalry of the Guelph party was decimated and its power broken for years. The great struggle was for the capture of the Carroccio, the Florentine ark of battle, and the flower of her nobility—the warrior patriarch, Giovanni Tornaquinci, to whose charge it had been committed, with nearly every adult male of his house, died in its defence. The two great poles on which it bore displayed the ensigns of Florence, still rest against the cupola of the Cathedral of Siena, and are a source of pride to her inhabitants. During the siege of Florence she had supplied arms and ordnance to the Imperialists, and paid a heavy penalty for her unneighbourly act, in the annihilation of her own independence by the party then triumphant.

The outbreak of the war was brought about by the French occupation of the town, and their appointment as commandant of Piero Strozzi, the hereditary foe of Cosmo, who saw a direct menace in his vicinity. He accordingly, in concert with the Emperor, made his preparations with all speed and secrecy, cutting off all communication with the Sienese territory so completely during the mustering of his troops, that the first notice Siena had of any hostile movement was their appearance before the walls, and their occupation, by a *coup-de main*, of an important outlying fort. Nevertheless, the inhabitants protracted their resistance for five months, displaying a heroism equal to that of the Florentines in the defence of their independence. The war was conducted with great barbarity on both sides, causing immense suffering and destruction through the country, and the Maremma is believed never to have recovered the devastations it then sustained. Cosmo's generalissimo was a man who bore his name, but who was only related to him by a genealogical fiction—Gian Giacomo Medici, of Marignano, the son of a Milanese farmer of taxes, who, having enriched himself and married into the aristocracy, thought proper to abbreviate his patronymic of Medicini, and assume the name and arms of the princes of Florence. The migration to Milan of one of the family at a convenient remoteness of time was imagined, to give colour to the fable, which Cosmo sanctioned by his acceptance of the relationship, reaping the benefit of his complaisance, when Marignano's brother was raised to the Papacy.

The leader of the French and Sienese side was the unlucky Piero Strozzi, of whom Paul IV had said that he had all the qualities of a general except good fortune, and whose defeat by Marignano at Marciano on the 2nd August, 1554, the anniversary of that of his father at Montemurlo, decided the fate of the city. It held out, however, with much suffering, until the following April, and was only surrendered when every form of nourishment

was exhausted, even to the oil in the church lamps. With spirit unbroken by what they had gone through, a portion of the inhabitants left it with the French troops, and repaired to Montalcino, whither they declared the Sienese republic and magistracy transferred. The war continued in the territory of Siena, for nearly four years in all, without any result save that of protracting a hopeless and miserable struggle. It was only in July, 1557, after many intrigues and heart-burnings, that Cosmo received the long-coveted investiture from Philip of Spain, who had succeeded his father, Charles V., and whose principal motive for granting it was the impossibility of paying back the money advanced by the Duke for the prosecution of the war. Its effect on Cosmo's position was immense. It secured him against the permanent threat of a foreign garrison close to his frontier; and by consolidating an Italian State in the centre of the Peninsula, raised up a formidable barrier against its complete occupation by any European Power. The Sienese were conciliated by being allowed to retain their own municipal autonomy, while a resident governour represented the authority of the Duke. They were thus spared the humiliation of direct dependence on Florence, the traditional object of their animosity, while the ruling family from which the governours were appointed was rather popular than the reverse. The old rivalry between the Monti, or different quarters of the city, still subsists, but is only shown in the peaceful competition of the annual races of the 15th of August, when each horse is the champion of his district, and the most intense excitement prevails as to the result.

The victory over Siena was the turning-point in Cosmo's career, and is commemorated by the *bas-reliefs* on his equestrian statue in the Piazza della Signoria. He also commissioned Giorgio Vasari to portray it in fresco on the walls of the Palazzo Vecchio, but very characteristically desired him to leave out the group of counsellors he had proposed to introduce, saying he had taken counsel only with himself, and that an allegory, such as that of Silence, would be more appropriate. The gentler side of his character developed with prosperity, and he grew more liberal and genial as the great tension of anxiety relaxed, which had kept all his faculties at high pressure during the earlier half of his reign. He had a further triumph in the result of the Conclave of 1558, which elected as successor to Paul IV., Gian Angelo Medici, of the Milanese family; and people recalled the days of Lorenzo, when Cosmo's son of seven years old—another Giovanni—received the purple from the new Pontiff, on the same day as his own nephew, Charles Borromeo. When the Duke visited Rome in October, 1560, having made his State entry into Siena on the way, he exercised such influence over the Pope as to call forth the pasquinade "*Cosmus Medices Pontifex Maxi-*

mus." The Pope persuaded him to remain to assist at the Declaration of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, whose sittings he had long laboured to facilitate, and on his departure presented him with four ship-loads of antiquities—the foundation of the Uffizi collection.

The terrible domestic tragedy which overshadowed Cosmo's latter years, and gave rise to such dark legends, followed swiftly as the Nemesis of his worldly prosperity. While on an autumnal hunting excursion in the Pisan Maremma, in November, 1562, the young Cardinal was first attacked by a malignant fever, of which he died in six days; his two elder brothers then sickened of the epidemic, from which Ferdinand recovered, while Garzia died after twenty days' illness. Their mother, long ailing, succumbed to the shock of her children's deaths, and expired on the 18th of December. Such are, as far as they can be ascertained, the simple facts, of which the popular and poetic version is that Garzia slew his brother, and was in turn slain by his father. For this belief, although it gained ground even at the time, there cannot be found a tittle of historical evidence. Facts, dates, and intrinsic probabilities are alike against it, yet it is the foundation of the popular idea of Cosmo's character, and is the story most generally associated with his memory. English and Italian verse have alike perpetuated it, and history protests in vain.

It was no doubt the impression produced by this tragical event, as well as a sense of failing health, that caused Cosmo's partial abdication in 1564; though, perhaps, the desire to train his successor in working the administrative machine he had himself created contributed also to his resolve. It was not for some years after that he received from the Pope Pius V. the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany, and only in 1570 that his solemn coronation in the Vatican took place. The Emperor and King of Spain after long and intricate negotiations finally confirmed the title to his son Francis I. In the same year as his coronation he contracted a second marriage with Camilla Martelli, a Florentine lady of good birth, who, however, received no State rank as his wife. This step brought him discredit abroad, and little happiness at home, as she was exacting and unreasonable. During the last years of his life he suffered much from gout—the hereditary malady of his family, but his death in 1574, at the comparatively early age of fifty-four, was caused by gradual decline after a paralytic or apoplectic stroke.

We should much wish to extract at length Baron von Reumont's forcible general view of Cosmo as a ruler and a man, but it would occupy too large a proportion of the space allotted to an Article, and we are constrained to give a more cursory recapitulation of the subject.

It seems scarcely less than miraculous that any race should have produced twice, and at an interval of four generations, the extraordinary combination of qualities that went to make up the characters of the two Cosmos. Lorenzo, who came between them, though great in his way, was of a totally different type; with more artistic genius and personal fascination, but less of general ability, and a total absence of the great administrative faculty so conspicuous in them, it may be safely said that he would never have founded anything, and could only have built where the substructures were already laid. But in the first Grand Duke we find the same wonderful union of subtlety and breadth of mind—of power to grasp a subject at once in its widest bearings and most minute details—of microscopic at once, and telescopic moral vision—of shrewd calculation of means, and boldness of design—that made the wily old Florentine banker a power in the State. In the circumstances of the younger Cosmo, the elder, we feel, would have pursued a precisely similar course. Both were unscrupulous in establishing their power, but once established, used it conscientiously for the benefit of the commonwealth. Both had the same passion for art, and took equal delight in the society of artists. The thrifty husbandry shown by Cosmo the elder in his rural pursuits, and in his careful cultivation of his farms and villas, is found on a larger scale in the Grand Duke, who knew each district in his dominions, and who, we are told, in every excursion, whether State progress, hunting party, Court fête, or chance journey, was constantly intent on studying the country, the capabilities of the soil, the nature of the vegetation, and any promise of mineral wealth to be detected.

But most of all the two Cosmos resembled each other in their capacity for financial administration, and the policy of both may be said to have been mainly founded on their genius for rapid gains and judicious outlay of money. Pater Patriæ, in his dexterous manipulation of the State resources, as well as of his own colossal fortune, was master of a tremendous engine of power in a small community, and may be said to have ruled Florence by the purse-strings. The first Grand Duke owed his influential position among the princes of Europe in great measure to the fact that he alone was able to pay his way, while emperors and kings were bankrupt. By the disbursement of a ransom he purchased the departure of the Spanish garrisons from the strong places of Tuscany early in his reign; with hard cash bought the investiture of Piombino, afterwards revoked; and, by the advances he had made during the war, finally wrung the sovereignty of Siena from the reluctant Philip.

Political science seemed to have made little progress in the

public mind of Italy during the century which separates the two great Medici; but the latter Cosmo, as compared with his predecessor, had made a great stride forward across the gulf between modern and mediæval ideas. He had not, indeed, conceived the notion of absolution from crime by verdict of the mob, or of that skilful jugglery of the ballot-box by which it was reserved to later despots to trick themselves in the trappings of democracy, but he had advanced to the idea, almost as strange to his contemporaries, of an Italian State self-sufficing and self-protecting, strong enough to repel invasion or repress sedition without foreign intervention, and of an Italy with some principle of cohesion between its component parts. This was much, in an age when the traditional prestige of the Roman Empire still weighed on the Peninsula, crushing out all moral independence in its rulers, and making the friendship and protection of Cæsar, or of some more powerful rival of Cæsar, should such be found, the utmost aim of their ambition. It was more, that he should have dared to take the first step towards realising such an idea by perpetuating the national military organisation introduced under the Republican Government, while in the neighbouring States a French or Spanish garrison, to quell the faction momentarily overthrown, was the universal panacea for social disorders, and a native soldiery would have seemed to those in power as startling an idea, as would to the visitors to a menagerie the proposal to unlock the cages and enlarge tigers and hyenas in their midst.

His advance on the fifteenth-century idea of government was equally shown in the leading principle of his internal policy. His dismissal, on his accession, from all share in public affairs of the powerful adherents of his family, is generally attributed to personal jealousy of the authority they might have wished to assume, but may probably be ascribed with greater justice to a more enlightened motive—his determination to rule, not as chief of a faction, but as head of the State, acknowledging no distinction between one class and another of his subjects. The very name of party was odious to him, and Vincenzo Fedeli tells us that he made penal the use of the old epithets Guelph and Ghibelline, Cancellieri and Panciatichi, Arrabbiati and Piagnoni, which now finally disappeared from use.

The eagle mind which thus resolutely shook off the trammels of tradition, had a prodigious capacity for transacting the details of business. "His activity," says Baron von Reumont, "was colossal." Up at dawn in summer, and in winter some hours before it, he received the reports of criminal judges, commissaries of police, and heads of departments, gave audiences to secretaries of State, and personally examined a voluminous correspondence. The archives in Florence contain the rough drafts of his letters

to foreign potentates and ambassadors, on all manner of subjects, as to which he expresses his views in clear and forcible language, and with so few erasures as to show how readily his thoughts clothed themselves in fitting words. The afternoon was devoted to giving audience to ambassadors, people of distinction, and those who had petitions to present, whom he received freely, and to whom he gave courteous explanations if unable to comply with their requests. All his subjects were likewise free to address him in writing, and sure of having their business duly considered.

He dined in company with his family, or with a few scientific or learned guests, while his evening recreation was either a little simple society in his daughter's house or in his own, or listening to the reading aloud of some historical or classical work by one of the men of letters whose society he cultivated. He attended daily Mass, either in the Cathedral, the Church of the Annunziata, or of the Santo Spirito, according as his residence was in the palace in Via Larga or in that of the Pitti; and when he rode or drove through the streets he received petitions, either oral or verbal. He belonged to some religious brotherhoods, and both in their meetings and in church took his place with the rest of the congregation. Though in some respects grasping as to money, he was liberal to the poor, never went abroad without an attendant carrying a bag of money to relieve urgent distress, and contributed largely to all charitable institutions. He exercised a strict supervision over the administration of justice, so that judges and criminals were said to be equally in awe of him; dismissed an entire magistracy in one day for a party decision, and compelled his own brother-in-law, Don Louis of Toledo, to sell his property in order to pay his debts.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the taxation imposed by him was very heavy, sometimes so much so as to counteract its own objects, and check the development of industry and agriculture. There is scarcely an expedient of modern Italian finance that he did not anticipate, such as the salt-tax, the duty on the slaughtering of animals, and the State lottery.* It must, however, be said that if the burdens on the people were heavy, the proceeds all went into the State chest, and not into the pockets of corrupt officials. Cosmo used to say that nothing gave him so much trouble as to avoid being robbed, but he hanged a chief tax-gatherer for peculation, and was safe afterwards. He organised an elaborate system of espionage, and had his agents everywhere, so as to have abun-

* The lottery, however, though tried by Cosmo, was again abolished, and only re-established by the house of Lorraine. It was declared illegal by the intervening Grand Dukes, and denounced in a severe proclamation by Cosmo III. as a source of demoralisation to the people.

dant sources of secret information. He was as opposed to free trade in vice as in produce, and succeeded in repressing its worst excesses. Religion he placed under the tutelage of the police; but he did not encourage the Inquisition, and only admitted it in Florence in a very modified form.

When we turn from Cosmo's share in the general history of Europe, from his negotiations with foreign Powers, and correspondence with ambassadors and statesmen, to his active part in furthering the material and intellectual progress of his State, we wonder how any single life could afford time and energy for so many forms of activity. He had himself considerable scientific knowledge, particularly in chemistry and mineralogy, and was able to point out to a professor the vegetable origin of anthracite coal. He took great interest in developing the mineral wealth of the country, and from an enlightened motive, for when it was once represented to him that certain mines could not be profitably worked, he replied that money returns were not so much to be looked for in such undertakings as the benefit to the population of barren and desolate tracts, by affording them occupation and means of subsistence. Botany and medicine made equal progress under Cosmo, who, in reconstituting the decayed University of Pisa, sought out for it the best professors in every department; and Vesalius and Cesalpino, both whose names are associated with the discovery of the circulation of the blood, were established there by him. In his patronage of art and letters he was not less energetic or discriminating than his predecessors, and if his epoch produced nothing like the masterpieces of theirs, it yet contributed its quota to the progress of culture. History was the branch of literature which flourished most, and was much encouraged by Cosmo, who permitted the publication of works by his political opponents, as in the case of Benedetto Varchi, patronised and favoured by him while writing in a perfectly independent spirit. Giorgio Vasari and Benvenuto Cellini, both famed in literature and art, were especially distinguished by the Duke, and executed many of their works by his orders.

It was under Cosmo that Florence mainly assumed the aspect under which it has grown so familiar to travellers of all nations. The bastions of San Miniato, and the hanging gardens of the Boboli grew up under his auspices, as did the Mereato Nuovo, the Ponte Santa Trinità, from Ammannati's design, and the porticoes of the Uffizi, which, with the quaint covered gallery connecting them with the Pitti, half a mile distant across the river, are Vasari's best monument. Under Cosmo was laid the foundation of those wonderful collections which have made Florence the goal of artistic pilgrims from all quarters of the

globe. In his reign the Laurentian Library was completed, its treasured relics catalogued, arranged, and rendered accessible to the public, and the Academy of Fine Arts founded, in whose honorary presidency he was associated with Michael Angelo. He revived the art of porphyry sculpture, by means of an invention for hardening steel, and created both the manufacture of tapestry, of which splendid specimens remain, and that of the inlaying of coloured marbles, which still forms an important branch of industry in Florence. And that his patronage of all these different arts and handicrafts was not merely a nominal one is proved by his having corresponded personally with the people engaged in them.

The more romantic side of his character was shown in the institution of the Order of St Stephen, a knightly association similar to that of the Hospitaliers of St John, founded by him in Pisa for the purpose of defending the Tuscan coasts against the incursions of Algerine pirates, Hayreddin Barbarossa, and others. They did good service at sea in the reign of Ferdinand, pursued the corsairs to their own shores, and captured Bona, an African port, but embroiled Tuscany with the Ottoman Porte, and injured its trade with the Levant.

We have dwelt thus long on Cosmo's character and work, not only because he was one of the most notable figures of his own time, but because he had a great share in moulding that transition epoch which links the older past to the actual present. We may also consider that he exercised a powerful influence on later history, not only as the founder of a dynasty, but because Tuscany consolidated by him, and reaching to the frontier of the Papal States, gave a compact nucleus to Italian nationality, and placed a barrier between the encroaching foreign intruders north and south. Even with a foreign dynasty reigning in Florence Tuscany was, with Piedmont, the hope of enslaved Italy, as she is still, with Piedmont, the moral backbone of Italy free and independent.

Cosmo's face grows very familiar to the visitor to the Florence galleries, chiefly from the canvas of Angelo Allori (Bronzino), but does not impress one as bearing any great stamp of either intellect or character. The features though regular are insignificant, and the brow somewhat contracted, while the face owes its common-place good looks chiefly to the rich colouring given by dark-chestnut hair, clear healthy skin, and eyes brown and well opened, but simply negative as to expression. The poise of the head is, however, singularly graceful, and the proportions of the chest and shoulders manly and robust, so that the Grand Duke no doubt presented on the whole an imposing appearance, not ill suited to the important part he played in the world.

Nothing shows more clearly the firm grasp with which Cosmo swayed the helm of State than the disorganisation into which both internal and foreign affairs fell under his successor. Within eighteen months of Francis' accession there occurred a hundred and eighty-six cases of murder or grievous woundings; and the gibbet with its ghastly load was to be seen at every street corner of Florence, while the feeble ruler got into difficulties with all the principal foreign Powers, and nearly came to an open breach with the Emperor, though showing him a degree of obsequiousness to which his father had never condescended. In literature the second Grand Duke is best known through the romantic story of Bianca Capello, the fair Venetian, whom he married on the death of his first wife, Joan of Austria, and whose misdeeds have furnished subject matter for many a tragedy. Truly tragic were the almost simultaneous deaths of the Grand Duke and his Duchess, which occurred unexpectedly and within two days of each other at Poggio a Caiano, in October, 1587.

In Ferdinand, who succeeded his brother, the energetic stamp of Cosmo was renewed; and though he had not his father's consummate ability in shaping his foreign policy, he was more popular at home, as he ruled in happier times and with a milder sway. As a Cardinal he had won golden opinions in Rome, and proved after his accession a model prince. He had not received priest's orders, and on being dispensed from his vows, married Christina of Lorraine, granddaughter of Catherine de' Medici and Henry II. of France. She had both amiability and strength of character, and the marriage was in all respects a happy one. The French connection, which proved politically rather a disadvantageous one, was strengthened by another union less fortunate in its history, that of Marie, niece of Ferdinand, daughter of Francis I., and Joan of Austria, with Henry of France and Navarre. During Ferdinand's reign occurred, in 1605, the brief pontificate of Leo XI., the fourth and last Medici Pope. He had been many years Archbishop of Florence, and came of the branch of the house known as the line of Giovenco, collateral to that of the Grand Dukes from an early period in the family history, and which has proved longer lived if less brilliant, inasmuch as it still survives in Naples and in Tuscany.

The fine equestrian statue of Ferdinand opposite the Church of the Servites is by Pietro Tacca, from a model by Gian Bologna, and was cast from captured Turkish guns, according to the inscription on the saddle-girth, "*Dei metalli rapiti al fiero Trace.*" On the pedestal is the device adopted by him, a swarm of bees surrounding their queen with the motto, "*Maiestate tantum.*"

If scientific discovery were destined to take in the new era,

the place occupied by reawaked artistic and literary culture in the old, as the highest form of mental activity—the latest goal of human progress—the Medicean princes were as quick as their burgher ancestors to seize the spirit of the coming time. What the elder Cosmo and Lorenzo had been to Donatello and Ghiberti, to Poliziano and Buonarroti, Ferdinand II. and his brother Leopold were to the scientific investigators of their day—to Redi, Rinaldini, Viviani, and Galileo. Their father, Cosmo II., the first Ferdinand's son and successor, had not been backward in forwarding the pursuit of knowledge, and in his honour Jupiter's satellites, discovered in his reign, had been called the "Medicean planets;" but his sickly health and the anxious pressure of foreign politics during the twelve years he was on the throne, debarred him from great activity in any other field. The name of Cardinal Leopoldo is especially associated with the foundation of the Accademia del Cimento, which, though its own existence was brief, had enduring results, from the spur it gave to scientific research in Tuscany. It was designed to carry out Galileo's great principle of basing knowledge on experimental proof, and investigated such problems as the propagation of sound, light, and heat, atmospheric pressure, magnetism, electricity, and similar phenomena. Its acts are set forth in a masterly treatise by its secretary, Lorenzo Magolotti. Science was Ferdinand's passion, and there is in the Museum of Natural History in Florence a curious collection of instruments (amongst them the thermometer) invented and constructed either altogether by him, or under his immediate supervision. This prince, whatever the shortcomings of his later years, deserves to be favourably remembered for the example of devotion set by him during the terrible visitation of the plague in 1630. While all the more opulent citizens either fled or secluded themselves in their dwellings, he, then twenty years of age, remained with his brother in the palace, visiting the poor, and doing all in his power to relieve the general distress. His people never forgot it to him, and he was beloved all his life.

It is a melancholy task to trace the decadence of a great race, as in the two last generations of the Medici, in which the old stamp seemed to fail by degrees before its final extinction. The financial genius of the wise old merchant-prince of the fourteenth century, so long the inheritance of his house, abandoned his last descendants. Ferdinand II. finally withdrew from all the banks and commercial undertakings which the previous Grand Dukes had not thought it beneath their dignity to prosecute; and in his and the two following reigns the public debt increased rapidly while the public resources diminished.

The vitality of the State thus languished with that of the

ruling house, and Tuscany, helpless and impoverished, without any voice in the decision of her own future, became the apple of discord of European diplomacy. From the time that the failure of the Grand Ducal line became inevitable, the rapacity of Spain and Austria set every engine at work to secure the prey, while a host of minor candidates appeared, with small chance indeed, of making good their pretensions. Among these was a Medici, the Prince of Ottaviano, head of the branch of Giovenco's line, settled in Naples, from which Pius IV had also been descended. His claim was not without a plausible foundation, as Charles V's settlement of the crown on Alexander, with remainder to his next of kin, on failure of direct male issue, might be held to imply a further reversion to collaterals. Austria, however, finally disallowed Ottaviano's claim, and had his proclamation publicly destroyed.

The efforts of the last two Medicean Grand Dukes were for five and twenty years directed to secure the ultimate independence of the State and to bequeath to the Senate and people of Florence the sovereignty originally received from them. The question was, however, complicated by the joint possession of Siena undoubtedly a fief of the Empire, and the ingenuity of German lawyers was taxed to the uttermost to find a pretext for including Florence in the same category, straining historical precedent in that direction, even from a date as remote as the time of Charlemagne. The hope of Cosmo III was to secure the succession to his daughter, Anna Maria, widow of the Elector Palatine, but as she was childless, the expedient would have been but a temporary one. Both he and his son were singularly unfortunate in their marriages. Marguerite Louise, daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, the princess selected for the last Cosmo during his father's lifetime, had formed an attachment to her cousin Charles of Lorraine, and came to Florence in 1661, a despairing bride. Her passionate and eccentric temper led to scenes in the palace which were the scandal of town and country. On one occasion she attempted to put an end to her life by abstaining from food, and on another was detected and stopped, when trying to escape in disguise from Pisa in company with a band of gipsies. After thirteen years of dissension a separation was agreed to, and Marguerite returned to her native country, though it seemed reluctantly in the end, as it was thought she would have remained had not her mother-in-law prevented the last interview with her husband, which she had sought. Her subsequent career in Paris was a constant source of annoyance to the Grand Duke, and even embroiled him with the Court of France, while his domestic misfortune added to the national gloom and reserve of his disposition, and helped to make him unpopular with his subjects.

Gian Gastone's marriage with Anna Maria of Sachsen Lauenburg, the young widow of the Count Palatine, was a still more miserable story. Far less attractive than Marguerite Louise, and equally unamiable, with rude tastes and a violent temper, her society was not calculated to render her lonely castle in Bohemia an attractive residence to the young Florentine prince, who escaped from it secretly within a year of his marriage, and fled to Paris. His father compelled him to return; but no real reconciliation was ever effected, and he returned eventually to Florence, without his wife, whom he never saw again. As his marriage failed equally with that of his elder brother Ferdinand, who died before his father, to give the desired heir to Tuscany, the extinction of the reigning family became only a question of time, and owing to the broken health of Gian Gastone, was looked for many years before it actually occurred. Some years before his death the much-vexed question of the Tuscan succession seemed at last finally settled in favour of Don Carlos, Infant of Spain, who, through his mother, Elizabeth Farnese, granddaughter of Ferdinand II, had the best claim in the female line. He was received in Florence as the heir, and the people were contented with the arrangement; but when, some years later, he acquired the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the balance of power in Italy, and the jealousies of other States, necessitated a readjustment of the Peninsula*. Francis of Lorraine, descended from Catherine de' Medici, through her eldest daughter Claude, then received Tuscany in exchange for his hereditary duchy, transferred eventually to France, and a fresh oath of allegiance had to be taken by the Tuscan Senate. The dying Grand Duke sarcastically wondered if Francis would be the last son the Great Powers would ask him to acknowledge; "they had formerly made him guardian to an Infant, while placing him under tutelage himself," and no doubt he thought more changes might be in store for him. He had, however, seen the last, and his death on the 9th July, 1737, was only memorable from the long chain of associations it closed.

Tuscany had, for some time before, virtually ceased to have an independent existence, and was thenceforward governed as an Austrian province, where the first interests to be consulted were those of Vienna. With the house of Lorraine, dynastic considerations were ever paramount; nor did its members at any time become so naturalised in Tuscany as to shake off the authority of their Imperial kinsmen. This is not the occasion to discuss the course of the Italian Revolution; but when the

* The ex-king of Naples, as his representative, still bears the title of Hereditary Grand Prince of Tuscany, and quarters the palle in his shield.

Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1852, in compliance with Metternich's declaration "that he would have no Constitution below the Alps," abrogated the reform, on the faith of his princely word to observe which he had been received back by his subjects in 1849, he forfeited all claim to sympathy for the fate he brought upon himself. The times, however, were difficult, and retribution was not slow to overtake him. By a curious irony of fortune, the revolutionary movement in Florence, in 1859, first began outside the Porta San Gallo, in front of which stands the only conspicuous material record of the rule of the Hapsburg in the city—the florid triumphal arch erected in 1738, to commemorate the entry of the Grand Duke Francis II.

A Tuscan proverb, in doggrel rhyme, sums up the popular verdict, as to the respective merits of the two dynasties, on a very practical issue:—

"Sotti i Medici
Un quattrin faceva per tredici.
Dacche abbiamo la Lorena
Se si desina non si cena."
"Under the Medicean sway,
Farthings were as francs to-day.
Since Lorraine has been set up.
If we dine we cannot sup."

Those who are familiar with Baron von Reumont's "Life of Lorenzo de' Medici" will be prepared for the erudition and research of the present volumes; in which, in addition to his clear and impartial narrative of events, he gives a complete *résumé* of the manners, literature, artistic and scientific progress, with the more striking social changes of each successive epoch. He has done his work with a thorough earnestness that leaves nothing to be desired, and has contributed a valuable addition to historical literature.

ART. IV.—THE ORGANIZATION AND REGISTRATION OF TEACHERS.

A Bill for the Organization and Registration of Teachers engaged in Intermediate Education in England and Wales, introduced into the House of Commons, March, 1879.

THE course of education pursued in any State is a matter of importance to every citizen of that State. The regulation of what shall be taught to our children is not a question which only, or indeed chiefly, concerns those who teach them. When,

therefore, we find it proposed to enact a law bringing all teachers under the direct control of the State, we must consider that the interests involved are far wider than those of teachers only. A Bill of this nature was introduced into the House of Commons early in last March ; was thrust aside, like many another measure, by the mingled pressure of business and of obstruction, and has passed away for the present. It is to be presumed, however, that the intentions which it embodied have not been abandoned, and it may be profitable to give a little more attention to its provisions than they have as yet aroused.

It was entitled "A Bill for the Organization and Registration of Teachers engaged in Intermediate Education in England and Wales ;" and a short examination of its contents will show that it contained the germ of a truly startling revolution in the position of all persons falling within its scope. This measure was to apply, says the opening clause, exclusively to schools at which intermediate education is supplied, and which are not included under the Public Schools Act of 1868, or the Elementary Education Act of 1870. It is stated, further, that "school under this Act means a school to which this Act applies." No other definition is given of the word "school ;" and this absence of definition agrees with the whole tenor of the Bill to make it evident that private teachers were by no means intended to escape its net. It is true that they are nowhere definitely included, but care has clearly been taken that they should be nowhere definitely shut out. The title of the Bill may pretty safely be accepted in the general sense which it naturally bears. It was a Bill for the regulation of teachers engaged in intermediate education ; and such a measure, if in the first instance it swept in those only who were employed in schools, would not fail eventually to fulfil the humble proverb, and apply to the gander the same sauce which had been found appropriate to the goose.

As a first step towards this proposed regulation of teachers an Educational Council was to be instituted, charged with the duties of organizing and registering teachers, inquiring into and reporting upon the courses of study required of teachers, and establishing examinations of them on its own part. The Council was to be composed of ten members, elected, two each, by the following bodies :—the Education Department, the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford, the Council of the University of Cambridge, the Senate of the University of London, and the Council of the College of Preceptors, and of six other members chosen, in the first instance, by the Privy Council, and afterwards, when the Act was in working order, elected by the general body of registered teachers. All these members were to be persons qualified to be themselves registered

teachers. Of the six elected by the general body of teachers, two might be women. The question whether any or all of the remaining ten memberships might be held by women was not entered upon—perhaps the character of the learned bodies with whom election was to rest was thought to render any express prohibition superfluous. The next place was occupied by directions for the businessworking of the Council. Some of these are oddly inconsistent with each other and with later portions of the Bill. This, however, is a weakness very incident to the framing of Acts of Parliament, and to linger upon it would be ungenerous. One main duty of the Council was to be the forming and keeping of a register “of persons engaged as teachers in schools under this Act;” and it was to be enacted that after a certain date no person so engaged, whose name did not appear upon this register should be entitled to recover payment at law for his or her work as a teacher. No person was to be held qualified for registration who was not twenty-one years old, and who was not, at the time of applying, engaged as a teacher “in a school under this Act.” As no teacher was to be entitled to recover payment at law unless he had been registered, this looked rather like enforcing a gratuitous term of work. It was also essential that the applicant, unless he should have graduated at some University, should hold a certificate by examination from the Educational Department, the College of Preceptors, the new Educational Council, or—most significant alternative—a certificate “from some University in the United Kingdom,” attesting, after special examination, “the fitness of the holder to practise the profession of a teacher,” a fitness, it may be remarked in passing, quite impossible to be gauged by any examining body whatever. “Teachers of special subjects, such as drawing, music, or the like,” were to satisfy the Council that they were “qualified to be registered” as teachers “in such special subjects.” One rather wonders whether teachers of singing, dancing, fencing, and elocution were to come under this clause, and, if so, by what kind of evidence the Council would have been satisfied. The framers of the Bill themselves seem to have apprehended a difficulty here, and have left this matter in prudent indefiniteness. Finally, all persons who were at the passing of the Act *bond fide* engaged in teaching in a “school under this Act” were to be by that fact entitled to registration. A distinct advantage would be ensured, by this provision, to all the large and influential class of actual principals, head-masters, and High School mistresses. From any hardships or injustice of the new law they personally would be exempt and, not only so, the greater the hardships and difficulties thrown by legislation in the path of others, the more dignified and valuable would their own privileged position become. It

would be extremely uncharitable to suppose that any large number of schoolmasters or schoolmistresses would consciously be influenced by this personal consideration ; but it cannot be denied that the possession of vested interests is apt to impart a bias to human judgment. A country gentleman of sporting tastes, though, perhaps, in daily life, the most upright and equitable of men, is seldom found to be a strictly impartial judge in the matter of game-laws. It is well to remember, therefore, in regard to speeches and petitions on the subject of this or any similarly framed Bill that it offers a distinct premium to all the most influential and elder members of the actual body of teachers. To all these persons is held out the hope of being enrolled in a caste, of obtaining a fixed social status, like that possessed by a solicitor or a medical man. Those who observe the lesser waves of human motive must long have noted the jealous eye with which the ordinary schoolmaster looks upon the ascertained position of his doctor. To no class of persons are the symbols of external dignity so dear as to the head-masters and head-mistresses of schools. From the days when Dr. Busby excused himself for retaining his hat in the presence of Charles II. on the ground that discipline would be impaired if his pupils should suppose that any dignity could be superior to his, they have been unwilling to acknowledge themselves as less than paramount. It is for the public to remember that schoolmasters, like kings, exist for the sake of those over whom they reign.

"The Council," pursues the draft of the Bill, "shall not enter on the register the name of any teacher engaged in any public elementary school." By this clause, as it stands, any visiting tutor, giving instruction in a special subject, who should lecture, for one hour a week, in a public elementary school, would forfeit his right to be registered, and thereby also his legal claim upon the fees of all his other labours. Of course such a possibility was not contemplated by the framers of the Bill. It is a mere defect in detail, easy to be remedied in further revision ; but it is a defect of a kind which only occurs in the framing of Bills that are founded upon arbitrary principles.

Teachers in private elementary schools might not be registered until they had "produced evidence to the satisfaction of the Council that the school is efficient." This wording seems to imply that the onus and the cost of proof were to rest with the applicant, who, as a teacher in an elementary school, would probably be ill enough able to afford the expenditure either of time or money. This however is, it must be owned, in strict accordance with the spirit of the English law, by which, whenever two men have legal dealings with each other, the costs are paid by him whose position implies the least wealth.

The Council may, "in any case or class of cases," refuse to grant registration until the applicant has produced satisfactory evidence of good moral character. What a field is opened here for vexatious and petty interference! The desirable result that all teachers should be persons of good moral character will not be brought about by means like this. The giving and taking of good-character certificates is not only vexatious and humiliating to him who produces them, but also quite inefficacious as regards him who receives. There is no person of whom some one will not certify good moral character. Again, what is the meaning of that invidious phrase, "class of cases?" Such an expression is the very cover under which all who held tenets tabooed by the powers that be, might be shut out into the outlawry of the unregistered. It is, doubtless, perfectly true that the proposed Educational Council was to be constituted of members not very likely to institute a reign of religious intolerance, but that is no reason why the power to do so should be put into their hands. It is very inexpedient to place ourselves in bondage, whatever reliance we may feel upon the clement disposition of our masters.

The Council was to be empowered also to remove, at discretion, from the register, the names of persons who had been punished with imprisonment, or who should be found "after due inquiry, to have been guilty of immorality, drunkenness, or any misconduct which renders him or her unfit to be a teacher." The Council was intended, it seems, to partake of the nature of an inquisition. It was to make "due inquiry." Yet no powers were to be given to it for taking testimony on oath. No protection was afforded to the accused. No means of publicity were provided. No right of appeal was reserved. The offences for which registration might be denied were not defined, nor were they such as are known to the law. There was no limit of time beyond which inquiry might not be raised. The man of fifty might be punished with ostracism for the bitterly-repentred transgression of the lad of twenty. There is, indeed, one class of persons, and only one, to whom such an arrangement might have proved an unmitigated boon. The hard-pressed novelist whose stock incidents are fast becoming exhausted might have found in the Teachers' Organization and Registration Bill, had it become law, a mine of entirely new hardships and modes of secret injury.

A fee was to be paid, on registration, by every applicant; the fee was to be, until 1881, two pounds; after that, when the law was well-established, and outcry useless, five pounds. The teachers of the future, after satisfying the Council of their qualifications in the "knowledge and practice of teaching;" producing evidence to the Council's satisfaction of good moral

character ; attaining the age of twenty-one ; and succeeding in being actually engaged in a school of whose efficiency they had also adduced satisfactory evidence, were to be further mulcted in a penalty of five pounds for their imprudence in the choice of a profession. Nor were their troubles to be at an end when this stage had been attained. The Council, having plenty of time on its hands, was continually to revise its register, making necessary alterations in the qualifications and addresses of registered persons. It may well be imagined that a teacher who had exchanged a lower for a higher degree would not fail to notify the fact to the registrars ; but it is not easy to see how the Council would collect accurate information on the subject of deaths and changes of abode. On the other hand, however, it does not appear that much harm would ensue to anybody by their failing to obtain it. The next clause contained provisions of a far more serious and objectionable nature. The names of deceased teachers, and of those who had fallen under the ban of the Council on moral grounds, were not to be the only names liable to removal. "The name was to be erased of every person who has ceased for a period not less than three years to be engaged in the practice of his or her profession as a teacher." Nor was this to be all. "If the Council send two letters, at an interval of not less than four and not more than six weeks, addressed to any registered teacher, at his or her registered address, inquiring whether he or she has ceased to be engaged in the practice of his or her profession, or has changed his or her residence, and no answer is returned to the letter within six months . . . the Council may erase the name of the teacher from the Register ; but the name of any person erased under this provision shall be restored by the Council on good cause being shown by him or her." All this is very cumbersome, very vexatious, and very causeless. When the members of the legal and medical professions have been once enrolled, nothing but direct misconduct *in the practice of their profession* can strike their names from the list. But the teacher, who from illness, or loss of means, or domestic causes of any kind is obliged temporarily to cease from work—probably to his great pecuniary detriment—would, by such a measure as this, be condemned to complete loss of livelihood until he had shown good cause why the rights that he had done nothing to forfeit should be restored to him. A female teacher who should marry, and being left, after three years, a widow, would desire to resume her profession, would be, for a time at least, debarred, whatever might be her qualifications, from doing so. The acceptance of a post abroad might even produce similar invalidation. The burden of this, as of every other provision of the Bill, would fall with double weight upon the needy, the young, and the weak ; the firmly-

established and influential would be left untouched—an excellent safeguard against potent opposition, but a doubtful argument of the equity of the law, and a point which would arouse the jealous watchfulness of those whom no class-interest inclines to one view rather than the other.

Another function was to be allotted to the Council ; it was to inquire into and report upon examinations and *inspections* of “schools under this Act.” Power was to be given to it to hold examinations of persons desiring to be registered, and to issue certificates of their qualifications “in the knowledge and *practice* of teaching.” A previous clause had also dealt with the powers of the Council in this direction, but this clause was thrown in rather incoherently, among those concerning the removal of names from the register for misdemeanour or for cessation from work. This clause, so obscurely—one does not like to think so purposely obscurely—placed, deserves to be quoted *in extenso*. “The Council may make, revoke, and alter rules with regard to the register, and the classes into which it is to be divided, and the nature of the qualifications entitling to registry in each class, and the evidence to be produced by applicants for registry.”

Let those to whom the passing of such a Bill as this appears desirable ponder that clause, and realise what meaning actually lies within its generalities. There is not a word of Parliamentary sanction, not a hint of limitation, not any provision for publicity. The Council, if once established, might decree that no person should be placed upon the register of teachers who did not produce a certificate of baptism, and declare adherence to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church, and nothing short of a new Act of Parliament would have power to rescind their decree. It is difficult to believe that the establishment of such a tribunal can have been seriously contemplated in a country where, hitherto, it has been supposed that a man might say, and by inference, teach the thing he would.

The real scope of the Bill may be read between the lines, by those who look closely to its loosely-worded clauses. Those certificates of any University attesting “the fitness of the holder to practise the profession of a teacher,” and those examinations to be instituted by the Council into qualifications “in the knowledge and practice of teaching,” are not meaningless, although at first sight they seem so vague. The desire of the framers of this Bill flies, evidently, at nothing less than a legally-fixed apprenticeship to the craft of teaching. Such an intention can alone explain the mystery of those incompatible requirements, that the teacher should be registered before he can claim payment, and that he should be actually engaged in teaching before he can claim to be registered. The teachers of England and Wales

were to be formed, in fact, into a close corporation, a trades' union on a vast scale, and protected by a well-nigh irresponsible tribunal. So sweeping an innovation might not be openly proposed, but it is well to remember that the power to effect it, *without further appeal to Parliament*, would, by this Act, should it become law, be vested in the Educational Council; and the penalty of not appearing on the Council's Register would be simple outlawry as far as the profession of teaching is concerned. A school with an unregistered principal could not exist. Those persons who failed to satisfy the Council, or who could not, on their own part, consent to comply with its regulations (regulations, it must be recollected, over whose scope no limit whatever appears to be fixed), would be simply put out of court. They may teach if they will, but the law will not enable them to obtain payment of any debt due to them for teaching, and this would be the position of all unfortunate young teachers under the age of twenty-one. This provision would be, perhaps, in actual working, the hardest of all. It would leave without protection of law that already hardly-pressed class of young governesses whom necessity compels to earn a living for themselves. That they should be thus compelled to work may be considered, perhaps, a hardship; but the alternatives, if work is denied them, are surely harder still. It has been gravely urged that the disappearance of this class would be one beneficial result of the passing of this Bill, but the disappearance of any class can hardly be called beneficial until we have inquired what has become of the individuals who composed it. The extinction of pauperism is, we are all agreed, a consummation devoutly to be wished; nevertheless, the severest board of guardians might hesitate to call it entirely beneficial if effected by enforced starvation. These young women would not rise into the position of registered teachers. They have not the capital which would enable them to wait. They must become shop-girls and dressmakers, assisting to sink the already-insufficient payments of those overcrowded employments, and swelling the vast ocean of female destitution and misery which lies on the level just below. All this, sad as it is, would be no availing argument if the class of young teachers had ceased to be of any service to the world. It might have come to pass that their work was no longer wanted, and that the needs of advancing education swept them aside. If such were indeed the case, they must have disappeared as the hand-spinners disappeared before Arkwright, the stocking-knitters before Lee, and the stage-coaches before Stephenson. But all these were changes effected by natural growth; in none of these had legislation any hand. Its spirit, indeed, was adverse to them. Legislation in matters of this kind is very apt to be less widely instructed than it thinks

itself, and to confuse the natural working of laws more eternal than its own. The abolition, as a class, of teachers under twenty-one is not demanded by the needs of education; if it were, it would fulfil itself without interference. The truth is, that young teachers fill a place which needs to be filled, and that there are many posts-for which their very youth renders them peculiarly fit. It may be worth remarking that in the Board Schools much of the teaching is done by pupil teachers between the ages of fourteen and twenty.

The draft Bill terminates with a provision that the Council shall yearly make a Report to Her Majesty, stating their proceedings, receipts, and expenditure during the year, and such matters as they think expedient with respect to the *courses of study*, examinations, and *inspections*, into which they are directed to inquire under this Act. The *italicised* words point clearly to something beyond what has been definitely expressed. The Council shall also call attention to any deficiency in the powers entrusted to them, with the view of obtaining fresh powers, if needful, for the proper carrying out of the objects of this Act. As there is no preamble setting out what are the objects of the Act, each reader must draw his own conclusion.

A schedule follows, and explains the process of the Council's election. Some of the clauses concerning election of members by the general body of registered teachers are worthy of note. A meeting of electors having been convened, candidates proposed, and a poll demanded, "the chairman of the meeting shall direct a poll to be taken by such *person*, at such place or places, and on such day as he appoints, not being less than one clear day, nor more than three clear days after." The use of the word "person" seems to denote an expectation that the number of voters would be surprisingly small. Such an election, to be thorough, would need to be held in every town of any size throughout the kingdom. Votes were to be permitted to be given by proxy, but the proxy was not to be allowed to vote unless the instrument appointing him had been deposited at the office of the Council "seven days at least before the day on which he proposes to vote." But as the election was to take place not more than three days after the meeting, and as it would be impossible to know previously whether any election would be needed, or between what candidates the choice would lie, it would have been on the whole simpler and more candid to omit any mention of proxies altogether. The hours of voting were to be from twelve to four, hours at which it need hardly be pointed out that the large majority of teachers would find it very inconvenient to attend. On the whole there was an unpleasant appearance about this Schedule of desiring to throw

hindrances in the way of too general a voting among the body of registered teachers.

Such was the Teachers' Organization and Registration Bill, a measure which combined in an unusual degree the elements of arbitrary interference in the present, and danger to liberty in the future. It is one more example of the human tendency, pointed out long ago by Mr. Herbert Spencer, to make outcry for the first time against an evil at the moment when it has begun to right itself. Our temperance movement did not arise until the tide of drunkenness had turned. The proposal to regulate our teachers did not come at the time when teaching was on the whole really inefficient; but awakes when any possible good that it might have done is doing without its help. The proposal, if carried into effect, would be fraught with very grave results to all future learners as well as all future teachers, and it is not to the teachers of the present that we must look for unanimity in withstanding it. The wealthier and more potent majority would find in it a prospect of personal elevation, which, being after all but human, they will hardly fail to consider advantageous to the world. Such protest as arises from teachers will arise mainly from visiting tutors, from daily governesses, from the uninfluential, whose daily bread in many cases, the very fact of protest will imperil. For the retort lies ready to hand: "the most prosperous, that is, the best, teachers are anxious for this measure; you, who protest, are afraid that your own qualifications will not pass muster!" In the true interests of education, and in the yet wider interests of liberty, it behoves those who are *not* teachers to protest. Let us not be deceived into hoping that an immediate practical good can come from the infraction of an acknowledged and admitted principle. If it were so, the danger of the precedent would still be so great that it might well outweigh any passing good. And in this case the proposed good is altogether chimerical. It is not possible to test the teaching powers of men and women by any system of examination whatever. The analogy of law and medicine is a deceptive one. The law is—or is supposed to be—alike for all. No allowance is made for the over-sensitive nerves of a man who shoots his neighbour's cock because he can bear no longer to hear it crow, nor for the natural liveliness of boys when they throw stones through a window. So in medicine; the effects of Turkey rhubarb, arsenic, and chloroform are, in the large number of cases, constant. But teaching, to be worth anything, must come from the individual, to the individual; and in no two cases can be quite alike. We have not found out how to impart the power of teaching, or even whether it can be imparted. We may suppress it, but (as yet, at least) we do not know how to

educate it. All that we can do is to test knowledge ; and of knowledge there are already tests enough, whose certificates are, every day, more and more eagerly pursued. The laws of supply and demand are doing their own work well, and may safely be trusted to continue doing so without any assistance from an Educational Council.

Unfortunately, there is in England a large body of well-meaning persons who have never realised any distinction between things to be desired and things desirable to enforce by law. Their attitude towards any proposed measure is the attitude of a child looking at a sun-dial. They see the shadow where it stands, without comprehending that its place, now, involves its progress to another point, an hour hence. We must not infringe liberty in the hope of producing happiness, partly because happiness will not in the long run ensue. Nor is it safer to rely upon the character of the bodies by whom the proposed Council was destined to be formed. The Education Department, the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford, the Council of the University of Cambridge, the Senate of the University of London, even the Council of the College of Preceptors, are, on the whole, trustworthy and anti-revolutionary institutions. But it is the essence of law to trust in principles, and not in the traditional character of any holders of office. The present state of life in England would hardly, perhaps, feel the change if the Queen, who this day reigns constitutionally, were to become to-morrow an absolute ruler. Yet the man who should effect such a change would receive, and would deserve, the execration of posterity. Our laws are not made for to-day only ; nor can any measure stand alone. They are links in a chain ; each upholds that which came before ; each makes way for the rest to follow. With us it remains to be careful what shape is given to the link that lies, unriveted yet, in our hands to-day.

ART. V.—IMPERIUM ET LIBERTAS.

Comparative Politics ; or, the Unity of History. Lectures
by EDWARD A. FREEMAN. London : Macmillan & Co.

“ **T**HE people have suddenly laid down their cards, and taken to looking on. The players who are left at the table do not see beyond it, conceiving that the gain and the loss, and all the interest of the play are in their hands, *and will never be wiser, until they, and the table, and the lights, and the money, are all overturned together.*” Thus wrote Charles Dickens to Sir

Austen Layard on the alienation of the people from their own affairs, many years ago, in the matter of Parliamentary Reform. Since then, indeed, the people have taken up the cards and played and won, and they hold them now, but the apathy, the delusions, and the alienation seem strangely divided and parcelled out amongst their natural rulers, one-half of whom are intent on home matters, and would possibly rather have "no foreign policy," "not seeing beyond the table;" the other half have their eyes on the ends of the earth, not seeing what is on the table, neglecting local and national politics for imperial. Neither party seem to apprehend that unless both games are fully and fairly played, themselves, the players, and the table, and the lights, and the money, may all be overturned together by the on-lookers, their principals, the people.

Conceive, for instance, the results of losing one of our magnificent colonies before we shall even have received any of their representatives in London, before our own citizens have attained anything like an equal voice in our own Parliament, and whilst local, parochial, county, and municipal affairs choke up the avenues to imperial discussion! Our colonies cannot be heard, our citizens cannot speak, their representatives cannot debate, their rulers will not legislate—yet somebody must act. The paralysis is fourfold. May the cure come before the loss or the retribution!

We take with us to the colonies English manhood and nationality, and English citizenship and organization; customs, "the chief magistrate of life," and part and parcel of our English social system; administrative and local traditions, reminding us at every point of home; literature, the life-blood of England's intellect and soul; laws which, for the most part, are English—creating thus new Englands wherever we go; otherwise, the world would have heard little of the Britannic Empire, save such portions of it as have been carved and kept by the sword. Liberty and local organizations being, however, secured, the question of Empire has waited, and, probably, will be kept waiting still, until some other Power happens to take one of our colonies by the throat, so bringing for us the question of Imperial organization "within the range of practical politics." And let us bear in mind that when this happens, if it ever do happen, America is perilously like our colonies in certain unities of empire, race, language, institution, and religion, and some other matters above named, and that she will probably be our most formidable rival on the seas as well.

Meanwhile, the questions of individual, local, and imperial self-government are inextricably commingled. "Before the

State," says Michelet, "found the commune, before the commune found the man." Education Acts have taken that last fundamental work partly through, for we have asked, with our great teacher—

"What is the city but the people?
True, the people are the city."

And we are now told that the question of local self-government is ripening for legislation, and must be attended to, and truly the sequence is logical. Before the state or city found the commune, and let us hope that the commune and the citizen, having been somewhat better developed and organised, the city will have the attention of our citizens, the State of our statesmen; that those wonderful elements of power strewn broadcast across our globe, such as the globe never saw before, may have some sort of organization ere it is tempestuously demanded "on the eve of a disaster, or on the morrow of a defeat!"

We are profoundly concerned to insist on the connection between national and imperial politics, but we see that there are two things which we must first get at home: *primarily*, the full, free, national power of citizenship must be felt at elections, for we know that the English people, if not their leaders, are at home with greatness; and *next*, or, if possible, concurrently, Parliament, when elected, must have time to think and talk about imperial questions. And in respect to both these needs, time is of the essence of the matter. It is time empire were organised, but we want, first, time to take counsel together about it, and before we can get that we must send local matters back to the localities where they arose, to be settled. This, to our thinking, is what the nation demands. This is Liberalism worth attaining and preserving, and without it we cannot be conservative of Empire—a Liberalism that brings not only the all but the whole into its purview; a Liberalism that insists on individual right in order to extend it to the greatest numbers and under the most solemn sanctions; a Liberalism that having begotten would consolidate Empire, in order that Empire may promote better conditions of existence for all whom it may concern.

This movement is, from a Conservative point of view, inevitable. Says Comte, "the habitual predominance of the spirit of the whole, constitutes government." The movement is irresistible, for the State must take the impulse and impress of the community—of those who compose it, as Hegel declares, "The State is here a living universal spirit, but it is at the same time the self-conscious spirit of the individuals composing the community. . . . To realise these grades is the boundless impulse of the

world-spirit, the goal of its irresistible urging." And, "If men are to remain civilised," argues De Tocqueville, "the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which the equality of conditions is increased." The principle of the movement seems as intuitive, universal, natural, as it is wonderful; and we quote Comte again, "Is it possible to conceive anything more wonderful than that regular and continuous convergence of an immensity of individuals, each to a certain degree independent, and nevertheless all ceaselessly disposed to concur in one general development?"

But Burke, as usual, not only elucidates the principle, but bids it strike home:—

"I think I can trace all the calamities of this country to the single source of our not having had steadily before our eyes a general, comprehensive, well-connected, and well-proportioned view of the whole of our dominions, and a just sense of their true bearings and relations. If we make ourselves too little for the sphere of our duty; if, on the contrary, we do not stretch and expand our minds to the compass of this object, be well assured that everything about us will dwindle by degrees, until, at length, our concerns are shrunk to the dimensions of our minds!"

In a free State power precedes organization, because organization naturally proceeds from power, and forms develop from force, not from theorists or doctrinaires. Thus events have constituted us an Empire, but we have no Imperial Constitution. Our Government, as a government of empire, must be an Imperial Government; yet, alike without imperial constitution or imperial representation, it must, in some sense, from the very fatality of its position, be not only imperial, but autocratic. The remedy is, not to scold men who are obliged to act, for acting without a constitution, but to create one, and meanwhile to consider whether they have acted rightly according to existing forces and interests, and with due regard to what the constitution of an imperial federated democracy, like that of Great Britain, must and ought to become. We have lately considered the questions of imperial federation, and also of our imperial policy (see Articles I. and VI. in our last April Number), and we propose now taking as our motto the words lately suggested by our Premier, but by no means necessarily approving his prescription either for empire or liberty; to consider some of the necessary relations of the mother State, both to CITIZENSHIP and EMPIRE. But, in talking of Empire, let us bear in mind, always, that power is in manhood, or nowhere; that nothing else is imperial save in name, or, as a consequence; that we are an empire because the physical, or industrial and mental and moral elements

of our citizenship are, after all, more symmetrical and complete than those of other nations and of the nations over whom we rule. Empire obliges, and must vanish if its obligations are not held binding. The questions of empire and citizenship are one and indivisible. If we want to maintain our empire, we must maintain and advance our citizenship, if we want to maintain and advance our citizenship, we must maintain our empire. Within, we must adjust our constitution to the preparedness of the people for power, without, we must adjust our empire according to the preparedness of the races whom we rule, to rise from subjects into citizens. Our colonists and colonies everywhere must be regarded as the complement of citizenship and empire. On the one hand let it be, as Burke said it was, "the spirit of the British Constitution which infused through the mighty mass of the English settlements, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates every part, even down to the minutest," and on the other, let us have a care lest "if we do not permit our members to act upon enlarged views, we shall infallibly degrade our national representation into a confused and scuffling bustle of local agency.'

In fact, the Britannic confederation must legislate for the Britannic confederation, if, indeed, by the time we have concocted a plan, its constituents shall have proceeded to no further dismemberment of the Britannic empire. England's power depends on her becoming and remaining such constitutional centre, as soon and as long as nature and mutual interests allow; and that she cannot be, unless a scheme of representation or of council, commensurate with and proportionate to the situation, be speedily matured and acted upon. The universal factors of empire, men, land, and money, in which England (with her dependencies) is richer, broader, and stronger than ever empire before, must never again be allowed to bring forth bankruptcy, barrenness, and death, instead of wealth, plenty, and power, simply for want of bringing together, to bring forth a thousand fold.

And all these world-wide opportunities and franchises depend for the moment on the courage and ideas of the people and of their great men, or, failing these, on the speedy perfecting of our system of home representation, in order that the ideas and the men may be forthcoming, for *it is a race against time*. We are drifting in the greatness of our way, as far and as fast as want of organization can carry us, towards and to that "constituted anarchy" which Hegel lamented in the old German Empire—"the position that an empire is properly a unity, a totality, a State, while yet all the relations are determined so exclusively on the principle of private right, that the privilege of all the constituent parts of the empire to act for themselves, *contrarily to*

the interests of the whole, is guaranteed by the most inviolable sanctions." At the moment, of two things, one, our imperial power and prerogative must be illegitimate or disused. We must now occasionally admit, and not only admit, but sanction, and not only sanction, but insist on, the exercise of despotic, nay, of autocratic power, if opportunities are not to pass. We have no properly constituted representatives or authorised advisers, with competent knowledge and responsibility; and the situation almost reminds us of Franklin's "rules for reducing a great empire to a small one, by a modern simpleton."

The reign of the happy-go-luckies must end. We must form our theories, if not a little in advance of facts, at least to fit the facts. We must mobilize our faculties a little, and know what to create and what to destroy, for the question of empire is greatly a question of how fast and how completely we can do execution on the old-fashioned obstructions in our constitution, so as to complement our empire before it is too late, and to consolidate and unite with our dependencies before they become entirely independent. *It is a race against time.* A generation in this matter does wonders, because, whilst emigrants regard England as their home, their children, born in the colonies, may regard her as alien in constitution and empire, as in interest and policy. How readily might we, once, have federated our American colonies; but three years of George III. made that for ever impossible. Before 1763, according to Franklin's evidence, "our American colonies" could have been governed at the expense only of "a little pen, ink, and paper, and led by a thread." In 1766, America and Americans were his and their "own country and people." We then commenced the process of the dismemberment of the empire. Time may be against us again, and colonists may become allies or Enemies, and instead of delegates to the Grand Council of the Empire, we may have ambassadors, ultimatums, and wars.

"καὶ πνεῦμα ταῦτόν οὐ ποτ' οὐτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν
φίλοις βέβηκεν οὔτε πρὸς πόλιν πόλει.
τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς δ' ἐν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ
τὰ τερπνὰ πικρὰ γίγνεται καὶ θις φίλα."

In fact, the colonial question is the Imperial question, whether as to ships, colonies, and commerce; to opportunities which may turn weakness into strength, and paupers into customers; to the "seawehr" which should imitate on our own element (and, perhaps, out of those who now grow up to be but the raw material of pauperism, violence, and theft), one of the factors of Prussian power; or to tariffs for or against our commercial progress. If we reject natural and easy combinations now, we shall be fain to seek

others at any cost. *It is a race against time.* Can we surely enough, and, before all things, swiftly enough, deal destruction against obstruction, and political death against delay? Can we surely enough, and quickly enough, call up for judgment the vested interests of the few in the future littleness and dismemberment of the Britannic Empire?

But in a parliament composed of direct representatives of all other interests and localities—where soldiers, bishops, lawyers, railway directors, and office-holders sit and vote for their trades and their constituencies—it is not likely that either manhood or empire can get a fair chance. The trades' unionism of privileged interests has long enough been over-represented in those Houses; and as to distribution or redistribution, the empire out of England is hardly represented there at all, save as patriotism and genius are Nature's direct representatives of all great questions. It is time that both manhood and empire were more directly represented in the Imperial House. The thinkers and the workers, reinforced by the direct representatives of colonial and Indian interests, should enter in and supersede the *vis inertiae* or neutrality of those whom neither Nature nor constituencies, nor self-interest, have qualified, enlisted, or empowered on their behalf. Local interests are not and cannot be properly attended to in the House of Commons: imperial interests are not and cannot be properly administered in the present Lords and Commons; and if local and imperial interests demand a change, much more do national interests. It is notorious how much, unless a war is on the horizon, the House of Commons troubles itself about any imperial questions—say, for instance, such trifles as the finance of 200,000,000 of subjects who are not citizens; and the Lords are now no House for national questions, nor can the Commons be the Commons until local self-government, and a more equal representation, give reality and immanence to local action.

A nation, in proportion as it is strong, sound, and real, is really an organic unity—an organism with all the functions of life, growth, and action; its faculties of association constitute a living power, and representative and executive functions are but its brain and arm. The principles, therefore, of its reorganization ought to be clear. Where, however, the State in question is also an Empire, the problem is vastly more complicated, because races may not be the same, institutions may not be similar, and society may exist under different conditions, and, perhaps, in varying epochs, or in remote zones, and alien nationalities. Thus critical is the condition of our own empire. Three considerations govern, always and everywhere, the unity

of a State, be it large or small—namely, individualⁿ right and status, and local and general representation ; in other words, freedom, communal, municipal, and county associations, and the general bond. As to minor obstructions, whether in Church, State, country, or Parliament, they are sure to be swept away, if encountered by a manhood power prepared for the era of equality ; but with empires, which to exist at all must be federated, the period in their life and history when certain measures tending to such union are done or attempted is of supreme moment.

Such a development of manhood power in the master race of our empire as is needful thus to inaugurate the era of equality having arrived, the master epoch has also arrived, and it is time to construct on a commensurate scale. The position, intelligence, power, and value of the individual unit having been altered, a readjustment throughout—of commune, county, state, and empire,—has to follow, yet that imperial organization, which is but the corollary of an imperial manhood, and for which so many imperial Englishmen have lived and died, would fain be left by non-imperial Englishmen to the four winds of heaven, or to be appropriated by possible foes, because the votes and the interests of obstructionists, of families, priests, millionaires, money-lenders, labour farmers and brewers, of convicted mediocrities and incapables, are wanted for the ins-and-outs of office. Nevertheless, may we now at last say, with Volney, “a new age has made its appearance, an age of astonishment to vulgar minds, of surprise and dread to tyrants, of emancipation to many peoples and races, and of hope to the whole world.” Such, we believe, will be the completed genesis of the British Constitution, and to this end we are not a day too soon in bringing up the mighty conservative and revolutionary energies of the masses. In this sense it may even be said that the British Constitution is in its infancy, for it has to solve larger and even larger problems of government, so as to become adjusted to the mental, moral, and material development of its peoples.

The forging of fine schemes for constitutions or federations is undoubtedly one of the easiest of exercises, it is, however, still easier, and also more dangerous, to put away schemes really adapted to the situation. Of three things one, we shall adopt an effectual bond of union, or an ineffectual one, or shall not attempt any. But as the latter course is impossible, the right bond of union is the only refuge from mere Imperialism, or unconstitutional empire. Fall to pieces without a struggle we shall not, and to fail were to cover the world with our wrecks. The only course remaining is a proper adjustment of the rights and duties of empire. All our past history encourages us to proceed, and to

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succeed is but the natural next step in combining all the existing elements of our freedom and power. Looking at our history from its present stand-point, it is well to consider, with Mr. Freeman, on "Comparative Politics," that—

"The whole history of our land and race will be read backwards if we fail always to bear in mind that the lower unit is not a division of the greater, but that the greater is an aggregate of the smaller. The hundred is made up of villages, marks, gemeinden, whatever we call the lowest unit, the shire, the gau, the pagus, is made up of hundreds, and, in the same sort, the pagus is not a division of the kingdom, but the kingdom is an aggregate of pagi."

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In the same sense, the kingdom will not be a division of empire, but empire an aggregate of kingdoms. It is not ours to read history backwards, and it, happily, is the business of our race to make history go forwards. And, as Mr Freeman shows, "it is among the men of our own blood that we can best trace out how, as in Greece and Italy, the family grew into the clan, how, as in Greece and Italy, the clan grew into the tribe, and how, at that stage, the development of the two kindred races parted company, how, among the Teutons on either side of the sea, the tribe has grown, not into the city, but into the nation" It is the freedom of our race that makes its power, and its power, freedom, and it is our combination of power with freedom that is leading us from the stage of "nation," away from imperialism, and on to empire.

It is right for "the true scholar to know not only whence words come, but whither they go," and for the historian to see things "not only as from Rome and Athens, Paris and London, but also as from Constantinople, Aachen, and Ravenna" it is also right and necessary, as politicians, to consider whence power comes, in order to judge of its future channels, and doubtless, Canada, Egypt, Australia, India, and South Africa, will provide their own capitols as coigns of vantage whence to witness the long procession of power from so many realms and with so many memories uniting themselves as factors in a mightier conglomeration of empire than was ever possible before

The English have their unities of race, language, institution, religion—each binding enough, but, together, mightier than any other bond yet forged or created, and we have, also, our majestic traditions, telling us how imperial strength is the basis of imperial organism, and of that fourfold freedom of Press, School, Church, and Assembly, for want of which all other empires have gone down, and by means of which England

"Has built her everlasting mansion
Upon the bleached verge of the salt flood"

Let us, then listen further to Mr Freeman, as he describes the undying power of the language and the laws of Rome, and apply it, by analogy, to our own greater future, which adds to language and law, race and religion.

“The true glory of the Latin tongue is to have become the eternal speech of law and dominion. In the eyes of universal history the truest triumphs of the Latin tongue are to be found in lands far away from the shores of the Italian peninsula. The tongue of Rome, the tongue of Gaius and Ulpian, rather than the tongue of Virgil and Horace, has become the tongue of the Code and the Capitularies, the tongue of the false Decretals, and of the true acts of Councils the tongue of Domesday and the great charter, the tongue of the Missal and the Breviary, the tongue which was, for ages, in Western eyes, the very tongue of Scripture itself, the tongue in which all Western nations were content to record their laws and annals, the tongue for which all those nations which came within her immediate dominion were content to cast away their national speech.”

And if it is to the days of Roman decline that we have to look for her true and abiding greatness, if those “who once dreamed of sweeping away the Roman name,” learned later that the world could not be governed save by the laws of Rome, and how their highest glory was to use the power of the Goth in the defence of the Roman commonwealth, how *à fortiori* will all this apply to our own future, when instead of ‘from Winchester to Trebizond’ we read, Montreal to Adelaide, London to Calcutta; and instead of the ‘shreds of that purple of Church and Empire,’ in which even conquering barbarians gloried to deck themselves withal, we realise the power, and freedom, and civilisation of modern citizenship, that completer development of modern organised life which transcends the ancient church morally, as far as its limits transcend the old empire territorially. The “Libertas” is as much truer and stronger as the “Imperium” is wider. The new world and the new science have come together.

We come, then, with increased assurance to five conclusions as to our citizenship and Empire. First, some existing forms of our Constitution are not at one with even the existing motive manhood power which must control them. Second, that power is daily becoming more intense, and is daily passing from the few and the many to the all. Third, many of our forms and institutions are at marked variance with the increasing power. Fourth, the more manhood is developed, the more complete must become its organization. Fifth, from all existing conditions there is issuing an imperial democracy, which calls for, and will create, a more complete development and organization than the world

has yet been, and whose tendencies, instincts, necessities, passions, are imperial because they have been free, but which may not become strong enough to remain free if their developments are tampered with or repressed

The question of England is, therefore, that of an imperial federated democracy; not of Empire alone, but of federation; not of federation alone, but of democracy. And to these are added the question of India, with its hundreds of millions of subjects, who are not citizens. The problem is daily becoming easier, but more pressing. Englishmen are becoming more imperial and England must follow suit. Competing powers are becoming more powerful, objections once valid are set at naught by improved inter-communication, and by the gathering forces and policy of union. Politics must now be weighed in the scales of the world balance, and as we proceed to organise as we are now organising everything between manhood and Empire, Empire becomes easier, nearer, more necessary, and more certain. It is only in unity with England that the component parts of our Empire can unite with one another. Thus only it can become, and thus it must become—

“ Perfect,
Whole as the mule, founded as the rock,
Not caged, cribbed, confined, bound in
To silly doubts and fears ”

The fourfold policy of Empire stands, therefore, plainly confessed. It is, first, to complete and consummate the admitted principle of the people's sovereignty and equal citizenship, through all our laws, forms, institutions and Constitution. Next, to separate local self government from that which is national and imperial, with the view not merely of properly dividing the work of each but of rendering the proper transaction of business possible, thus considering the paramount necessity, as Mr. Gladstone has expressed it, “ of establishing something nearer to an equilibrium between the duties and the *physical* powers, so to speak, of the House of Commons ”. Next, to federate the various portions of our Empire, distinguishing, of course, in the means to that end, between those which are at one with ourselves in all the elements of union—namely, race, language, institutions, and religion, and those which, like India and Ireland, are alien in all (and therefore of distinct nationality), except institution. And, lastly to ally ourselves, in defence, and if needs be in offence, with all English-speaking peoples, giving the universe assurance of MANHOOD and CITIZENSHIP, and securing for the right, lasting alliances, and a final preponderating power.

And these vast problems are after all only the secondary works of statesmanship which have to do with the forms, distribution,

and organization of power. The future, which depends on this power is, we think, tolerably assured, and we may almost appropriate the admonition addressed by Virgil to Dante as they approached the bridge which spanned the tenth gulf:—

“But what yet gazest on?
Wherefore dost fasten yet thy sight below
Among the maimed and miserable shades?”

Power and its organization constitute the State, and organization follows power. It is, therefore, a question of Conservatism as well as progress, the question—namely, whether the revolution is strong enough to become Conservative in spite of conservers and compromisers. The problem solving in politics always is, how power shall be developed, or how the policy should be destroyed. The destruction is a provincial question, each country can settle it for itself. The development is an imperial question, it will be settled by the universal spirit of progress.

“Surely of political glory this is the highest,” says Landor, applying the parallel case of a man’s household to the colonies, “to rear carefully, to educate honestly, to protect bravely, and provide independently—what inconsistency, then, what folly, what madness for the metropolis to wish otherwise in regard to her colonies! Is the right arm stronger by rendering the left weaker? Gain we any vantage-ground against our enemy by standing on the prostrate body of our child?” Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Foster have told us, the one how “trade follows the flag,” the other that “trade flows greatly in the channels of political influence,” and certainly a nation that possesses surplus subjects by the hundred thousands, and surplus land by thousands of square miles, and yet not only discourages the right union of these elements of national strength, but actually surrenders them to nations whose policy may be hostile to its own, is very like a householder who provides burglars with tools for housebreaking. A city of 200,000 souls might be built up every year by alien and possibly hostile countries, out of the best bone and sinews of our emigrants!

Happily, the predisposition of our colonies to unite more closely with England resembles the infatuation felt of old alike by some of the Roman dependencies and by “our American colonists.” The great obstacles are want of ideas amongst our middle classes; want of time, owing to the utter disarrangement of our senatorial business; and want of initiative amongst our statesmen. The working classes, and the higher classes, and the highest class—the thinkers, have ideas, time, and initiative, but the rest or residuum drags them.

Mr. Froude, in his latest work rightly says that, “from the

time when Rome became an empire, mistress of provinces to which she was unable to extend her own liberties, the days of her self-government were numbered. Parliaments and senates can provide successfully only among subjects who are directly represented in them. They are too ignorant, too selfish, to govern others, and imperial aspirations draw after them by obvious necessity an imperial rule." If this was true of Rome, whose social system was based on slavery, how far true is it of British colonies, where every man is a citizen as well as a subject, and looks to representation as a natural inalienable right? Lincoln put the truism more curtly when he said, "no man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent." In fact, union without representation is and must be mere imperialism, union with representation is empire.

That representation would at present be too much for India, and not enough for Ireland, detracts nothing from the truth of these positions; on the contrary, they are the exceptions which prove the rule, their case comes within the scope and *régime* of federation; but representation depends upon the state or stage of progress reached. Mr. J. S. Mill, "On Nationality," p. 295, gives the right test:—

"If the smaller nationality is able to overcome the greater, there is often a gain to civilisation: but the conquered and conqueror cannot, in this case, live together under the same free institutions. The less advanced people must be governed as subjects, and the state of things is either a benefit or misfortune, according as the subjugated people have or have not reached the state in which it is an injury not to be under a free government; and, according as the conquerors do or do not use their superiority in a manner calculated to fit the conquered for a higher share of improvement."

That this is but the common sense of the matter is the highest compliment. The difficulty is to discover a sense sufficiently common to cover the whole field. Thus, Wilhelm von Humboldt (on "The Sphere and Duties of Government") tells us that "every conceivable law has three preliminary essentials: a complete general theory of right; a perfect exposition of the end which the State should propose to itself, or of the limits within which it is to restrict its activity; and a theory of the means necessary for the existence of a State;" and De Tocqueville puts it another way, when he says: "The whole art of the legislator is correctly to discern beforehand the natural inclinations of communities of men, in order to know whether they should be assisted, or whether it may not be necessary to check them" Montesquieu, again, has it: "Laws ought to be no less relative to the principle or passion than to the nature or organization of

each government; this is the key to an infinite number of laws." Whilst Hegel ("Philosophy of History") boldly owns that "it was not so much from slavery, as through slavery, that humanity was emancipated." The first question of statesmanship is, "With whom have we to deal?" If nationality, with its sufficing unities of race, language, institutions, and religion, exists, the bond is closer and more glorious, for "the spirit of nationality," as Burke observes, "is at once the bond and the safeguard of kingdoms; it is something above laws, and beyond thrones—the impalpable element, the inner life of states; but anti-nationality is the confusion and downfall of kingdoms—it is a blight and mildew to the heritage of the people."

The problem is easy, either where nationality exists or where it does not exist. The difficulty comes where it is being created, or has partly or largely grown. Where it is especially intense, as in Ireland, we challenge the very spirit and essence of right government, if we do not accommodate forms to it. Nationality is the royal element in politics: it must be conciliated or destroyed. In Ireland we have done neither, and "confusion, downfall, blight, and mildew," the baleful crew of anti-nationality, are upon us accordingly.

"Captain be he my England who can go
With heart infallible, straight to the gulf-streams of the world,
Where blow the inevitable winds."

But instead of captains, we have had Lords of Misrule, and unreason, unable, alike, to understand, as one of the primary works of statesmanship, that nationality must have scope, or to accomplish that ordinary secondary task of statesmanship, namely, to separate between the really local and the essentially imperial functions of Government. There are cases, as in India, where institutions alone are unity enough, not to supersede nationality, but to unite nations under the larger bond of empire. Nations, we say, but Ireland is a nation; and for her, representation alone is not enough of institution, if nationality be not respected. For it is a self-evident truth, that a whole people with its broad and multitudinous base, its ascending hierarchies, professions, and officials; its sects, parties, localities, classes; its specialities and differentiae of thought, learning, pulpit, press, platform; its individuals and sections, with their multiples of power, constitute the completest balance and best governing power provided by Nature for nations. As to Irish Home Rule, or local self-government, Mr. Gladstone has recently spoken as follows, in his second electioneering address:—

In the matter of local government there may lie the solution of some national, and even imperial, difficulties. . . . If you ask me

what I think of Home Rule I will only answer when you tell me how Home Rule is related to local government. I am friendly to large local prerogatives. I intensely desire to see Parliament relieved of some portion of its duties, and if Ireland, or any other portion of the country, is desirous and able so to arrange its affairs as to take the local portion of some part of its transactions off Parliament, it would liberate and strengthen Parliament for imperial concerns. There is one limit, and only one, to the extension of local government. Nothing can be done to weaken or compromise the authority of the Imperial Government.

The twin principles to be observed are, of course, locality and generality or unity, and it belongs to statesmanship to observe and to separate them, and when we consider that perhaps not more than one sixth of our Acts of Parliament can be called imperial, it is clear that chaos or statesmanship *must* intervene. *The Times*, of December 2nd, states, that the plans just deposited for Private Bill legislation, next Session, were 213, that public legislation was increasing with alarming rapidity, and that "if private legislation had grown at the same rate Parliament would have been completely powerless to cope with the gigantic task. The Titan staggers under his too great burden. How is he to be relieved?" And the private legislation that is to help to paralyse public and imperial measures comprises 72 railway bills, 23 tramway bills, 49 miscellaneous, and 70 provisional orders. It is not within the scope of this Article to go into detail as to the scheme of union, either of the Colonies, or Canada, India, or Ireland, but a few more remarks on the necessary and peculiar principles of union with the last two may be desirable.

In a barbarous subject-state the key to all mistakes of imperial policy is a confusion between the principles of intervention and representation. Representation postulates a certain equality. the represented look out for themselves. And if they cannot, then, we are bound so to intervene or to guarantee substantial right. "It is a manifest truth" (and well explained by the late Emperor Napoleon in his *Life and Works*) "that to be responsible you must be free." But the converse is true, that if you are free, you must be responsible. Our business in India is to graduate our intervention through representation and nationality to empire. We must understand that *all* questions of statesmanship have to be solved in India, especially the greatest, and we must send our greatest men there to solve them, especially the greatest statesman of all—public opinion. The rights of those who rule under us, namely, the native princes, have to be better reconciled with those of the people, a proper civil list for such princes as we ought not to set aside, would not interfere with the proper work of government, nor with the cost of justice,

police, education, tanks, irrigation, railways, roads, canals, posts, and telegraphs. But India is a poor country, and were she a rich one, she could not pay for these things, and also contribute, as she still does, an equivalent to the natural rent of the land, to the maintenance of State armies and harems of native princes. If we do not hinder it, the population will gradually advance towards and to citizenship, and then, whosoever power may wax or wane, England will have done her duty for India. We believe, however, that our predominance will not, cannot, and should not, cease save by our own *lâches*. A really imperial policy, which is a policy of justice and common sense, would bring to our side everywhere unexpected allies. We are holding the country for the country's good, until we shall have advanced the people to education, representation, and self-government, and if we were not doing this we should have no business in India. Imperium has come before libertas, because otherwise citizenship might never have come at all. Empire for pupilage, and then pupilage for freedom.

But the same principle of intervention which we have used in India we have abused in Ireland. Ireland is a nation. Ireland is our peer. When that is acknowledged—and never a day before—she will be our ally. She will have not only freedom, but equality, and she will use both to win co-heirship in empire; or, on the flank of England, she will remain what Montalembert said we deserved that she should remain, “une plaie vengeresse éternelle.” To be represented, in order to be outvoted by two nationalities, and to have no jurisdiction in important local matters, have meant liberty to England to enslave Ireland; liberty to one nation to use up another as mere raw material in the fabric of empire. From conquest should have ensued dependence; from dependence should have followed association, to be succeeded by a real federal unity—one monarch, one empire, the same alliances, and equal citizenship. Let the Irish settle for themselves their proper local matters, and, as to the rest, place their picked representatives on an Imperial Committee, and they would represent unity, nationality, and empire, instead of sectarianism, disaffection, and revolt. The nations are of one blood; and even Irishmen are men, and more men than Irishmen. Wherever there are many Irish, there will be many men, and much human nature. The very spirits of sectarianism and empire are at marked variance. They are instinctive and irreconcilable enemies. Let the chosen representatives of Irish nationality meet in a Chamber of Empire the Conscript Fathers of the State, and not sectarianism or treason, but unity and statesmanship will prevail. “Responsibility educates.” The marplots will be scouted. Imperialism will become a caste; men fairly and

freely elected for empire, delegated to establish and settle it, will not unite against it. Each member will be jealous of the sectarianism or insubordination of every other; nor when Ireland sees herself set with equal chances before the world and with the colonies can she be other than imperial; for to elect Irish peers or others to the London Congress of Nationalities, far from degrading them as tools of dismemberment, is to elevate them to more comprehensive functions or vaster powers. When the Irishman sees the common course chartered by counsellors, who are not all of them—many of them will not be—born in England, unprejudiced against Ireland, in whom wisdom, impartiality, statesmanship, and common sense have been secured as far as possible, then, if not before, will the national faith of Ireland have been deserved, justified, and won. Burke told us of “the new and grand vicinage of Europe,” and the words, so familiar now, were then immeasurably grand and new. Another and a grander vicinage, that of the Britannic Empire, will, in time, be as familiar. The world, indeed, can find scope and verge enough, but for one other combination that can transcend it in power, and surpass it in excellence—

“To see, like some vast island from the ocean
The altar of the Federation rear
It's pile in the midst;
To hear the restless multitudes for ever
Around the base of that great altar flow.
That mighty shape did wear
The light of genius; its still shadow hid
Far ships; to know its height the morning mists forbid.”

Meanwhile, let us try to realise, in the general, what is that Empire of which the Premier has just boasted, but of which we say that the completion of liberty and of sectional organization must be the condition precedent.

The English colonies and conquests constitute nearly a third of the habitable globe, and a fourth of its population. The proofs of its greatness are on every continent and on every sea. The water-thoroughfares of the world are guarded by our fortresses, dominated by our citadels, or kept open by our treasure. Our trading stations, our fortified naval stations, our coaling depôts, are everywhere. Mighty links of a chain, links consisting of six vast empires, or nuclei of empires, amongst them continents of gold, corn, and cattle, circles the globe, and are waiting to be put together. India and Ceylon cover over 1,400,000 square miles. Australia covers over 2,500,000 square miles, almost equalling Europe. The West Indian dependencies cover over 100,000 square miles. The Canadian Dominion stretches from

ocean to ocean, and from the meridian of Rome to the North Pole; its shipping-tonnage already rivals that of Great Powers; its organised militia numbers six hundred thousand men; and its moving roads, from the head of Lake Superior to St. John, Newfoundland, are nearly equal in length that of a voyage to England, but are always within sight of its own shores: this vast Dominion is the finest agricultural country in the world, and covers no less than 630,000 square miles. Lastly, comes that which will become the Empire of South Africa, containing, with Mauritius and Bourbon, nearer 300,000 than 200,000 square miles, and commanding land and ocean in the south! Adding to this summary the aggregate of unnamed smaller dependencies, we have a total of over 5,000,000 square miles, which, if populated at the ratio of Great Britain and Ireland, with their 120,879 square miles, would give over 1,200,000,000 souls!

A total, truly, which, if bound up by liberty and law, will contribute an awful embodiment of power; if not, a more appalling extravaganza of chaos. It was a Russian boast—"The bayonets of the Czar prop up the skies," if, however, we were to glory, we should glory rather in this—that within such a confederation our chances of war would be minimized or destroyed, whilst those without would be apt to leave us alone. We should, in fact, be a guarantee of general peace, of progress and of right; and whilst the new organization is being thought out and the new power worked out—as the thinkers and the people, the battalions of intellect and of force, proceed to unite their armies, let us remember this—*order or anarchy will come, according as we do or do not work out true principles of organization.* It is in determining the future of such factors of the future as Canada and Australia that we shall most certainly settle our own. Both are now more English than the English, and the great alliances, confederations, and policies of the world, and probably its great wars, *have still to come.*

Where, then, are the insects who will buzz their policy of disaffection and disintegration against such a future of moral and material progress? Why, they are for the most part at home, if England can be called "the home" of such; at any rate, they are not abroad, if our great dependencies can be called "abroad" by Englishmen. Of this fact take a few specimens. In 1870, a despatch from Queensland stated that that Government "observed with regret that their countrymen *at home* display, through the press and in Parliament, a desire to thrust the colonies out of the Empire, and that whenever a serious intention shall be shown in the British Parliament to break the Imperial tie, the colonists will claim their right to be heard against a deprivation of their position and rights as Englishmen without their consent." Later

on, the *Daily Telegraph* commissioner or correspondent, whose personality is well known, pointed out that "the colonists are not only more English than Englishmen; they are in each colony not merely English, but essentially subdivided in all their aspirations. The Queenslander is hardly nearer in love to the men of South Wales than to a Frenchman; and certainly the man in New South Wales hates no one so much as the successful Victorian." We have before us a copy, later still, of *The Australasian*, which speaks with contempt of local as opposed to imperial confederation, and condemns the former system, "which throws up a barrier against England herself, which dreams of an Australian State, which flaunts an Australian flag, which aims at neutralising imperial by setting up a false image of colonial confederation—a continent hedged about by a wall of tariffs—which regards immigration as a favour to be grudged to the mother-country, and talks of the vast territory of our waste lands, the rightful domain of the whole English race, as the exclusive property of the two millions of the first-comers."

What Burke said in the debate on Fox's India Bill, exactly ninety-six years ago, on the connection between liberty and empire, was true then, is true now, and will be true for ever, not only of India but of all our other colonies: "If we are not able to contrive some method of governing India well, which will not of necessity become the means of governing Great Britain ill, a ground is laid for their eternal separation. Every means effectual to preserve India from oppression is a guard to preserve the British Constitution from its worst corruption."

We argue for the only practical way of holding our colonies; for the only way of making them pay; for the only way of making our own empire indestructible; for the only way of encouraging capital to unite with labour in colonial enterprise—by which emigration can increase our population, and pauperism become property and empire!

A three-fold process in politics is everywhere discernible, and it may be the world lesson of the epoch. First, as any given nation grows, development and organization tend to complete each other. Second, each such nation tends to the formation of one preponderating power of the people, the power of equality. Third, the general or universal tendency is to larger, more economical, and more effectual, national and international unities, involving the destruction of sectarianism in all its phases. The whole of a nation, and nothing less than the whole, is specially formed to govern the nation. The whole of an empire, and nothing less than the whole, is specially formed to govern the empire. In the revolutionary energies of the all, in the conservative administrative instincts of the middle classes, in the

natural leadership of the few, in the intensity and oneness of a democratic executive, and the universality and power of the people, meet the necessary virtues of all systems. Intensest unity and universal will are, in fact, not contradictory phrases, but postulates of the same conclusion.

This is in principle the essence of that connection which we have endeavoured to elucidate between citizenship, or liberty, and empire. The states of society are practically only two, the sectional and the universal, the eras of equality and inequality, and until the former is completed, the power of the people and of progress will always be at once legitimate and revolutionary. The question has, of course, its economical and social, as well as its political aspects, and if, indeed, we are an imperial race, if we have got out of what Napoleon used to call "the political lumber-room of old Europe," and are preparing to shunt the old Whig and Tory family-coach for the lightning express of the people, we shall not have pointed out in vain the connection between the means and the end—how the equal voice and power of citizens at elections, and a proper system of local administration, act and react on imperial issues. In that event we shall not have much longer to point and press the following questions:—

Why should we make an annual gift to the United States of several hundred thousand souls, worth in money alone, or in working power, one hundred millions sterling? Why let drift amongst aliens or foes, a property, if only in land, of incalculable extent and value? Why not satisfy capitalists by making the colonies an integral part of empire? Why not assure the colonists of their supreme heritage and greatest charter—English nationality and citizenship? Why not balance or complement the dearth of land here, with the dearth of manhood there; the supremacy of manufactures in one section of our estate, with the supremacy of agriculture in another? Why not realise and appropriate for a third of the habitable globe the meaning and fact of "commonwealth?" Why should not coinage, laws, inventions, prizes, and honour be imperial, as well as race, language, literature, and institutions? Why should not our millions of yearly colonial expenditure represent capital instead of loss? Why throw away elements of power that all other Powers would glory in, and

"Like the base Indian fling away a pearl,
Richer than all his tribe?"

How is it that governors and royal commissioners are great with schemes of abortion and dissolution, when the nation wants the senate, the army, the navy, the flag, the citizenship, the administration, the statesmanship, the peace, the power, and the unity of empire? Is it courage or ideas that our statesmen lack, or

do they fear that the people will not back them? Nay, rather let them have a care, for if they fling away as baubles what should constitute empire, the people when they awake and act, will ask under what *régime* and rule, by whose authorisation, with what motives and under what moralities such things were possible.

"Too noble to be enslaved" we are, "too impatient to be free" we are not. But there is another thing. The Englishman is imperial. His instincts as well as his materials of empire far transcend those of the Roman. Englishmen will support the Minister who brings them empire by right or constitution—with peace if possible, with honour always. Empire, in fact, is for us mainly a problem of administration, of distinguishing great things from small, national matters from imperial, as also local matters from national.

The preponderating power of the English State has been created—the party of universal progress, "the majority vote," "the general consensus"—call it what we may, the sword, sceptre, and crown, of the new dispensation! And we say it is time that this preponderating power of the State should constitute also this empire whilst it can—in peace the preponderating influence of the world—in politics, its preponderating power.

"History too," says Mommsen, "is a Bible, and if she cannot hinder the fool from misunderstanding, and the devil from misquoting her, she too, will, be able to bear with and requite them both."

ART. VI.—THE RELATION OF SILVER TO GOLD AS COIN.

Gold in the East, being Observations on a Practical Method of Establishing a Gold Currency in India, and its Influence on the Trade and Finance of that Country. By CLARMONT J. DANIELL, Bengal Civil Service. London: Strahan & Co. 1879.

THE effect of the decline which has taken place in the value of silver, during the last few years, on the finances of India has attracted the attention of a larger portion of the public than is ordinarily interested in the politics of our dependency, and lately has excited a still more general interest, not only in consequence of the importance attaching to the measures which the Government of the United States may introduce in respect of the use of silver in the currency of the American Republic, but

also owing to the expectation which lately prevailed, that the Chancellor of the German Empire would to some extent modify the system he has introduced into Germany, by again employing silver as coin in larger quantities than a short time ago seemed likely.

The discussions on the use of silver as coin have principally turned on the best method of keeping it in circulation with gold. It has so fallen in value, rated in gold, that the relation long since established between a given quantity of coined silver, and its currency or nominal equivalent in gold, no longer corresponds with the actual ratio of value found to exist between the same weights of the two metals in the market. It has become necessary to withdraw one or other kind of coin from circulation; and silver, as the least stable in value of the two, has, to a great extent, disappeared from currency over a large part of Europe. The metal is used chiefly for coinage, and comparatively but little employment can be found for the immense mass of metal discarded from coinage. It has naturally become a drug in the market. Its low value as measured in gold increases more than ever the difficulty of using it as coin concurrently with gold in the manner hitherto customary.

Much inconvenience is experienced by those classes to whose daily needs silver coin is more appropriate than gold, and, on the other hand, a vast treasure is locked up, lying idle because the natural field for its employment as money is much limited by the disuse of silver as coin.

We intend to consider the proposals which have been brought into public discussion for the re-employment of silver as money in conjunction with gold.

They range themselves under three principal heads. The "restricted supply" method, under which it is proposed that silver coin should be maintained at an artificial value when rated with gold, by limiting the supply of coined money. Secondly, the scheme known as that of "International Bi-Metallism." This it is proposed should be carried out by concerted action on the part of the principal nations of Europe, and by the United States of America, in the use of silver as coined money on the same terms. It is expected that its employment in this manner would have the effect of maintaining the currency value of silver coin at a fixed ratio to the currency value of coined gold. Thirdly, the use of coined silver concurrently with coined gold on the basis of the intrinsic ratio of value prevailing at any time between the two metals: under this system the number of silver coins which might exchange for a given gold coin would vary in correspondence with the market price of silver in the gold valuation. By this means an equilibrium would be maintained between the

currency values of the two kinds of coins, as any value of one would always exchange for its exact equivalent in the other; and one kind of coin could not be used for the purchase and export of the other, as the nominal or currency values of the gold and silver coins would always correspond with their actual values as measured the one by the other in the market.

The nations of Asia have in use currencies which consist almost exclusively of silver. Their commercial methods are throughout a preponderating proportion of the population of the Continent, still in a rudimentary condition, which, as it becomes more perfected and approaches nearer to the Western type, is continually making demands on the silver of the West. India as the channel through which Western Asia is supplied with silver is feeling the effect of the increased supply of silver available for commerce in a gradual rise in the value of labour and the necessaries of life; but as regards her internal commerce and the daily traffic of the bazaars, she experiences no inconvenience from the fluctuations in the value of silver as compared with that of gold.

The external trade, however, of India being principally carried on with gold-using countries, gold irresistibly becomes the measure of the value of all produce, manufactures, and commodities, not excepting silver itself, which come within the influence of that trade. There cannot be two standards of value for the same goods at the same time in the same market; and as gold is of the two metals that which daily experience proves to have more stability as a standard of value than silver, the products of Asia, although produced at an expenditure of silver in the East, are ultimately measured and paid for in gold in the West; and the silver coins of India, like every other commodity, take their value with reference to the gold coins of Western Europe and America, and under all circumstances in which the two classes of coin come into competition, the silver coins invariably pass current according to the rate at which they can be exchanged into the gold coins.

Thus, we find in India the commercial public divided into two distinct parties: one whose affairs being alone concerned with the internal trade of the country requiring silver; and the other, who being interested in the external commerce of the country, find gold essentially necessary to the proper prosecution of their business. It is to the latter class and their exigencies that the attention of the reader is invited.

The legal currency of British India consists solely of silver, while the foreign commerce of the country is conducted on a system in which silver exercises but little influence in its character of money on the determination of profits. The Indian

silver currency is, in the estimation of the gold-using trader from the West, merely a commodity. To him it has no quality which money in order to be efficient should possess. It is not a standard by which the values he is concerned with are measured, since the value of the coins of India are themselves measured from day to day like rice or corn in the English sovereign, which coin is the recognised measure of value for all commodities brought within the scope of English commerce. The silver currency of India, as a currency, is in the foreign trade of that empire with England superseded by the gold currency of this kingdom.

In practice, although perhaps not in terms, this is recognised to be the case by the schemes which have been from time to time brought forward with a view to give the Indian silver currency such an enhanced value relatively to the gold currency of England, that a fixed weight in silver of the Indian coin should always pass as the equivalent of a fixed weight of the English gold coin. The daily fluctuations in the value of silver as measured in gold are imperceptibly felt to deprive silver of one of the qualities which money should possess to make it efficient—that of an equivalent, whenever it competes with gold as an agent of exchange. If goods are sold for gold at a valuation which remains constant, and at the same time for silver at a valuation which daily varies, it requires no argument to show that silver has lost its claim to be considered money—the character of an equivalent. Silver, therefore, in those transactions in which gold is the standard of value and money of account is not money at all. If any means could be found to invest a given weight in silver with a value exactly equal and at all times as little liable to alter as against itself, as a given weight of gold, silver would redeem its position as money.

The “restricted supply” plan proceeds on the assumption that the Secretary of State for India or the Viceroy of that empire can, by restricting the supply of coined silver, make it so scarce a commodity that it will avail to purchase something like 20 per cent. more goods and more gold than is now possible. If such a power rests in the Viceroy, he can as easily make the Indian rupee buy 30, or 40, or 50 per cent. more gold than it is good for now; and the difficulty is not only solved, but India becomes a real El Dorado, and her inelastic revenue of silver becomes a purchasing agent of illimitable power. But the scheme is quite visionary. The desired consummation cannot be attained because the Secretary of State and the Viceroy can never succeed in isolating the currency of India from all external interference; nor can they so control the silver supply of the world as to prevent silver being carried to and fro between India and the West on the same

terms. There are, besides, in India Native Powers having treaty rights with the Queen-Empress, under which they are entitled to coin as much silver as they please. This circumstance alone would suffice to neutralise any measure having for its object an artificial enhancement of the value of the silver coin of India as measured by the gold standard of England. There are, besides, many other considerations which, as they have recently been set forth at length, need not be reproduced here, combining to make any such scheme as impolitic in principle as it is certain to be unsuccessful in practice.*

The plan in favour with that party among political economists known as "Bi-Metallists" is to unite all the principal nations of Europe and the people of the United States in a league, the condition of the union being that they shall all so arrange their currency systems that the silver coins they may use shall at all times hold a fixed relation of value to the gold coins of the same currency, and that one relation of value shall prevail in the currencies of all the nations so associated together. In order to give effect to this scheme, a general recoinage of the silver in use in all these systems would appear necessary, and some sanction must be obtained under which all the members of the league would be impelled to act in unison. These are difficulties which seem far from likely to be surmounted in putting such a scheme into practice. The "Bi-Metallists," besides, seem to consider it essential that England should join the League, apparently in the hope that, if she did so, her consumption of silver would be so large that her assistance would materially further the success of the Union. But England herself has no interest in the matter. Her currency system is equally adapted to her domestic requirements and to her foreign trade. The success or failure of such a League to maintain coined silver at a fixed relation to coined gold can affect her no more than if the British Islands were situated in another planet. In the interests of her great dependency India, England can do only what she does now—leave open the mints of India to the coinage of all the silver which may be brought for the purpose. The author of "Gold in the East" has shown that it is not possible for the Government of India to restrict the coinage and use of silver as money in India even if it wished to so. If it were possible, the English would have no ground of justification in view of the material requirements of India for entering on such a course of policy at all.

There is, however, a faint possibility that, if the nations of Europe and the people of the United States of America decided

* "Gold in the East." Strahan & Co.

to re-employ silver in their currencies to a very large extent, they might in doing so absorb so large a proportion of all the silver above and under ground in the world as to leave the amount of the unemployed remainder so reduced that India might in vain seek for the silver metal wherewith to add 50 or 60 millions of rupees on the average, by the year, to her currency. But in such a case it is quite certain that India would supplement her silver currency with gold.

The "Bi-Metallist" theory appears to contain among other principles, this, that it is within the power of a single nation or an association of nations to fix the value of the metal silver by agreeing to use it in their currencies at an estimated value measured in gold which corresponds with the arbitrary price they decide to put upon it. This, at least, we understand to be the meaning of the following note from M. Cernuschi's last pamphlet:—

"At the time of the French 15½ the position of the producers of gold and silver was this: all their produce had by law an unfailing and insatiable customer—the *Mint*. No price to haggle about, no competition possible. 113 grains of pure gold were a pound sterling; 165 grains of pure silver were a rupee; half a kilogramme of silver, 9-10 fine, was 100 francs; and half a kilogramme of gold, 9-10 fine, was 1550 francs. The 15½ ruled between the rupee and the sovereign. The rupee was worth exactly 1s. 10½d. in gold, and consequently the sovereign was worth 10 rupees, 10 annas, 9 pies. It was the mathematical par round which oscillated, as was natural, within the limits of the cost of transport to or fro, the rate of exchange between India and England, and consequently the quotation also of silver in London.

"This was all that the producers of gold and silver required to know, and did know. As to the statistics of gold or silver production, they were utterly indifferent to them; for whatever the vicissitudes of the production of either metal, the 15½ always ruled. They did not, therefore, sell their gold or silver, they despatched it to agents deputed to carry the ingots and present them at the French, English, Indian, and other Mints. The ingots were there converted into coin, and whatever Mint had coined them, the gold and silver pieces all entered into circulation, being as metal all worth as much as each other in the ratio of 15½. Having always had their gold and silver converted into coin at the ratio of 15½, producers never understood the meaning of these three words: *the cheaper metal*. Whether gold or silver, the monetary metal cost them very dear at certain times and in certain mines, very cheap at other times in the same mines or in others. Sometimes, even gold and silver issued together from the same mine, without the possibility of telling the cost-price of either separately. But the producers knew that the paying-power of the monetary metals, of fresh production just as of old, was proportionate to the total existing mass of both; they knew that the 15½ was firm and permanent, only because it was legal; they knew, therefore, that their outlay,

their losses or profits, in one word, their *cost of production*, had nothing to do with the value of the metal produced, nor with the relative value of gold and silver. *

"By multiplying by $15\frac{1}{2}$ the weight of the gold issuing from the mine, the producers knew how much silver that gold was worth among all nations; by dividing the weight of the silver which issued from the mine by $15\frac{1}{2}$, they knew how much gold that silver was worth among all nations. The thesis of the cheaper metal, we repeat, was incomprehensible to them."*

We believe, however, that it is invariably true that the value of silver is amenable to the laws which regulate that of other commodities offered in exchange, and that Lord Liverpool's definition of money, contained in the following passage from his "Treatise on the Coins," in no way conflicts with this theory, but rather confirms it:—"The money or coin of a country is the standard measure by which the value of all things bought and sold is regulated and ascertained; and is itself at the same time the value or equivalent for which goods are exchanged, and in which contracts are generally made payable."†

The "Bi-Metallist" principle expressed in M. Cernuschi's language involves the conclusion that the quality which money possesses as a measure of value can altogether supersede its other quality as an equivalent; that by force of law, if it is made a measure of value on certain terms, it also becomes an equivalent on the same terms, although, if the money be melted down, a given mass of metal may be only half as efficient in exchange with some other commodity as when it is coined into money.

We seek in vain for facts which support such a conclusion. In those cases in which such a condition is asserted to attach to money it must be shown that it is the coinage of the metal into money, and the fixation of a relation of value between the silver money so coined and gold, and not some other cause, which maintains the value of the silver coin at the currency ratio to that of gold. That which appears to support the view that legislation can affect the value of silver as measured in gold, we believe in no case to be anything else than the force of an ordinary law which regulates the value of goods in the market—viz., that if a large proportion of any commodity is subject to a steady demand for a particular purpose, the price which regulates its application to that purpose influences the price of the remainder which may be used for other purposes.

Thus, although shellac is much used in making hats, the

* "Bi-Metallism in England and Abroad," p. 32.

† "Treatise on the Coins," p. 8. Ed. 1805.

much larger quantity in daily demand for the manufacture of French polish will raise the price of the article in the latter's trade to that ruling in the latter manufacture; and likewise the price of barley, in places where beer is brewed in great quantities, is enhanced to those who would consume it for food by the maltster's demand for the grain.

In the same manner, as long as the quantity of silver in the world was tolerably constant, and the proportion consumed in the currencies of silver-using countries absorbed nearly all the supply, the demand for silver for currency maintained its price when the metal came to be applied to other purposes at a figure which, although it may have varied from time to time, proved to be so stable as to cause those who regulated the silver currencies of different nations little or no apprehension that the ratio of value fixed by law as existing between coined silver and coined gold could be so far affected by fluctuations in the exchange of the two metals at the market, that one of the two metals would become permanently unsuited for use as coin concurrently with the other. But when the supplies of silver yielded by the American mines increased the stock of that metal to an extent which altered the existing proportion between the quantity of the metal used as currency and the remainder which was not so used, and the yield of gold from the same source still further reduced the value of silver as measured in gold, that influence which the currency value of silver exercised over its market value ceased to act, and the legal ratio at which coined silver and gold exchanged with one another was imperilled. The proportion of silver available for other purposes than the currency of those countries where the ratio prevailed became so large as to be no longer amenable to the regulating influence of the currency ratio of value. Furthermore, that legal ratio of value closely approximated, during the time it was in force, to the natural ratio of value existing between the two metals, and the divergence between the two ratios was seldom so great as to weaken the influence of the legal currency ratio in its own field of action, as a regulator of the exchange between the two kinds of coin, for more than a short period of time at once.

With the accessions made during the last few years to the stock of the world's silver these conditions were all changed. If it is possible for one nation or for several to make silver a measure of value on any other terms than those on which it is accepted as an equivalent, those who had hitherto succeeded in maintaining a fixed currency ratio between gold and silver would have been able to do so still; but they were soon convinced that the attempt was hopeless. They gave it up. It is nothing to the purpose to say that the Germans in changing their standard

from silver to gold are accountable rather than the American mine-owners for the collapse in the value of silver. The fact remains that from both causes combined the proportion previously existing between silver not required for currency and that which is required is entirely altered; the legal ratio of value fixed for the exchange between gold and silver coins has diverged too far from the natural ratio at which the precious metals exchange as bullion for it to have much influence on their market price; and those who look to the combined action of the principal nations of the West in re-employing silver in their currencies as that which will resuscitate the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, in its former condition of force and vitality, must wait for the realisation of their hopes until the re-employment of silver has the effect of absorbing so large a per-centage of all the silver now above ground and likely to be excavated in the future, that the remainder will be reduced to an insignificant amount, and its market price become a factor of no importance in estimating the ratio of value between gold and silver in coinage.

It is, of course, open to any one to argue that if the Governments of the principal gold-using nations agree to buy $15\frac{1}{2}$ ozs. of silver with one of gold when they can get 18 ozs., no holder of silver will sell it at any other price. Whether such would be the result or not depends on the quantity of silver which is not required for coin, but which is available for sale, and could be sold profitably at a lower than the currency valuation. The sale of any large quantity of such silver would, of course, depreciate the currency value of the remainder. In truth, until it can be ascertained with some certainty that the effect of such a demand for silver as a general re-employment of the metal for coinage may occasion will be to raise its market price, and not merely to call into existence fresh supplies of cheap metal, there is no security that any measures taken with such an object will bring up its value as measured in gold to the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. If the precious metals in the market do not exchange on these terms, or nearly these terms, there is nothing in the history of the past that justifies the prediction that fiscal legislation will in the future avail to give coined silver the qualities of a measure of value and of an equivalent in the exchange with coined gold on any other terms than those which it naturally possesses as bullion in the market. This general statement is, of course, to be understood to refer to the concurrence of gold and silver coin in circulation in unlimited quantities, the coins of either metal being nearly fine in standard, and not to apply to any currency system which employs the inferior metal entirely as a token coinage under an artificial system working within narrow limits, such as that in use in this country.

The disorder introduced into the finances of India by the fluctuating value of silver when measured in gold is the effect of the peculiarity just noticed, since efficient as the rupee currency may be for purposes of internal trade, when it comes into competition with gold in the foreign commerce of India it is no currency at all. As a measure of value it is superseded by gold; as an equivalent gold is preferred, since men can from day to day exchange equal values of commodities for the same weight of gold, while silver varies from day to day as against itself, and a different quantity may be required for the exchange of equal values of goods on different occasions in the same week.

A plan put forward to reconcile the use of silver as coin in India, with its use in competition with gold in the foreign trade of that country with gold-using countries, such as England, in a pamphlet entitled "Gold in the East," deserves examination in the pursuit of an inquiry as to the place which silver can properly hold in the currencies of the world.

The proposals contained in this pamphlet may be briefly summarised as follows:—Its author recommends that the Government of India should coin a gold piece the exact counterpart of the sovereign of the British currency in weight and fineness of standard; that this coin should be brought into circulation by means of a levy in gold of some portion of the taxes which are now paid in silver. He estimates the amount which can thus be converted at 17,000,000*l.* sterling. With the gold revenue thus obtained the Home expenditure of the Indian Government would be discharged, and the gold coins would in consequence be always in circulation, at one time being used in payment of taxes, at another in discharging State obligations. The taxes of India being raised by law in silver, it is proposed that the Government of that country should convert the portion which it may take in gold into sovereigns at a rate always corresponding with the intrinsic ratio of value existing between silver and gold; except that, in order to reduce the inconvenience which might arise from the disappearance of gold from circulation at every slight over-valuation of silver, the rate of conversion should be slightly in favour of gold. It is also proposed that the sovereign should be legal tender in all large payments of values amounting to 5000 rupees and upwards at the option of the payer. This provision is designed to encourage the accumulation of gold as coin in India, and to facilitate its use as the money of account and standard of value in the foreign trade. The author of these proposals considers that the Government of India, or the Secretary of State, would have no difficulty in following the alterations in the value of the two metals with complete accuracy, and that the rate of conversion at which the gold and

silver coins should interchange should be fixed as often as might be necessary by a State proclamation made in India. The writer shows that the stocks of gold available for currency purposes in India certainly exceed 100,000,000*l.*, and probably 150,000,000*l.* in value, and, besides being much in excess of what may be required for a gold currency in that country, are likely to become available for use in the West. The peculiarity of this plan consists in this, that its author contends that the application of the principle of the exchange of the gold and silver coins on the basis of their intrinsic ratio is scientifically sound, and, therefore, cannot be in practice impracticable, although it may be necessary to employ a new method for working a bi-metallic currency on this system. It is contended that, as any amount of silver would always and everywhere be exchangeable for its exact equivalent in gold coin, the silver currency of India would at all times avail to purchase as much in commodities as could be procured with the equivalent value in gold: that gold would irresistibly become the real standard of value and be apparently as well as really so in transactions connected with the foreign commerce of India; while silver would be as universally employed as it is now in the internal trade of the country, and values be continued to be expressed in silver, although they would ultimately be referable to, and imperceptibly be regulated by the gold valuation to which the silver coins themselves would be amenable. It is also to be inferred from the arguments used that as under this system no one would fear to accumulate both silver or gold in any quantity—since either would always be interchangeable with the other on the basis of equal values—a great impulse would be given to the use of silver in all currencies worked on this plan, and a solution be found for the difficulty now experienced in the use of silver concurrently with gold. On this principle of exchange no inducement would exist for bullion dealers to use one kind of coin in currency for the purchase and export of the other. These proposals also provide for the coinage in India of any quantity of gold or silver which the public may bring to the mints for that purpose. Under such a system the Government of India would repair the disorder in its finances arising from loss by exchange, and the mercantile classes would trade with all Western nations with a currency of gold instead of silver, and commerce would be carried on with more certainty in the calculation of profits and losses than is now possible where one party to each transaction uses nothing but silver, and the other nothing but gold.

Inviting those who are interested in the subject to study the plan as expounded by its author in the pamphlet named at the head of this Article, we shall now advert to some of the chief

objections which have already been made to his proposals ; for, obviously the value of any plan for introducing gold into the currency of India and carrying through a revolution in the methods of commerce and the fiscal system of that empire depends on whether it can be brought into use or not, and on the extent to which objections to its application in practice can be met and disposed of.

The objections to the use of gold in the currency of India in the manner proposed in "Gold in the East" are principally these—

(1) That India gets nothing that she has not got already except the cost of coining the gold, and that she does not want a gold currency.

(2) That the stocks of gold which are asserted to exist in India are quite hypothetical.

(3) That a gold currency side by side with the existing rupee currency worked on the basis of the intrinsic ratio of value existing between the two metals would induce in India all the evils which prevailed in the currency of this country from the Restoration until 1816.

(4) That the measure would, if put into practice, do nothing for India that is not already done by the action of the Exchanges.

(5) That the use of gold as coin in India would limit the demand for silver and so make the Exchanges more unfavourable than they are now.

(6) That those who would be responsible for the correct determination of the "State rate of conversion," at which the existing silver taxes would be taken in gold, and the gold coin exchange with the silver coins in the currency as legal tender, could not be induced to undertake the task : that they would at no time have any sure ground upon which to rest their valuation of silver in gold.

(1) To the first objection a fair answer is found in a Paper recently contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* by Mr. Robert Lowe, M.P.,* wherein he argues that the "maintenance of two separate currencies, a golden currency for England and a silver one for India, is entirely inconsistent with, and subversive of, the pecuniary relations in which the two countries stand to each other." As long as the English administration refuse both to circulate gold coins in India by making them legal tender, or even to coin gold at all in a shape in which the coinage can be of practical use in the foreign trade of the country, it virtually prohibits the application of such a remedy as the use of gold in currency, to the

evils which now afflict the finances of India. Let it be supposed, for the sake of argument, that Ireland is required by England to use a currency of florins, shillings, and coins inferior to these, without a gold currency or bank notes, and that the English sovereign were not allowed to be legal tender in Ireland, and were practically excluded from use in trade in the island; that the Irish florins, shillings, &c., had at the same time no quality of legal tender in England, and that this arrangement were to be defended on the ground that the use of gold in the currency of Ireland might restrict inconveniently the supply of gold coins required in London; no Irish grievance of our day has been half so intolerable as this would be, and yet it represents very faithfully the position which India occupies in relation to England in this question of her currency. There is no doubt that the trade between India and England is conducted under difficulties which are in one sense artificial, since they arise from a remediable cause, from her silver currency having no natural par of value with the gold currency of England, and it is merely idle to assert that which every one engaged in or acquainted with the Indian trade knows to be contrary to fact, that India does not require a gold currency for the purposes of her trade with gold-using countries. The argument that India, in obtaining a gold currency, gets nothing which she has not got already except the cost of coining the gold, since her silver currency can always be used for the purchase of gold bills on London, is an argument of much the same character as another urged in this discussion, that as long as the Indian trader has gold in bars wherewith he can buy rupees, he gains nothing by coining them into sovereigns. It would be as reasonable to recommend the closing of the Mint in the Tower to the coinage of silver and copper pieces because the owners of bars of silver and sheets of copper can always exchange them for sovereigns in the open market.

(2) The second objection is disposed of by a reference to the price lists, published in the daily newspapers at the principal ports in India, wherein it will be seen that gold is always being sold in the open market. That gold is carried to and fro, as remittances in adjustment of accounts and for other purposes, no one who is acquainted with India will deny. More than 100 millions sterling are shown by the Indian Custom-house returns to have been imported into India within the last forty years, and never to have left it. India, from time immemorial, has possessed gold in such quantities that the truth in this matter has long since passed into the region of fable, and this calculation takes no account of this stock of gold existing in India from the remotest ages. The evidence taken before the Silver Committee goes to show that a part, and probably only a small part, of the

gold taken to India finds its way to Western Asia: the condition of the commerce between India and those regions would not allow of the export of any large quantity of gold, and the poverty of the people inhabiting them would act in the same direction. The Report of the same Committee furnishes a Table* showing the surplus of gold imported into India over that exported in the twenty years ending with 1875 was more than 87½ millions in value. If this gold is not in India, where is it? General Ballard, who for many years was Master of the Mint in Bombay, wrote, in 1868: "It has been stated that upwards of 100 millions (sterling) of gold are possessed by our Indian subjects, an amount not far short of the whole produce of the Australian mines since their discovery. If no mints existed, it would be worth while building them on the chance of coining a fraction of this immense treasure; but the mints exist—it is only the mint rules which require alteration to allow of our solving the problem whether there is any desire on the part of the owners of this bullion to have a portion of it converted into coined money." While it may be considered as placed beyond doubt that India can herself supply all the gold required for her coinage, there seems reason to think that the coinage of gold in India might have the same effect on the stocks of gold in England as the discovery of a new and fertile gold mine which, on occasion, would serve to feed the demand for gold in the London market without at all raising its price. It would be a curious commentary on the apprehensions of those who fear that the circulation of gold in India will raise the Bank rate of discount, if the effect of coining an Indian sovereign were to cheapen money in London. The conjecture seems scarcely unreasonable that the common use of the same coin by England and India, as the money of account in their trade, may tend to put the native merchants of the East into such intimate relations with their correspondents in London; and gold from Calcutta and Bombay circulate so freely in this country that, when occasion arises, the hoards of an Indian Rothschild may become available to relieve the panic of a crisis in the City.

(3) The third objection, that this country has already tried and given up, as a bad system, the concurrent use of two kinds of coin at varying rates, is one to which history furnishes an answer. It is not to be denied that, if it were possible to fix the value of gold and silver at a constant ratio, a currency based on such a ratio would be preferable to any other. That, next to this, a system, under which the more stable metal is the measure of value, and the less stable is used only for that petty commerce

* "Report of Silver Committee," No. 26, B., p. 171, App.

which cannot be carried on without its employment, and under conditions which prevent the silver coming into competition with the gold coin, is the most convenient which has yet been devised, is also true. But in India we are put face to face with a difficulty of a novel character. The relation of the currency of India to her commerce is probably without precedent. We find there the commercial classes divided into two well-defined parties—those who have and require a silver currency, and those who have the same but want it not. At many points the interest of both classes commingle. The object of England should be, as, indeed, it is her duty, to secure to either class that which it requires—to the one its silver currency, to the other a gold coinage; and to provide, by following the dictates of common sense and the undisputed maxims of economical science, a method by which, when occasion shall arise, the coins of one currency may exchange into those of the other at their actual and natural ratio of value. This is all that is necessary to solve the difficulty of bestowing a gold currency on India, and, except under such a method of exchange, the difficulty is altogether beyond solution.

The history of the coinage of this country during the period referred to in this objection teaches us that, while the standard of value is changing from silver to gold, there is no more judicious course or one more serviceable to the public than to allow one kind of coin to take its own place in the currency at its natural value. Up to the time of King James I., when gold was but little used in commerce, the Sovereign and his advisers found little difficulty in adjusting the terms on which the silver coins exchanged into gold on the basis of their intrinsic relation to one another. During the sixty years which elapsed between the commencement of the reign of King James I. and that of King Charles II., gold rose in value against silver 32 per cent. The fluctuations were frequent and excessive, and the sources of information available to the Government regarding the value of one metal in terms of the other was imperfect. The latter monarch wisely decided to leave gold, which was not then the legal standard of value, to take its rate in the currency from silver at the market price of the day. By the beginning of the reign of King George I., a fixed relation between gold and silver had become established, and this relation regulated the rate of exchange, and was recognised by Royal proclamation. The actual value of the silver coins in the gold valuation was even then, owing to their being clipped and defaced, uncertain; but gold had become the measure of value, and a shilling, clipped or new, was accepted as representing $\frac{1}{20}$ of the guinea. That which the proposal under discussion advocates is, in principle,

the same system under which gold, between the time of King Charles II. and King George I., by the force of its own superior stability of value, superseded silver as the measure of value in the currency and commerce of England. The State, in the case of India, is, indeed, expected to follow the more serious fluctuations in value between the two metals, and to notify their occurrence in order to give those who have to pay their taxes in gold, and those who may have contracted to pay their debts in gold at the market rate of the metal by the silver standard, an authorised basis for calculating the amount of their payments. As the rate thus determined would, in all cases, be the natural rate of exchange between the two metals, the least constant in value of the two will have its rate determined by the other, and silver will give place to gold as the standard of value. Those who seek an objection to this method of providing for the exchange of silver with gold coins in the history of the English currency overlook this important difference between the two cases—that in this country the fluctuations in value between gold and silver affected domestic and retail trade, whereas, in India, the alterations of value under a “State rate of conversion” will only affect large transactions, the details of which will have been previously adjusted with reference to such an eventuality, and only be felt in conducting the business of the external commerce of the country, which now experiences vicissitudes of value in the relations between the precious metals quite as serious as any which can occur under the system proposed. The real difficulty in working a bi-metallic system on these terms consists in the determination of the actual ratio of value between gold and silver. In the time of the Stuart and Hanoverian kings of England this task was obviously much harder than it would be now. In those days the amount either of gold or silver coin in circulation was much less than now, and even a small addition to the metal available for currency purpose had a disturbing effect on the value of the existing stock of current coin, proportionately greater, just as water poured into a bowl already partially filled raises the level of the fluid more quickly than if it were poured into a pond. But in our day silver has the same value as measured in gold on the same day in New York, London, and Calcutta. The telegraph to carry news, and the steam-engine to transport treasure, have a levelling effect on the values of the precious metals which was quite unknown two hundred years ago. It can be safely asserted that that which is known to all the world can be ascertained with certainty by the officials whose business it would be to determine the actual and existing ratio of value. If at the same time bankers and bullion dealers prefer the vagaries of the exchanges to an official declaration of existing

values there can be no practical difficulty in so arranging that the official rate shall follow a rate determined by the free deliberation of men of business whose authority in these matters is universally respected. The Governor and Directors of the Bank of England find no difficulty in deciding on the weekly value of money for purposes of loan. The Secretary of State for India practically makes, week by week, a valuation of silver in gold in determining, in concert with the East India merchants and bankers, the rates for issuing his Council bills. The determination of a "State rate" for converting the silver coins of the Indian currency into their gold equivalents is no increase to the responsibilities of the Secretary of State for India; and so long as such a rate corresponds with an existing valuation, actually in use and operation, it will command universal acquiescence.

(4) We now proceed to examine the fourth objection, that the introduction of gold into the currency of India would do nothing for the country which is not already done by the action of the exchanges.

Whatever the method may be by which the Government of India obtains gold in the place of silver as revenue, it must be purchased in some form or another; and purchase means the surrender of an equivalent in exchange for the gold. Those who would place the finances of India on a sound footing by arranging that the manner in which the home expenditure is discharged, should conform to the system of reckoning values and paying for goods and services in England, must make up their minds to this—that there exist no means by which this conformity can be produced but in the employment of gold for the purpose, and no means of getting the gold except by purchase more or less disguised. But keeping in view this consideration, the scheme proposed for the purchase of gold, by the conversion of silver taxes into gold, is really open to no valid objection on the ground that the State might just as well take the silver first and buy the gold afterwards, as convert a part of its silver taxes into gold. The gold obtained in taxes affords a revenue with which the Home charges can be paid at par; and that once obtained the kind of uncertainty which arises from variations in the market value of silver in gold ceases to influence the finances of India; whether the loss of silver revenue which is the cost at which it, or a portion of it, may have been turned into gold can be recovered by taxation is a fiscal question. The two kinds of loss are entirely independent of one another. That arising from the value of silver, is regulated by causes over which the Government of India has no control at all; that arising from a diminished revenue after the conversion of its taxes is entirely within its own control. In the case of

the land tax, the objection that the Government of India would lose as much as it would gain—the loss by discounting the silver revenue in gold being equivalent to what is gained by remitting money for the Home expenditure at par—has something in it, because the land revenue is a fixed quantity of silver payable under a contract extending over perpetuity in some, and over many years in all cases. But in the case of revenue raised by the authority of law and liable to be altered from year to year, the State may reap all the advantage by taking such revenue in gold which it now foregoes by taking it in silver, without limiting its ability to increase its taxation in correspondence with the progressive prosperity of the country.

The use of gold in the Indian currency is recommended in the interests of the foreign trade; and since, when that use became general all commodities exchanged in that trade would be valued in gold, the ability of the country to bear an increase of taxation on such commodities would be properly measured and expressed in gold rather than in silver; the goods in question would be bought and sold with gold and the duties paid on them in gold, the gold taxation would become the natural correlative of the gold valuations of commodities in commerce. The same argument applies with more or less force to all the taxation which the author of “Gold in the East” recommends to be converted from silver into gold, except to the land tax. If the plan be capable of practical application, it could, we presume, be carried out with the least difficulty by leaving the land tax on its present footing.

It has been urged that when the Government has succeeded in introducing a gold currency into India, the trader will have to get gold by paying silver for it before he can buy goods in the Indian market, and he will be no better off than if he sold goods valued in silver for gold in London. This argument seems, however, to involve the erroneous conclusion that the variations in the value of silver as against itself—that is to say, the fluctuations in the ratio of value which silver bears to gold, and the variations in the value of silver as against commodities—are one and the same thing. The trader who now remits 100% to Calcutta is uncertain whether that sum will fetch Rs. 1100 or Rs. 1200, or more or less. He cannot reckon from day to day how far the value of silver may alter as against itself, whether the rupee of to-day may be equal to the rupee of to-morrow, or to a rupee and a quarter of the following day; he has besides to take his chance of a rise or fall in the value of the commodity he is trading in under the action of supply and demand. The Exchanges express the result of these two factors working together while silver alone is used in the Indian market.

When, however, gold becomes the measure of value and money of account, as it must if it is employed in trade, that factor in the merchant's calculations of profit or loss which the uncertain value of silver as against itself provides, will be eliminated. Silver may rise or fall 50 per cent in the gold valuation in the course of a day, and the price of commodities will remain the same. Commodities will take their value in gold, and silver will do the same. The Indian sovereign being identical with the English sovereign in intrinsic value, 100/ in London will buy a given amount of commodities at prices quoted in terms of the same coin in Calcutta. At present whether 100/ will buy Rs 1100, Rs 1200, or more rupees, and the quantity, say, of indigo at Rs 230 per maund which that 100/ will buy is a matter of uncertainty. With a gold currency at work indigo for the London market would be quoted at so many l/ sterling per maund, and could be bought in London with as much ease as in Calcutta. While no sure calculation can be made now under the existing currency system of the value of the l/ sterling in India, silver in future no such calculation will be needed and only that factor will influence the merchant's calculations which depends on the supply and demand of indigo. In respect of the latter, his forecast will probably be as often right as in regard to the former it would have been wrong. We deem it an error to assert that because commodities in India—such, *e.g.*, as indigo—are raised by an expenditure of silver, that the merchant purchasing indigo will feel the influence of the uncertain value of silver in the gold price which he will have to pay for the indigo. With a gold standard of value established in India, commodities, and silver among them must take their value against gold, it is not possible that they should take their value against silver, or there will be two standards of value in one market, and as silver itself will be rated with gold at a value corresponding to the quantity of silver coins which can be exchanged into a given gold coin, silver itself becomes just as much a commodity as anything else. The fact, therefore that silver pays for the labour employed in bringing the indigo to market has just as much and no more influence on the gold price of the indigo than the expenditure of any other commodity which contributes to the same result. The expenditure of silver, and of everything else which may have been used in producing the indigo, fixes the minimum price at which it can be profitably sold, the gold price is determined by the lowest rate at which indigo can be sold for gold throughout the whole market, without reference to the value of the silver coins in the gold currency. These coins, so far as their employment in the manufacture of indigo is concerned, may have been rated at a different valuation in gold in respect of each separate

chest of the dye. The silver money, although used to make payments, is, under circumstances where gold is the standard of value, as liable to rise or fall against gold as grain, clothes, or anything else with which wages may be paid. Silver money, when no longer a standard of value, is only valuable in proportion to its efficiency as measured in gold, and labourers for hire and dealers in food knowing (in the particular case we are discussing) that they can get a certain wage or price in gold, will bring the rate at which they employ silver money day by day into correspondence with its gold valuation. The contrary theory has been maintained, and the question has been raised, whether, with a gold standard ruling the market, silver money will be as quickly amenable to its influence as we assert that it will be. It is worth while examining this point with reference to the particular proposal in "Gold in the East" to make gold sovereigns legal tender in India for payments of not less than 400l.

If this plan is carried out the gold coins would never come into competition with the silver currency except in large transactions and in the foreign trade. There arises therefore no question as to whether a clerk or shopkeeper would take or refuse payment of 1l. or 2l. from being uncertain as to what number of rupees the gold coin would exchange into. In the case of a large transaction let us assume that an indigo broker offers a quantity of dye, which he values at Rs. 5000, and at the market rate for silver of the day he is paid 400l. He fears that if he holds the gold its value will fall against silver 2 per cent., and that a week after he will get only Rs. 4900 in the Exchange. He asks 2 per cent. more for his indigo—i.e., 408l. If the condition of the market allows the purchaser to pay 408l. for the indigo, it proves that Rs. 5000 was less than its price; if not, then 400l. is the market value of the dye, and the dealer has to accept that price and make the best of it. If he obtain less silver in the following week by Rs. 100, he is no loser. His silver is as good as that of everybody else. His Rs. 4900 will buy more gold than it was good to buy a week before, and consequently more goods of all kinds in that market where prices are regulated by the gold standard. As we said before, were this not the case, there would be found two competing standards of value for the same goods in the same market at the same time.

The conclusion is unavoidable that the use of gold instead of silver as the money of account in the Indian market, will have the same effect there that it has everywhere else—it will become the single standard of value. It will do much more for the merchant than is effected by the exchanges; it will have this result, to cause the commodities which the merchant

trades in to be measured by the standard of value prevailing in the market of sale in England, without the intervention of an uncertain silver valuation in India. The merchant will have to reckon with one risk instead of with two.

(5) Mr. Fawcett has recently expressed his opinion against the introduction of gold as coin into India in the following terms, and they embody the 5th objection above cited:—

“No surer means can be adopted of still further depreciating the value of silver than to diminish the demand for it; and if any of the many proposals which have lately been brought forward with regard to the silver question are considered . . . such for instance as the introduction into India of a gold currency, it will be at once seen that these suggested remedies alike labour under the defect, that they could not be carried out without lessening the demand for silver.”*

Mr. Fawcett's argument is so far true, in that it is not to be denied that an increase in the employment of silver for currency purposes will increase the demand for the metal; but whether the demand will have the effect of keeping the price of silver at a much higher level than if no such demand existed, depends upon whether the amount of silver available for currency is or is not liable to increase in correspondence with this demand. A continued demand for silver at a price a little higher than the lowest cost at which it can be profitably produced, may bring into the market all the quantity required without materially raising its value, as measured in gold; and those who now suffer from using silver in order to make gold payments, would be no better off than they are now. Those who look to a continuing or increased demand for silver as the agency for raising its gold price, seem to overlook the following considerations: that it is in the East that this demand principally arises, and that the effect of this demand would be to induce further supplies of cheap silver, and not to raise materially the price of existing stocks of silver in the gold valuation. It seems certain that the spare silver of the West will be sold, like any other commodity—by the sale of which its possessors seek to make a profit—at the lowest price at which it will pay to sell it. Silver dealers will dispose of it, as other people dispose of other goods, in larger quantities at lower prices in order to obtain quick returns to their capital invested in the metal. There has been no sign that silver dealers will or can combine to withhold their silver in the hope that it will rise to a fancy price. The same causes which since 1870 have induced a decline in its value, will operate to prevent a rise in its price

* “Nineteenth Century,” October, 1879, p. 645.

to the previous level of 60*d.* per ounce. Whatever demand there may be for silver for currency purposes, as long as it can be met by a supply of the metal at 54*d.*, 56*d.*, or any other lower price per ounce, there is clearly no chance that its value will rise higher; 51*d.* or 52*d.* may be an unprofitable price for the sale of silver, but nothing in the past warrants the expectation that the supplies of the metal at a slight increase on that price will not be far larger than any demand for it; these supplies may indeed be, for the purposes of the silver currencies of the world, inexhaustible at a valuation much below 60*d.* per ounce. That such is likely to prove to be the case (at least as regards the prospect of any improvement in the finances of India from a policy of expectancy), may be inferred from the fact that the Bank of France and the Imperial Bank of Germany hold together silver to the value of 63,823,000*l.* sterling.* Assuming this estimate to have been made at 60*d.* per ounce, and, making an allowance of $\frac{1}{6}$ per ounce for over valuation, the mass of silver thus held, awaiting sale and certain to be sold under a demand for silver, would be sufficient for the coinage of considerably more than five hundred millions of rupees, a quantity which, under ordinary circumstances, India would require ten years to absorb.

That the quantity of surplus silver thrown on the world, as the combined effect of the fertility of the American mines and the expulsion of silver from the currencies of the Western nations, should have caused its fall in the gold valuation by 20 per cent. at almost a single drop; and that, at the same time, the continuing increase of the Indian trade, both internal and external, should have availed nothing to raise the price of silver to the level from which it has declined, proves more conclusively than any other argument that those who enjoin a policy of inaction on the Indian Government, and tell her rulers to wait until an advance in her prosperity has made 10 rupees of her currency worth 1*l.* sterling, contemplate a contingency so vaguely uncertain, and the advent of a future so indefinitely remote as to deprive that advice of much practical value. "*Rusticus adspectat dum defluat amnis.*" Such must be the attitude of the Indian Government while it waits until the demand for silver for the currencies of the East restores to the metal its original relation of value to gold.

The extract from Mr. Fawcett's Essay, however, suggests another objection to the employment of gold as coin in India, which is known to have been urged by those who regard with no favour the prospect that India will one day possess a currency

* "*Economist*," Nov. 29. Silver. Parl. Papers, No. 208, dated Aug. 11, 1879.

of gold. It is that so far as silver is discarded in favour of gold, so much farther will the values of the two metals diverge and gold become dearer than ever in the gold valuation. Upon the particular measure under discussion—the conversion of a portion of the taxes of India now paid in silver into gold—it is contended that the substitution of gold for silver would tell in two ways: by causing a continuing increase in the price at which the Indian Government would be obliged to pay for the gold it might buy—for the method described in “Gold in the East” as the “State rate of conversion” is, in effect, a purchase by the State of gold with its silver revenue; and by making the rate of exchange still more unfavourable than it is now.

We think that under the method proposed for raising a gold revenue, and keeping the coin so obtained in circulation, its effect on the value of silver has been exaggerated. The efforts of the Government of India to procure gold by purchase would have this result if the gold when it passed into the treasuries of the State were to disappear and fresh quantities were continually being purchased. But in the case which we are now considering all the gold taken as taxes by the Government would be put into circulation as fast as it were received in discharge of the Council drafts, or in other payments made by the State in India. This gold would day by day exchange in the market for the same number of rupees with which it was originally purchased. If the State were to take 100 sovereigns in lieu of 1200 rupees from a taxpayer, it would make a payment of the same amount of rupees with the same number of sovereigns the next day. There would be no withdrawal of gold from circulation, and no fresh demand for more gold in the presence of a diminishing supply of the metal. The gold taken as taxes would remain in circulation in India, and the same gold would week by week flow into the State coffers, and be week by week liberated for circulation in State payments. The result of such an operation as this on the value of silver in the market would prove to be very different from that now experienced from the manner in which Council drafts are issued; and if the assumption is sound—and it is supported by the experience of many well-versed in Indian affairs—that all the gold required for use in India would be provided by the country herself, the presentation of a stock of coined gold, always in demand for the payment of taxes and purposes of trade, would tend to give a certain steadiness to the market rate of gold as valued in silver, and would go far to reduce the uncertainty with which trade ventures are now attended. This effect of the use of gold as coin in the Indian foreign trade would be entirely beneficial, for even if thereby silver were to become permanently rated with gold at 17, or 18

to 1, commerce would not be affected for the worse, since it is not the ratio of value which may be permanently established between gold and silver, but the daily fluctuations in that ratio which act as a restraint on trade.

It is true that the coinage and levy of seventeen or eighteen millions of sovereigns out of the stock of gold now existing in India would be equivalent to an addition of two hundred or more millions of silver rupees to the currency of that empire; but whether the operation were to prove beneficial or injurious to India would solely depend on the care or precipitancy with which the gold coinage might be introduced into the currency. As about fifty millions of rupees are added yearly on an average to the Indian currency, the process of introducing the gold coinage if spread over three or four years would probably have no disturbing effect on the relation of value which silver would otherwise bear to gold, and no diminution in effect would take place on the ordinary supply of coin which commerce would have required had gold not been coined instead of silver. The yearly waste, or, to speak more correctly, the annual demand for fifty millions of rupees' worth of fresh silver, which now maintains the value of the metal, would be met by the employment of an equivalent value of gold; and India at the end of the period would find herself equipped with a currency of equal intrinsic value, but of mixed gold and silver. The demand for silver would go on as before, or at least exactly to the extent to which men might require silver rather than gold; and this is enough, for the State is in no way warranted in regulating its fiscal policy with the object of making men use more silver and less gold, in conflict with their own interests and requirements.

Those who desire to see the price of silver rise and its efficiency increased in a silver-using country, such as India is, must address their efforts to the development of her productive industries, her internal and external trade, rather than seek to bestow on Indian silver an artificially enhanced value by forbidding, as is now done by the English administration in India, the employment of gold in commerce.

No measures of State, even if they be principally addressed to maintaining a demand for silver in order to enhance its gold price, can avail to stimulate that demand so effectually as the needs of the commerce of the country. And the history of the additions made to the gold currencies of the world, simultaneously with the discoveries of gold mines in America and Australia, proves that the demand for either precious metal for purposes of coinage, depends not on its abundance but upon an increase being made to the productions of industry. Commodities when offered for exchange in commerce in increased

quantities occasion an extended employment of silver and gold in the currencies of those countries where more may be required, call into existence, in fact, additional tools for effecting exchanges. The expansion of the currency of any country is almost, if not entirely, independent of the market price of the gold or silver bullion used in its coinage. A demand for cheap silver will not be stimulated by the mere cheapness of the metal, apart from the calls of commerce for increased coinage; and that increase in the coinage will occur with equal certainty, whether silver is valued in gold at 50*d.* or 60*d.* per ounce, whether the rupee is quoted at 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.*

At those times when silver has been dearest, the largest additions have been made to the currency of India; and, in more recent years, when silver has been cheap at the gold valuation, the yearly increment has been least. Thus in 1856, and 1857, and 1859, when the price of gold ranged from 60½*d.* to 62½*d.*, and between 1863 and 1866, when the average price continued slightly above 61*d.*, more than seventy and a quarter millions sterling were added to the silver currency of India, at an average rate of more than ten millions per annum; while, on the other hand, in between 1873 and 1876, when the price of silver ranged from 50*d.* to 59½*d.*, the average yearly increment was considerably less than five millions.

It may, of course, be argued, that it was the large demand of silver which raised its price in the former period; and, allowing this to be the case, the fact remains that when the metal was cheap, this condition resulted in no expansion of the Indian currency; and on a third occasion (1877) when silver stood at an unusually low price, the largest addition which has ever been made to the currency of India in a single year, took place without occasioning any material enhancement in the price of silver,* and the demand for silver may in like manner, in 1856-57, have had no effect in raising its price.

When objection is made to the use of gold in the Indian currency on the ground that it will expel silver from circulation, and so diminish the demand for it, this fact seems to escape notice, that a demand for silver is in itself of no importance; it is only when the question whether or not a demand for silver is beneficial to India or the world is considered in connection with the requirements of commerce that it deserves any consideration at all. Whether the demand for silver is brisk or dull, whether silver is priced at 50*d.* or 60*d.* per ounce is *per se* a matter of no moment. The argument that the Indian Government should

* 15,227,202*l.* During this year the price of silver was on the average below 55*d.* per oz., a fact which proves how effective supplies of cheap silver are in neutralizing the ordinary result of a great demand for that metal.

do all it can to keep up the price of silver can only be urged on the ground that its efforts in that direction may do something to make 10 rupees a little nearer in value to 1*l.* sterling than they are now, and diminish the hazard and uncertainty with which the Indian trade is surrounded.

The success which may attend such efforts must at the best be but small. While it may be contended that if the State in India had in the past discarded silver from its currency, it would have contributed to a further decline in the price of the metal, it must at the same time be acknowledged that its exclusive use of silver as currency has not perceptibly improved its price, nor is it in any way proved to have bestowed on silver a value which it would not have had if some part of the currency of India had been gold instead of silver coin. The immense additions which have been made to the silver currency of India, without inducing any material enhancement of the market price of silver, prove that the largest demand for the metal may fail to raise its price to a value which would materially improve the finances of India. In truth, the ratio of value ruling between the two precious metals depends too much on conditions which are beyond the reach of the Government of India for that power to be able, by any direct action of its own, to alter materially the value of silver as estimated in gold. Measures taken by the Government of India with that object would be liable to be neutralised by unforeseen developments of commerce, by fresh discoveries of silver in situations from which it could be easily excavated, by a slight increase on the out-turn of gold from the mines of California, and other causes arising from the fiscal or political arrangements of foreign countries over which India can exercise no influence whatever.

There seems to be no difference of opinion at all on this point, that the fluctuations in the value of silver, as measured in gold, are, from the uncertainty with which they invest all commercial ventures, more serious impediments to trade, and operate more effectually to prevent the sale in India of the produce and manufactures of the West, than the fiscal legislation of any period within the memory of men living.

The external trade of India is to some extent the outward sign of her internal prosperity. Every increase in her exports argues an increase in her local productions; every addition to her imports an increased ability to use and enjoy the manufactures of foreign nations. The ability, however, of India to consume English or other European commodities, is materially limited by the uncertainty of all calculations of profit and loss which importers experience from having nothing but silver wherewith to pay for their importations which are priced in gold. Purchasers,

on the other hand, abstain from buying European goods which are necessarily priced at a figure calculated to cover all possible loss to the trader arising from variations of value in the silver currency with which they are paid for.

The employment of gold as the money of account and the basis of trade between the East would once for all set such uncertainties at rest and go further than any other practicable remedy to stimulate the import of Western commodities into India. Such a result must necessarily have its effect on the industries of her people. Every increase in the goods offered on one side in exchange must be met by a corresponding increase in those offered on the other; and as silver is, and will be for many generations the most convenient currency for use in the interior of India, the stimulus which her foreign trade may derive from the use of gold must extend to her internal trade, and result in maintaining that demand for silver, which those who fear the effects of its decline in value, consider necessary to the welfare of the country.

It would be difficult to point out any course of policy which the rulers of India could adopt in order to create or maintain a demand for silver at once so safe and effectual as one directed to give stability to commerce, to reduce the risks now attending every shipment of goods in a trade pursued on the basis of two competing currencies of two conflicting standards of value.

Reason, speculative theory, and the experience of those engaged in the trade of India, alike unite in demonstrating that, whatever other methods there may be of redressing the evils under which the trade of India is languishing, there is at least one remedy which, if it were employed, would finally and effectually eliminate all those disorders in the commerce between Europe and India which spring from the exclusive use of silver on the one part and the exclusive use of gold on the other; and that is to put the external trade of India on the same footing as that of England, by legalising the use of gold in the Indian currency on terms which would allow the European trader to make it the money of account and the basis of his trade to just that extent which it may suit him so to employ it.

It is evident that, however unfavourable to India the silver exchanges may become, the State, the commercial classes, and all who can command an income in gold in India, have when making their remittances to Europe, no further concern with the rates of value existing between the two precious metals. Their Indian gold holds a natural par of exchange with the gold of Europe. These considerations dispose of the objection made to the use of gold in the currency of India—that it would have the effect of making the silver exchanges more unfavourable than ever.

(6) There remains now only the sixth objection for consideration : that arising from an assumed unwillingness on the part of Government to interfere in the regulation of the exchange between the gold and silver coins in its currency in India.

Apart from speculative objections to which the introduction of gold into the Indian currency may be obnoxious, this is one which derives its weight from the character and position of those who urge it. Those who would have charge of any measure for working a gold currency concurrently with that now in use in India, on the principle of maintaining the exchange between the two classes of coin at a rate determined from time to time by the intrinsic ratio of value existing between the sovereign and the rupee, seem to be doubtful of their liability to determine what that real ratio may be at any time in a manner which shall command universal acquiescence. They probably fear that their estimate may sometimes be at fault ; that it may proceed on a valuation of silver apparently exact, but really determined by the operations of bullion dealers directed to create an artificial rise or fall in the market price of the metal ; and that instead of being a guide to the values of the coins in exchange with one another, the " State rate of conversion" may become a trap for the unwary.

It is not necessary to discuss here, whether it is probable or not that any combination of bullion dealers could act on the supply of either gold or silver, without incurring greater risk of loss than chance of gain, or the means by which attempts made to mislead the public to its own loss might be met and defeated. The personal indisposition of those whose duty it might become to regulate the " State rate of conversion," to undertake the task must be reckoned among the difficulties which lies in the path of those who desire to secure for India a gold currency.

Another class of men seem altogether opposed to the introduction of gold into the Indian currency from an apprehension that its use will restrict the amount of loanable capital available in the West at those seasons of commercial panic when credit ceases to act and gold is in demand.

The objection that the employment of gold as coin in the Indian trade would "mean a 10 per cent. Bank rate" is met by the fact that all the gold which India requires for her currency already exists uncoined in that country. The objection, at the best a selfish one—"thou shalt want ere I want"—is nevertheless one which cannot be overlooked in dealing with the question of a gold currency for India, with a view to its practical application as a remedy for her financial difficulties. When any steps are taken by the State to coin an Indian sovereign, there will be a strong and influential opposition from one class of objectors,

who regard a permanent diminution of the stocks of gold available for loans in London as fraught with peril to their own interests, and from another class who trade on the fluctuations in the exchanges, and who would find their occupation gone when India held a legal tender coin possessing a natural par of exchange with the English sovereign.

Although any scheme for creating a gold currency for India must manifestly be imperfect which omits to provide for the gold coin being legal tender as money ; yet, looking to the employment of gold in the foreign trade of India as a matter of pressing necessity, and having regard to the character and influence of the opposition which the proposal excites, it may be well for the Administration of India to be for the present content with a half measure, and to pave the way for a legal tender gold currency, by introducing gold into the coinage of the country, and leaving it to take its own place in commerce by force of the irresistible attraction which the greater stability of gold over silver as a standard of value offers to its employment.

It was somewhat in this way that England obtained her gold currency, or rather that gold took its place in our currency system.

During the time that the gold coins of the realm were in subsidiary circulation with the silver coins, the latter were understood to be the measure of value, and exchanges with foreign countries were regulated by the intrinsic value of the silver coins. This relation, however, between the two kinds of coin was gradually changing until the gold coins became in the practice and opinion of the people the principal measure* of property and instrument of commerce ; and the commercial balances of England with foreign nations were both regulated by and paid in them. The measures of King George I. and King George III. were taken to bring the law into conformity with the practice of the people ; and at the time that Lord Liverpool addressed his celebrated letter to the King (1805) he states that the silver coins had taken their value with reference to the gold coins, and that they passed current according to the rates at which they could be exchanged into the gold coins, and that for more than a century past the gold coins had become the mercantile money of the realm.

The same causes which, while coined gold was left to take its own value at the market rate with coined silver, operated in England, although silver was the measure of value, to transfer that quality to gold, will most assuredly be at work to produce the same effects under like conditions in India. So long as the

* "*Treatise on the Coins*," Ed. 1805, pp. 128, 153, 170.

people are provided with coins of both metals, even if those of one class be not legal tender, it will be seen that history will repeat itself, and that the use of one kind of coin will begin where that of the other ceases; that, as far as gold is more useful than silver, so much more will it be used; and that, for those purposes, and among those classes of traders whose habits and requirements predispose them to use silver, the latter will not be expelled from use by gold. The irresistible influence which gold now exercises over the foreign trade of India, may be expected to assert its ascendancy over silver—visibly, when coined into a form adapted to the trade, and be recognised as that which regulates, rather than silver, the commercial balances and exchanges which India has to settle with other gold-using countries.

The gold revenue thus obtained would be employed by the Government of India in the payment of its home charges, either by its remittance in specie to London or by its employment in Council drafts drawn against it. In the former case, whatever gold might be sent to England would in the course of trade find its way back to India, either by force of the necessity this country would be under of paying the debt due by her to India, or by reason of the demand which, as long as the Government might take fifteen millions sterling of its taxes in gold, would daily operate to attract gold to the Indian markets.

Whether merchants trading to India would willingly tender for Council bills payable with Indian sovereigns, which, although they would be intrinsically equivalent in value to the English pound sterling, would not be legal tender in that country, must depend on the greater or less degree of certainty attending their disposal in the markets of India. These coins would be merely a marketable commodity; but, being of the same character as coins of the English currency, their use in exchange would be expressed in the same terminology as their English counterparts. A bill for 100 Indian sovereigns would be sold for 99 or 101 English sovereigns, according to the conditions of the market, and transactions in these coins would therefore be on a different footing from dealings in other commodities, such as bags of rice or bales of cotton.

These sovereigns would also find a market everywhere, for the same reason that the English and Australian sovereigns are recognised as unfailing tests of value over all the world. They would have, besides, a special value as the only instrument with which the taxpayers of India could pay their customs duties, the opium revenue, and perhaps some other taxes.

Thus the Indian sovereigns, although they may not be legal tender for the payment of debts, will be everywhere accepted at

their bullion value, and this is all that sovereigns are good for at the Bank of England; they can never become depreciated below that, nor could they ever fall, in the silver valuation in India, below their natural ratio of value, as gold to silver, since a momentary decline of that sort would be immediately rectified by the export elsewhere of some portion of the stock of sovereigns circulating in India.

While it may be argued that the Indian sovereign, having no quality as legal tender coin, would fluctuate against silver, and the merchant accepting a Council draft would be uncertain about the quantity of rupees into which he could change the Indian sovereigns obtained by it; yet it is equally certain that the holder of the Indian sovereign would ordinarily command the market, and his gold, as is now the case with the English sovereign used in purchasing rupees, would buy more and more coins of the currency of India as silver fell in value. Whatever uncertainty would exist in the value of the Indian sovereign from week to week, measured by the standard of value of the English pound sterling, it must follow from the nature of things, the two coins being identical in intrinsic value, that these fluctuations would be far less than those now experienced in the exchange of English sovereigns for Indian rupees; and the merchant remitting to India by means of Council drafts would feel uncertainty, not as to how few, but as to how many, rupees his Indian sovereigns would produce in the market.

The result of the Indian Government using this method to obtain a gold revenue, and employing it in discharging its home expenditure, would be to make the Secretary of State independent of the silver market, and to redress the loss by exchange, which must always go on as long as silver is used in procuring gold for use in England. The Government of India would besides disappear from the market as a seller of silver; and it is the opinion of more than one authority on matters of this kind, that inasmuch as the silver coin which is now put into circulation by the Government of India, would not, under the arrangement we are considering, be provided for the use of the merchants trading with India, by means of the Council drafts, the necessity of putting down the silver which these traders might require for their business, would be thrown on them. If therefore they refused the Secretary of State's drafts in gold, they would either be under the necessity of remitting silver specie to the East, or giving better terms than now prevail, for silver already there. In any case, the silver exchanges from the side of India would improve, which would be both a public benefit, and on occasions might allow the Government to use the silver exchanges for State purposes on better terms than now, if for any reason this

form of remittance should become more advantageous than that of gold.

It seems likely that this method of familiarising the commercial public in India with the use of gold coin in the foreign commerce will, when it has taken its effect and the time has come to make gold legal tender, still leave the Government face to face with the task of hitting on a method for keeping the two kinds of coin in circulation together. If in the course of time silver, under the influence of conditions which are not yet apparent, shall have permanently settled down into a new relation of value with gold, there will of course be no more difficulty in recognising and acting on that relation, be it 16 or 18, or 19 to 1, than in dealing with a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ -1. But if this new relation be not established, and silver be in the future, as it is now, a commodity of varying value, the only method by which silver coin can be used in currency is one providing for its convertibility into gold in strict correspondence with its intrinsic value in the latter metal. As a question of speculative theory, the principle upon which this method proceeds is from the point of view of scientific accuracy unimpeachable; and a principle of economics which is true always and everywhere may well be considered worth a trial in the field of practical finance. Such a method at least has this merit, that it maintains an equilibrium of value between the silver and gold coins in currency, and causes each always to pass at its true rate of value in the other; no one can lose or gain in using either for effecting exchanges of goods, and therefore no one will fear to accumulate and use either kind of coin in the quantities most convenient to himself. It follows that as silver is, taking the civilised world all round, suited to the needs of a vastly larger proportion of mankind than is gold, the general use of this method of working a bimetallic currency will be to increase to an extent beyond all calculation the amount of silver now employed for coinage in the world. There exists no contrivance by which silver can be brought up to its former relation of value to gold, so sure as a universal "bimetallism;" and no system of "bimetallism" has so good a chance of becoming universal as one which secures to every man, at all times, the certainty that his silver or his gold, be the quantity great or small, will remain unimpaired in value and be as efficient as by the nature of the metal it can be for the purchase of goods. Such a system gives no advantage to the owner of one metal over the owner of the other; it leaves existing contracts and present values unaffected; it keeps a double currency going, it affords employment to both gold and silver in quantities exactly regulated by the requirements of those who use the currency; it involves no recoinage, and affixes not artificial value

to either metal ; but whether nations adopt it or not depends on the extent to which it may make its way against the conservatism of officials, bankers, merchants, and any class which from motives of personal gain may be interested in opposing change of system in our Indian currency. We conclude with an extract from "Gold in the East :"—

"In introducing a change of the description now being discussed, some alteration of detail in currency and cognate fiscal arrangements will become necessary involving trouble, and what is often more unpopular than trouble, the supersession of old by new methods of doing business ; changes, however, which on the whole are beneficial are not to be deprecated as innovations on the ground of their novelty. New measures are entitled to consideration and support which effect a given object, and remove one source of mischief without providing any other of a different kind. Old views and habits of thought on fiscal matters will make a stand against the use of remedies which from their creative character invite opposition ; but in a case where such a difficulty as that which now besets Indian finance must be solved a wise boldness in seizing a means of extrication will draw support from arguments which proceed on elementary truths, and are founded on facts which are beyond question, and which will, it is to be hoped, succeed in setting this perplexing question finally at rest."



ART. VII.—SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

1. *Der Begriff der Gesellschaft.* L. STEIN. 1850.
2. *Die Gesellschaftslehre.* L. STEIN. 1856.

AS yet comparatively little has been done in England to determine the true position of Socialism. There are not wanting works which deal with the subject, but they are, as a rule, historical or purely analytical. Their tendency is to consider each several system in isolation. Thus, the doctrines set forth by Plato in the "Republic," and the criticism to which Aristotle subjects them, are sometimes looked at by themselves, and not in connection with the period in which they were put forward, although there are not wanting signs that they were "commonplaces of the schools" in Athens. So, too, such works as the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More cannot be regarded as having a merely literary interest apart from the age and ideas which they represent. Again, the three occasions on which a social revolution has been attempted in France should be studied together and compared one with another. In other words, the fact has perhaps hardly

received enough attention that, under certain conditions of national life, socialistic principles are rife. The centre, so to speak, is shifted. At one time the questions which divide a people are purely political, at another are purely social, nor need it be added that the latter are immeasurably the more important. What, then, are the conditions under which this passing from the political to the social side of life takes place? Can we see a sufficient agreement in the facts—*e.g.*, of Greek and French, and we must now add German life—to justify the conclusion that Socialism is a phase in the history of peoples, and that, given similar conditions, it must of necessity reappear? This is the question to which an answer is given by Professor von Stein. His works have been for some years before the world without attracting much attention in this country. For political philosophy has never been popular among us, nor again has the social side forced itself into notice here as in France and Germany. But elsewhere he has great weight in the formation of opinion. Thus, in Italy a translation is being issued of his writings on political economy and financial science, and in France he is well known as the author of a work on the communal system of that country; whilst in America the Ohio commissioner of common schools quotes from his "*Verwaltungslehre*" as "the latest and best on the subject."* In Germany, it is perhaps enough to say that he can claim to have been the first to use the now well-known word, Socialismus, and therefore, presumably, the first to call attention to the phenomena which it represents. Lastly, in Austria, his adopted country, the Platonic paradox has been so far realised that the philosopher has assisted in such worldly affairs as the making of railways and the framing of a budget.

His writings may be said to have a twofold aim. In the books before us he has shown the principles which underlie all social and political movement, and it is of these that we propose to speak here. But elsewhere he has applied these principles with an astonishing thoroughness to the Governments of England, France, and Germany, in all their details. The practical result is this: that under new conditions of the life of a people the same principles are to be the guide of progress; that as society develops itself more and more, the State in its constitution and administration must consistently modify the relation it bears towards it. But these words, *society* and *the State*, contain in themselves the kernel of the system, and call for further explanation. What is the State? what are its relations to the in-

* "Twenty-fourth Annual Report for year ending August 31, 1877." (Columbus, Nevins & Myers.)

dividuals who compose it? These questions must be answered as briefly as may be by way of preface.

The individual personality has a twofold aspect—a destiny, viz., his own development, which is infinite; and capacities to that end, which are finite, restricted. And he finds himself face to face with the impersonal—the spiritual with the material. Hence the relations between the two, the ceaseless change, the conflict which make up life. For the aim of the personal is to subdue the natural, and not only so, but to make it subserve his destiny, his development—to work it up into himself. In two cases only is such conflict absent; first, in that complete triumph of the spiritual which is one aspect at least of our conception of God; and secondly, in the triumph of the natural, which is death. But for this conflict of life, the capacities of the individual are too limited, and hence the widespreading co-operation of individuals which makes up the human community. Only thus can the contradiction which the individual presents in his twofold aspect, his infinite destiny, his limited capacity, be solved. Of this human community it may be said that, as it exists for personalities, includes them, and as it were springs out of them, it must be homogeneous with them—i.e., personal, and as such it has the characteristics of personality, viz., will expressing itself in deed. This aspect of the human community is the State which, as purely abstract, may be defined thus: “the human community raised to personality, with a personal will and an individual consciousness.”* As such, it is an organism of which the head or centre is found in the prince. Further, inasmuch as it aims at realising the united will, it has a definite permanent organ for that end. This organ is the official (*Amt*), and the subordinate relations of officials *inter se* make up the organism of the personality of the State considered as unity. Next, as the State is not merely itself personality, but includes individual personalities, having to a certain extent the right of free selfdetermination, relations arise not merely between the individual personalities, but between the State and the individual (i.e., the constitution). These relations are summed up as law (*Recht*, i.e., *jus*), the conception of which is the bound of the activity of one personality as against another. Lastly, the State is conceived as active in realising its idea, and such activity is represented by the administration.

This, then, is one side of the community, and the principle here is the development of the whole in that of the individual members, the means thereto being the participation of all in the common will and deed. But as a conception merely, it lacks

* “*Gesellschaftslehre*,” p. 53. Cf. “*Begriff der Ges.*,” Einl. xv.

content ; in other words, it has no life ; for life, as was seen, consists in the necessary opposition between the personal and the impersonal. What, then, stands to the State in the relation in which the natural stands to the spiritual in the individual life ; what is its object, its impersonal opposite ? To find it we need not go beyond the lives of the individual members. For the life which they lead, as such, is but a part of their life, not the whole. They have not entirely subordinated themselves to the common good, for the end of the community is its self-development in all its members. There is a sphere in which their lives order themselves according to their own laws. This leads us to our author's doctrine of society, and to the second aspect of the community, its plurality as against its unity.

The relation of the community to the individual is such that for him it exists to benefit himself alone. That is, its aim, as he conceives it, is to solve for him the contradiction between human destiny and capacity. And this is so far true, inasmuch as the development of that community as a whole is dependent upon, and consists in, that of its individual members. Hence, in the struggle after the realisation of his own development, he looks to the community to supply the needed conditions ; and for him the community consists only of those other individuals with whom he comes in contact. Acting on this view, he makes use of such other individuals as a means towards his own end. And hence arises an order of society, in which, in place of harmonious development of the whole, individuals are sacrificed to bring about that of other individuals. Its form is that of the acquisition of "goods," *i.e.*, of the impersonal world, as rendered subservient to personality, which falls within the sphere of political economy, having its own laws and its own abstract principles. Its source, as before, is the individual personality finding its expression in labour ; its occasion, so to speak, is division of goods. As a whole it constitutes an order of men with a two-fold division into classes—*viz.*, of those who have property and those who have not. The first falling into three classes, fixed by the quality of the property—*viz.*, land, capital, industrial (*i.e.*, plant, &c.), which classes have within themselves an order based upon its quantity. Of the second, those without property, two classes are fixed by the kind of labour as being free—*i.e.*, intellectual, or purely mechanical. Thus follows the complete dependence of individuals one upon another, not, as it would seem at first sight, a mutual dependence of labour and capital, but a dependence of labour upon capital, determined by the fact that the material which is needed for life is limited in quantity. From this it results that the laws of society fix for a man his position, his walk in life, the limit of his hopes. But at least, it

may be said, he is free at the outset to choose the place best suited for himself. Yet it is not so; for here comes in a fresh force which settles this for him from infancy. This is the family. For the family educates the children, and the position of the family depends upon that of the father, and so consequently does the education.

Such, then, is society in the abstract. Its principle is self-interest, which postulates dependence of individuals as a means to the advancement of other individuals irrespective of the good of all. The opposition between the principle of the State, viz., the development of the whole, and that of society, viz., the development of the one, is complete. In the words of our author:—

“Thus are severed society and the State. Society is that organism among men which is brought about by interest, whose aim is the highest development of the individual, but whose resolution follows from the fact that therein each individual interest subjects to itself the interests of all others completely. On the other hand, the State, as being a self-contained personality, is independent of the will and the interest of its individual members. Further, as the State includes in its personality the unity of all, it follows clearly that the interests of each individual, and hence of him who is threatened by the opposition of another’s interest, are identical with its own.”*

In both cases, it must be borne in mind, the conception given is purely abstract. Never is the one side of the human community found without some indication of the other. For its life, considered as actual, is made up of their conflict.

The first stage of this life may be briefly dealt with. The State, as was seen above, demands for all its members entire equality and full liberty. On the other hand, society implies two parts, of which the one is wholly dependent on the other. What, then, is the sphere of the State? Clearly to neutralise, so far as may be, the results which society has brought about in contradiction to complete equality and liberty. Thus it has to assert the first of these principles by the admission of the whole people to its constitution, and it must employ its activity in administration to gain freedom for each member of the dependent population. It is here that society in the person of its powerful class joins issue, the aim of that class being to attain to supremacy in the State, and to use it for selfish ends. This it brings about in two ways. First, participation in the constitution is restricted to those who fulfil certain purely social conditions, determined wholly by the kind and extent of property—a

* “*Gesellschaftslehre*,” p. 32. Cf. “*Begriff der Ges.*,” Einl. xxix.

census is established. But to secure a uniform supremacy throughout the State the administration also must be in their hands. And this is the easier, inasmuch as the administration can only find its representatives, its officials, among those who are also members of society, and therefore subject to its conditions. So by introducing qualifications into the tenure of office which none but its own members can fulfil, the powerful class restricts it wholly to itself, and uses it to its own ends. This stage in the life of the community is short-lived, for it is but negative, being based upon exclusion. Its positive side is seen when this exclusion is pushed still further by the active use of State power for selfish ends. Property being the fact upon which social distinctions are in the first instance based, the instincts of the powerful class lead them to use the full power of the State to exclude the dependent class from its acquisition. In the case of land, this is brought about by laws of succession, and the like; in the case of capital by privileges, guilds, corporations, and monopolies. And lastly, to prevent the profits of labour from passing to the labourer he is made wholly subject to his employer in the eye of the law as well as in fact. Hence for him all hope of rising from one class to the other is at an end, and, stereotyped by the family, the process is rapid by which society passes through the stages of estates or orders, and ends in caste. It is worth while to consider our author's illustration of much that seems so abstract, and so foreign to the spirit of our own time :—

“Here in Europe we still find simple classes, as of those with property and those without; laws based upon society, as corporations, privileges, immunities of landowners; estates, in the distinction of nobles and not-nobles; an echo of caste in the priesthood of the Catholic Church. All these several parts of society make for the same end, but each of them strives ever, as is but natural, to reach forward to the next stage. Those who merely own property wish for such particular social rights as suit each best; those who partially enjoy such rights wish to increase, fix, and utilise them, or next to secure them for their children, and to publish this security in some open manner, so that an estate results; those again who already form an estate strive to place their rights above the will of the State, to represent the estate as a law of nature, the true foundation of all orderly society, the form ordained of God for things human, to raise themselves to a caste; those who form a caste seek, as did the Catholic Church of old, to subject the State immediately to the Church, or in modern times by an absolute separation of Church and State to set up an ecclesiastical organism independent of the State over all other forces and elements of both State and society. All these changes are at work side by side in Europe, and for that very reason is the life of

European society so infinitely various, so restless in its strainings hither and thither.”*

The state of unfreedom—*i.e.*, that in which the majority of a people are excluded from the possibility of self-development—is now fixed. Such being the case, the first impulse is to look to the State, as representing in itself the idea of freedom, for the initiation of better things. But here the State alone is powerless. For it is dependent for its action on the individuals who compose it, and they are also the component parts of that very society which has brought about unfreedom. The State can only bring about freedom by a change in the individuals who make up its will—in other words, by admitting those who are now shut out to a share in its constitution and administration. Such a change cannot be made by sheer force: experience shows us that such an attempt has no lasting results. It must originate in property, not as a fact in itself, but as the outward expression of a principle. Now it was shown above how completely the iron system of society has excluded a large mass of the population from the acquisition of this necessary condition. But there is a sphere in which even society is powerless. This is the sphere of mental progress—of the acquisition of intellectual goods (*geistige Güter*), and here it is that a people which is still living, and capable of progress, finds the solution of its contradictions. The acquisition of culture—*i.e.*, intellectual advancement—is the only path left open for the individual; and it has an importance, not only in its immediate results, but also in the principle it asserts—*viz.*, of the equality of all individual personality as such, or as it is generally formulated, that all men are equal. Its outward result is this,—the attainment of culture implies the greater excellence of labour, the transition from the labour which is mechanical to that which is free. This opens the way to the acquisition and enjoyment of an income not derived from labour, the modern form of the Greek *σχολή*. The tendency then is for the mass of the population to acquire the conditions which the ruling class have made essential to a share in the common will and deed. And inasmuch as the source from which such results flow—*i.e.*, the material sufficient to give an income not derived from the individual's own labour, is, as a rule, limited in quantity, it follows that the new class of owners enjoy property drawn from that of the privileged class. In other words, society divides itself into the privileged few from whom property is passing, and the educated many to whom it is accruing. The change thus begun, may take one of two forms. It may either be a surrender

* “Begriff der Gesellschaft,” *Einl.* lxi., lxii.

of power in the constitution on the part of those who hold it, or it may be a forcible seizure by those who are shut out. In the one case it is a reform, in the other a revolution. But in either case the result is the same—viz., a complete readjustment of the relations of society and the State, but, it must be remarked, on the old lines. That is, the conditions which make a share in the common will restricted to a privileged few, remain in force; but the number of those fulfilling them is largely increased. In other words, the reform or revolution is purely political, not social. It is only at a later date in a people's development that the latter becomes prominent. The causes which bring this about have now to be investigated.

The point that has been reached is this: the acquisition of property open to all; and the equality of men so far guaranteed that to each, on his fulfilling the needful conditions, falls his share in the common will and deed. The distinctions of society seem abolished by the mere fact of the possibility of passing from one class to the other. But its power to produce inequality and unfreedom soon finds expression. The combination of property and labour in the same individual gives him peculiar advantages for acquisition: not only has he capital, but he has capital which he makes in a high degree productive. Now, the man who relies wholly on his labour can amass capital only as wages. And this capital represents the surplus of his wages over the necessities of life (the "existence-minimum" of late writers). Hence, whilst capital and labour are, to a great extent, co-operative, mutually dependent, the advantage is wholly on the side of capital, as the workman must labour to secure himself the necessities of life. Various causes unite to force the capitalist to reduce his expenditure on labour. For the mere wish to increase capital, the competitions of ordinary life, and in his special business, lead him to reduce, as far as possible, the costs of production, of which wages forms a large item. This being so, labour is prevented from fulfilling its end—viz., the getting of capital; and there is an opposition between the parts of society. The interest of capital comes directly into collision with the destiny of labour. For the labourer, without capital, all acquisition is impossible. Add to this, the inevitable absorption of small capitals by large, and the result is that society falls into two large sections—viz., owners of property and labourers, and unfreedom is once more established. The conditions are such that even mental culture cannot, as before, establish equality. For the higher class combine both culture and capital in themselves—i.e., they monopolise free labour, leaving to the rest only mechanical. The contradictions of this period are purely social, and only indirectly political.

This then is the time at which theories subversive of social

order attract attention. First, the whole root of the evil is held to be in property as establishing a relation of dependence between those who have it and those who have but labour. And hence communism finds supporters as being based solely upon the negation of individual property, a fact which alone would show that it holds the lowest place in social speculation. But communism fails even to answer its immediate end, to secure independence for the individual. It presupposes a large class, whose duty it is to administer and divide the property of the community amongst its members, so that between this class and the other members the relation can only be one of dependence. The first are the "lords of labour," the next are wholly in their hand. Hence, not merely will communism bring about poverty through lack of interest, but it ends in the negation of liberty and equality. Secondly, the fact being recognised that property is necessary to the development of the individual personality, an attempt is made to solve its contradictions by socialism. Since the existing evils are due to the dependence of labour upon capital, socialism proposes to reverse this state of things and make capital dependent upon labour. Its point is that labour must be able always to secure property for the labourer, and thus it stands as an idea far higher than communism, in so far as it recognises the work of labour, and thus of the individual. But socialism also carries a contradiction in itself. The form of society for which it strives as an organisation of labour practically ignores labour itself. For by making capital, which is but the surplus earnings of past labour, dependent upon present labour, it destroys the worth of the latter, inasmuch as this worth exists only when it presupposes the accumulation of past labours. Again, it is in contradiction with the principle of acquisition, for whereas property can be subordinated to labour as independent of it, capital cannot, as they are one and the same. Communism and socialism failing, there are two ways in which the dependent class may propose to make use of the State to aid them in their efforts. First, they may call upon the State to assume the position of employer of labour, to organise it; and secondly, as representing credit, to provide for labour capital without interest, to secure the conditions of capital making. And this reliance upon the State brings into union the political and social tendencies working simultaneously. First of all, as basing the constitution on the personality alone apart from all conditions of property or the like; secondly, for the dependent class to secure to itself the administration, and use it against the capitalist class. The combination of these two elements makes up a social democracy. To reach this one of two movements is necessary—a social revolution or a social reform.

It is not necessary to speak at length of the phases through which a social revolution passes. It needs only to be noticed that as a social movement it carries a contradiction with it which is insoluble. For it endeavours to divert capital from its true channels ; or, in other words, to make it cease to represent what is of its essence—viz., accumulated labour. Hence it follows in the practical world that the suddenly acquired means are either mismanaged or squandered, and no permanent relief accrues to those who have seized them. It was shown how their relations to the State are based upon a union of the socialistic with the democratic party. This amounts to no more than the rule of one class in its own interests—viz., the lowest of all. But its tenure of power is short-lived. Under no circumstances can those who are interested in the upsetting of the social order exceed even in number those who are interested to uphold it. And thus in the end these last are always victorious, although in the interval, whilst they are collecting their forces, the supreme power may pass into the hands of a dictator.

On the other hand, social reform calls for more notice, as being a movement which is ever working, and which is peculiarly characteristic of our own time. Two misconceptions must be cleared away before we can rightly understand it. First, its aim is not an actual equality, but rather an equal guarantee of certain conditions of self-development. For equality is not merely pronounced impossible as a permanent state by the experience of mankind, but it is also contrary to the conception of the personality. For the individual personality implies the acquisition of material and mental goods in order to fulfil its destiny, to realise itself, and the laws according to which such acquisition is made involve inequality. Further, the inequality of individuals is indispensable to the being of the higher organism, the universal personality, the human community. Secondly, a social reform does not aim, immediately at least, at the rooting out of poverty. For poverty is the absence of the capacity for self-realisation in the material world by reason of physical or other defects, and as such it is a matter for individual charity. On the other hand, the expression "proletariat" implies a large body of labour capable of increasing capital, but seeking in vain an outlet for its energies. To provide such an outlet is the aim of all true social reform. Social life presupposes two classes—the rich and the poor, capital and labour—and the dependence of the latter upon the former. But such a dependence is only harmful when it implies the exclusion of labour from the possibility of acquiring capital ; or, in other words, capital must always represent labour, and the conditions of acquiring it be open to all. How is this to be realised ? What force can bring about a

change in society which seems to reverse its principles? The force which, as was said above, alone is active in its interest. "The upper, the excluding class, must see that their true, their highest, most enlightened interest, lies here—viz., with all the energy of their social strength, and with all the assistance which the State and its power can give to forward ceaselessly social reform."*

The history of France, from the breaking out of the Revolution in 1789, has been selected by Professor von Stein to illustrate his doctrine. On many grounds, France is the best instance of the influence of social questions on political matters, and it is the easier to trace owing to the position which Paris occupies in the country. The turbulent, restless speed with which stages are passed through which elsewhere occupy generations, calls to mind the short-lived vigour of the Greek city states. Further, in the period here treated of, it was intensified by the recent substitution of departments for the traditional provinces. Space forbids our dealing with more than the first section of our author's historical review, which is carried down to 1850, but that will be sufficient to show the method he employs. The first part of the period, that of the rule of the *tiers état*, centres round the constitution of 1791. The basis of that constitution, the celebrated "Rights of Man," is purely negative. Thus it proclaims equality and liberty of all, but interprets this to mean little more than the abolition of privileges, equality before the law, a formal assertion of the doctrine that the legislative expresses the "volonté générale." Its more active side is seen in the measures consequent upon the abolition of primogeniture and the sale of State domains, as binding the interests of a new and large class of owners of property to the new constitution. This constitution gives proof of the complete rule in the state of the bourgeois—i.e., the class combining capital and labour. This rule finds its expression in a census, in the conception of a *citoyen actif*, which restricts the electors, in the first instance, and the members of the electoral college by property conditions. Again, the lack of unity which government by one class of society in its own interests must bring about is seen in the formation, on the one hand, of the National Guard; on the other, of the clubs. Its outcome is found in the state of martial law practically proclaimed in the capital, and the famous massacre of the Champs de Mars (July 17, 1791). The struggle centred at last in the question of monarchy. The attempted flight, the use of the veto, the utter failure to appreciate the position, had alienated all parties alike from the person of the king. Mirabeau, indeed, had grasped the idea of the true functions

* "Begriff der Gesellschaft," Einl. cxxx.

of royalty in social strife, as the representative of the abstract State on behalf of the weaker class, and this is the true explanation of his policy throughout. His death (April 2, 1791) removed the last hope of social peace by this means. Lastly, the coalition of Europe against the new government in France, being based upon dynastic sympathies, precipitated events. The execution of Louis XVI. marks the victory of the proletariat over the *tiers état* (January 21, 1793). With his downfall was bound up that of the supporters of constitutionalism—i.e., of the rule of the middle class, the Gironde. How thoroughly opposed were the two social parties in principles of action is shown by the two conceptions of equality which they represented. For the Gironde equality was, at the most, ideal. It was an equality before the law which at least allowed of a practical inequality in social and political position. Equal in theory, the better elements of the population, were to have rule over the rest. For the Mountain, on the other hand, equality was the natural state, inequality the result of artificial social conditions which were to be swept away by the State as represented by those who approached most nearly to nature, the proletariat (Robespierre). For the victory gained by a class holding such opinions, and in the Reign of Terror putting them into practice, only the pressing danger from invasion can account. Such a danger called for an extreme sacrifice on the part of each citizen. "The complete surrender of all individual elements of existence to that of the whole, the sacrifice of the person." That such a sacrifice was possible is the highest tribute to the strength of patriotism; its necessity arose from the character of the situation, "the revolutionary movement once established in France," our author quotes from Le Maistre, "France could only be saved by Jacobinism." The complete mastery of the proletariat has left its record in the Constitution of 1793, when universal suffrage and short tenure of office were substituted for the census of the *tiers état*. But as yet there is no thought of the violent measures we understand by communism. "The Convention had upon the subject of property the same opinion as is expressed in the Civil Code; it always regarded property as the fundamental basis of social order. I never heard any member of that assembly utter or move any proposal contrary to this principle."* The Constitution proved itself to be of principle only. It was unfitted for the world, as lacking the content which an order of society alone can give; it did not sufficiently recognise the facts of life. But by this very ideal character it gave an opening for the spirit of communism which soon found expression in the

* Baudot, as quoted by Quinet, "Rev. Fran.," xv. 1. vol. ii. p. 93.

conspiracy of Babeuf. How prevalent such a spirit was, is shown by the fact that it numbered some seventeen thousand accomplices. Its character is shown by the principle "to every man according to his needs;" and the position which its founder assigned to the State as the organiser of national labour (Proclamation of Babeuf, April, 1796). Its importance, which has often been underrated, lies in the evidence it gives as to the conditions under which such doctrines acquire popularity. For it represents a desperate effort on the part of the proletariat to win by a social revolution what had been denied them after a political. The class representing property had already gained the upper hand before these doctrines were formulated. The Reign of Terror was over, and the rights of society vindicated by the *jeunesse dorée*. As yet the economical distress throughout the country was the most alarming symptom. It arose in great part from the insecurity felt by those who occupied without title the confiscated lands of *émigrés*. The confidence needed could only be restored by a settled government in harmony with the *status quo*. And this explains the ease with which a body of men, so obscure in themselves as were most of those who made up the Directory, obtained the supreme power without an effort. Henceforward the new order of things was for France established—viz., the complete right for every individual citizen of self-development on the basis of property, with all the contradictions which necessarily follow. It remained only to force these principles upon Europe, and this was the work of one man, Napoleon :—

"The significance of Napoleon in the history of Europe does not lie in the history of States and Powers, it lies rather in the history of European society. He is the man by whose hand the seed of the new French society was sown broadcast over Europe. Never was the eternal, irresistible might of that Will, which directs the affairs of men, more strikingly vindicated than in the age in which the greatest man of the two centuries in which he appears levelled to the dust his own individual work, whilst the end for which he had been forced to toil with his whole life, ever against his own will, all-powerful as that was often held, won in his immediate train supremacy over Europe—viz., the victory of a society and a constitution based on the individual citizen as against the feudal forms of State and society."

The development of Napoleon's rule, the Restoration, the Constitutional Monarchy and its fall, are treated in the light of the same principles as are the complications and contradictions which gave rise to such schemes for the re-constitution of society as was prevalent in 1848.

Socialism and communism are now once more prominent.

The scene, it is true, has shifted from France to Germany ; the points which are uppermost are determined by circumstances, but in principle the movement is the same. Can we find in the conditions under which they have reappeared any similar to those which our author has laid it down must of necessity control the course of such ideas ; in other words, are we to look upon them as phases through which Germany must pass, as France has passed ? Or is it possible that they may become the permanent foundation of a new social order ?

In political development, Germany has been slow, partly through want of unity, partly because the large towns have not had the same influence as elsewhere in determining the direction of a movement. For such influence is naturally in proportion to the centralisation of trade, &c., in the towns themselves, and the unimportance of the rural population. Thus the great change brought about by the Napoleonic invasions was not really completed till 1848. Of the history of that year it may perhaps be safely said that we have still much to learn. In some towns indeed in Germany, Socialism raised its head, in others it was merely a "red spectre" to attract the owners of property to the side of the reigning House. Elsewhere, again, the movement was political and the social element entirely wanting. Speaking generally, the victory of constitutionalism was, in form at least, complete, and the charters of the large majority of States date from that period. The quiet progress thenceforward was not seriously interrupted till the commercial crisis of a few years back. The economical and other causes which led to that have been often set forth ; it will be enough here to consider some points in its bearing on the social state of the country. For undoubtedly it has been the occasion of calling attention to the possibility of a complete readjustment of the conditions on which it followed. Competition having led to the extinction of the small businesses by the large, a wide gulf was opened between the capitalist and the labourer ; at the same time this very fact adds to the difficulty of passing from the one class to the other. First of all, because the chance of making profit on a small capital is materially reduced ; and secondly, because after a period of over-production, wages leave no surplus for the accumulation of capital. Thus we are brought face to face with a proletariat,—i.e., a class who have the will and the power to amass capital, but not the opportunity. Therefore it is that extreme opinions are rife, and it is to be noticed that their influence is now felt beyond the great towns, in every country village, even in the depths of the forest.

Under such conditions, as was said above, public opinion among the lower classes will take the direction of Socialism and

Communism. In both cases their acceptance is facilitated by the position of the State in Germany. For the State in the concrete form of its officials is traditionally a much more familiar power than with ourselves in England. And hence the idea either of a regulation of all property in the interests of labour, or of a community of property administered by State officers, is not so hard to grasp as it would be for us. Again, the violent attacks made upon the family by a section of the Socialists are a necessary result of the circumstances. For, as is becoming daily more clear, the family has a twofold relation to property, and hence ultimately to the present state of society. First of all, its existence involves that of property. The family and the home cannot be conceived without a distinct sphere of goods of its own. Secondly, when society has once settled into its classes, it is the family which fixes these almost beyond hope of transition from the one to the other on the part of the individual. It is the consciousness of this which leads some to call for the destruction of ties which are to us so sacred. Again, their attitude with regard to religion may perhaps be explained thus:—The two most prominent Churches are of course the Roman Catholic and the Protestant, with its infinite variety of sects. Of these the latter is discredited by the fact that its pastors are closely bound up with the existing state of things, are almost officials, and hence are identified with the State. The Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, is the most prominent survival of the system of estates. Aiming either at the control of the State, or at a vast independent power, it is hostile to liberty in principle, though it may at times espouse its cause for some immediate good. Thus it sums up in itself the conservative and reactionary forces throughout the country, and sooner or later enlists them in its service.

To abolish property, the family, religion, are the aims of the extreme party among the Socialists. It is hardly necessary to point out that opinions, at bottom so purely negative, can be but transitory. Further, not only do those interested in the preservation of such an order of things outnumber those who wish to overturn it, but in Germany the army system has placed a tremendous weapon in the hands of the Government, by which any overt attempt would be at once crushed. It was seen how the triumph of the *tiers état* in France was the signal for the enrolment of the National Guard, and such a National Guard Germany has ever ready in the army. For the compulsory service of every male citizen guarantees that, as a body, it will be on the side of order. On the other hand, the fact that the soldier remains a citizen, attaches it to the State rather than to the person of the sovereign, and renders it far less amenable for dynastic purposes.

Again, in any serious outbreak, the large body of those who now for some reason or other coquet with Socialism must fall away. The middle-class citizens, who voted in such large number for the extreme candidates at a recent election at Berlin, cannot be serious in their support. They may use them as a means to express dislike of this or that measure, but their ends are very different. Nor, again, can the sympathy of any of the smaller sovereigns be given for very long. If it be true that the Saxon Court has before now intrigued for the return of Herr Bebel at Dresden, to spite the Imperial Court, it only shows to what suicidal lengths such antipathies may be carried. All these must range themselves at the day of trial on the side of order; and the relations of the National Liberals to Prince Bismarck and his measures may be taken as a sign what their action will be.

Lastly, it remains to be seen whether for Germany practical good may arise from the true application of the principles of which the social democrats represent an extreme form. For their opinions represent an attempt to rectify the undue predominance of one class of society, only that the rectification which they propose is one-sided, and would lead to the equally oppressive predominance of another class. How to attain more nearly to the end of the human community, to secure the good of the whole without the undue sacrifice of any individual or class? How shall the State secure to every man the conditions of self-development? There are two things necessary to make this possible. First of all, the constitution must represent the will of the whole; and secondly, the administration, and more particularly the internal administration, must be the expression of that will guarded by its true interests. How far are these requisites found in Germany? In their entirety they cannot be secured, for that would imply the complete victory of the State over society, but countries may approximate more or less to the true type. The constitutional question is obscured at the outset by the twofold relation in which every citizen of the Empire finds himself. Thus, for instance, an inhabitant of Hamburg may enjoy a purely democratic constitution when he sends his representative to the Reichstag, but be wholly excluded from any share in the plutocratic government of his own State. The constitution of the Empire is as democratic as universal suffrage, secret voting, and the absence of an Upper House can make it; in the individual States it varies from an iron feudalism in Mecklenburg-Schwerin to a liberally-framed charter in Waldeck. Further, there is the greatest inequality in fitness for parliamentary government, owing to the absence in so many States of any real self-government. In the present condition of Germany it is to the administration that reformers must look for amendment, to a

State-action based on the principles which fix the relations of the State to the individual, and of social classes *inter se*. To secure for every man the conditions of self-development seems at first sight to imply a legislation opposed to the interest of the dominant or capitalist class—in other words, purely negative. For it implies legislation in such matters as the regulation of the age and hours of labour, of unwholesome occupations, sanitary inspection, and the like; or again, in taxation, it may take the form of a substitution of direct for indirect taxation, and a progressive income-tax; or again, the example of France may urge some to push for a revision of laws of succession. But, as a whole, the great aim in administration is to make it organic—to hit the mean, that is, between centralisation and *laissez faire*, to make it subserve the interests of the whole, and rescue it from the hands of any one class.

Since this was first written the protective tariff of Prince Bismarck has been passed, and has introduced a new factor into the question. Some points involved in it, and bearing on this subject, have been often overlooked. First, then, it proceeds on the principle, enforced by Professor von Stein, that political disorders can only be cured by economic or social remedies, inasmuch as in every case the economic difficulty is the first in order. Secondly, they are to be looked upon not so much as financial as psychological in their aim; in other words, their object is not so much to gain an income to the State as to divert men's minds from the social question. Thus viewed in the light of the foregoing, the results looked for are these:—By stimulating home production, they will not only raise wages, but also give increased facilities for the thriving of small capitalists; in other words, for the passage from one social class to another. They give to the proletariat the opportunity of entering the capitalist class, and thus convert a large number, who now cry for social revolution or reform, into friends of order. How far these results will be attained, time only can show—how far the means adopted to bring them about are adequate, is a question for political economy. It is worth notice how thoroughly this legislation, avowedly entered upon to meet the social question, corresponds with that which Mr. Berry and his friends are adopting towards the landowners in Victoria.

ART. VIII.—RUSSIA AND RUSSIAN REFORMERS.

1. *Russland vor und nach dem Kriege*. Leipzig: 1879.
2. *Aus der Petersburger Gesellschaft*. Leipzig: 1875.
3. *Russia*. By D. MACKENZIE WALLACE, M.A. London: 1877.
4. *The Russians at Home and the Russians Abroad*. By H. SUTHERLAND EDWARDS. London: 1879.
5. *Whitaker's Almanack for 1880*. London: 1879.

IN writing a few pages on Russia, it is far from our intention to enter into competition with the few authors who have written good books, or with the many who have written bad books, on that great but ill-known country. We here make no attempt to add anything new to what is known, or to open out original views. Our wish is to merely sketch in outline certain movements in modern Russia, on which better information has been afforded by several excellent works which have appeared recently. There is no country which it more concerns Englishmen to understand. There is no country of which—partly from its distance, partly from its vastness, partly from the difficulty of its language—so little is known.

Of the books named at the head of this paper, Mr. Wallace's has long been so favourably known that we need say nothing of it; we have referred to it because no one can write on modern Russia without making use of it. The first half of the work of Mr. Sutherland Edwards is a new and revised edition of a book published several years ago, while the second half is a collection of newer papers on political or semi-political subjects. It is a very readable book, but hardly likely, we think, to hold a permanent place. "*Aus der Petersburger Gesellschaft*" is a series of biographical sketches, well written, and evidently by a writer of authority. But "*Russland vor und nach dem Kriege*" is by far the most important of these works. It is brightly written; it is deep and broad in judgment and in thought; and it is likely to prove, if we may judge, an epoch-making book. We are glad to hear that an English translation is shortly to appear. It is to its pages that we are chiefly indebted for the facts mentioned in the present article.

The recent date of Prussia's rise to greatness was remarked upon in this Review a few months ago. Scarcely less striking is the rapidity with which Russia has advanced into the first rank of European Powers. Although she celebrated her millennium in 1862, yet three centuries ago her name was hardly known.

It is barely a century and a half since the half-mad genius of Peter the Great brought her into shape, and by his caprices almost as much as by his achievements, familiarised Western Europe with the idea of a great and growing Power in the East. During the last century it suited Voltaire, and others who wished for free thought and free speech, to laud Russia as a country free from prejudices, where the Sovereigns desired nothing so much as the welfare and culture of the people. It is, however, only reasonable to assume that the French eulogists of Russia in the last century wrote with the Government of France quite as much in their thoughts as that of Russia. No healthy progress was made in Russia during the last century, whatever it may have suited the French Liberal writers to assert; in any case the coquetry of the Russian Sovereigns with the French Liberal writers caused no healthy advance. Undoubtedly the Empire waxed in population and in war-power; and this growth gave it the opportunity of coming forward to share in the destruction of Napoleon, and to pass as a Great Power after that event. The campaign of 1813-14 it was which gave the rank of European Great Power to both Russia and Prussia. Before that time neither of these States would have dreamed of asserting such a position in European politics as belonged to the Holy Roman Empire, France, or England. The Czar did far more for Europe in that struggle than did the King of Prussia; but the peoples of both countries fought with equal devotedness; and we can afford to forget how much the selfishness and cowardice of both Courts helped the grinding despotism of Napoleon.

A glance at some vital statistics of the Russian Empire may be desirable in this place. Her territory comprises about 8½ millions of square miles; that is to say, she is nearly three times as large as the United States, and is only one-fifteenth less than the whole British Empire. On this point we may observe that much of this territory is poor, or even valueless; on the other hand, it is all in one piece. Her population is nearly 86,000,000—i.e., more than twice that of the whole German Empire, or of any other European State, or, in other words, much more than that of any two European States. It is more than two and a half times that of the British Islands, and is nearly a third of that of the whole British Empire. Her population is about 33 to the square mile in Europe, the proportion for Europe generally being 80 to the square mile. It is not easy to ascertain the amount of the Russian National Debt; but it may be stated safely to be more than that of either Austria or the United States, and to be more than half of that of either of the other two deeply-indebted States, France or Great Britain. The interest paid on the Russian debt is greater than that paid by

Great Britain. The imports and exports of Russia are worth about £175,000,000 a year; those of France about £300,000,000; those of the United States about £231,000,000; those of the British Islands £614,000,000. Of Russia's 86,000,000 of inhabitants, about 56,000,000 are Russians, 4,700,000 Poles, 2,600,000 Jews, 1,000,000 Germans. To the Orthodox (Russo-Greek) Church belong about 60,000,000; to the Roman Catholic and Mahometan faiths about 7,500,000 each; while about 2,800,000 are Protestants. According to the official statistics of 1863, 886,782 persons were *noble*, out of a population (for European-Russia) of 59,000,000; and the clergy (of all denominations) and their families numbered 601,929. The rural population amounted to nearly 48,000,000; that of the towns to not much more than 4,000,000.

From the history of Russia little is to be learned. The real history of that country is only beginning in our own days; its past has been merely empirical. The epigram which a Russian noble made to Count Münster in the early part of this century: "*La tyrannie tempérée par l'assassinat, c'est notre Magna Charta*," has been perfectly true from the time of Peter the Great until to-day. Beginning with that monarch's accession in 1689 there have been twelve Russian sovereigns: Peter I., Katherine I. (his widow), Peter II., Anne, Iwan IV. (an infant), Elizabeth, Peter III., Katherine II. (his widow), Paul, Alexander I., Nicholas, Alexander II. Of these, Iwan, Peter III., and Paul were murdered; and suspicion has hung over the deaths of one or two others. Alexander II. is the first of these twelve sovereigns who has attained the age of sixty years, except Katherine II.; only three others reached fifty. The two Katherines had no sort of hereditary claim to the Crown, being merely widows of Czars maintained on the throne by Prætorian lawlessness. All four of the Czarinas were women of immoral life, and three of them rendered themselves infamous by the unbridled gratification of their lusts when they were past the time of life when allowance may be made for passion. From the death of Peter the Great until the early part of this century, the history of the Court of Russia has been a series of attempts at reform by the sovereigns, checked by assassination and revolt on the part of the nobles, and followed by periods of rest which were divided between debauchery and an affectation of culture.

With Alexander I. a new era began. He, too, was placed on the throne by a revolt of the nobles who murdered his father. The circumstances of his day, however, made foreign politics the chief concern of every European-State. A successful conduct of foreign affairs strengthens the executive in every Government; and Russia's happy issue from the struggle of 1812-1815

gave Alexander, although he was a weak man, ample authority during his reign. He would seem to have been a benevolent voluptuary, with the tendency to pietism which so often accompanies a sensual nature. He had large, but vague and maudlin views of doing good to mankind; but he could contemplate no good to mankind which was not done by himself, or in his own way. "Everything *for*—nothing *by*—the people." His religious character manifested itself in the absurd wording of the treaty of the Holy Alliance, in his intercourse with the notorious Frau von Krudener, and later in the melancholy mysticism which is said to have killed him, and which certainly caused him towards the close of his reign to stifle the comparative Liberalism of his earlier years by measures of repression.

Of the Czar Nicholas little need be said. His main idea seems so have been to suppress all thought and speech in his empire, and to recognise no law except his own will. In order to bring about these results the whole life and action of the nation was reduced to a miserable system of military pedantry. He succeeded in hindering the progress and checking the vitality of Russia temporarily; until, fortunately for his subjects, the disastrous Crimean War broke his heart, and gave the throne to his son, the present Czar, who began his reign in his thirty-eighth year, a prince tried by experience, and schooled by the misfortunes induced by his father's tyranny to be a generous and liberal ruler.

Alexander II. is the eleventh sovereign who has ruled in Russia since Peter the Great, from whom he is only in the fifth generation of descent. His pedigree, so far as a line of ancestry which has passed through Katherine II. can be accepted as a pedigree, shows that no Russian blood has been infused into the veins of his forefathers since that of Peter the Great and Katherine I. Their daughter Anna married the reigning Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. The Duke's son (and successor in the duchy) became the Czar Peter III., and the husband of a Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, who is better known as Katherine II. The son of Peter and Katherine was Paul, who married a Wirtemberg Princess and begat the Czar Nicholas. The present Czar is the son of Nicholas by Charlotte, sister of the German Emperor. Therefore, unless we admit some accidental mixture during the disturbed wedlock of Peter III. and Katherine II., the Czar may be assumed to be as pure a German as any peasant of the Schwarzwald. He has, as has been already stated, attained a greater age (sixty-one) than any other Czar from Peter I. downwards. He has attempted and carried great reforms. He has provoked and fought the opposition of the great nobles. He has been the victim of many conspiracies and

attempts at assassination. Little wonder, then, if he falls, like his uncle Alexander I., into the error of repression. And little wonder if, as men say, he is becoming (again like Alexander I.) the prey of melancholia. We have little to say of the Czar as an individual, because it is impossible to acquire any exact knowledge of a living sovereign of a great nation. Those who are about his person can hardly know the man: to others he can become known only years after death, when the favour and malice of foe and friend have died with him, and when light has been thrown upon his memory from many and different sources. We may, however, allude to a few of the great things which he has done for Russia. Inheriting the crown at a moment of defeat and almost of ruin, he has, within a generation, restored and reorganised her military forces so as to bring her back into her high place among the nations. He has reformed the financial system, and improved her credit. It is true that the events of the last three or four years have done much to destroy the good that Alexander did in these respects; but his positive work deserves none the less praise. He has made one great attempt to reconcile Poland, although he did not duly persevere in it. He has created representative bodies in the provinces. He has introduced trial by jury. But his great achievement is the emancipation of the serfs. And be it remembered to his lasting honour that he attempted to do this by recommendation, and by his own example, before he used the authority of the State. These are deeds sufficient to give a monarch a high place on the roll of fame.

As all men know, the Russian Empire is an absolute monarchy, the only one still remaining in Christendom. All legislative and executive power, and the headship of the Orthodox Church, rest in the Czar alone. There are, indeed, three legislative or consultative bodies—the Council of State, the Senate, and the Holy Synod; but these derive and hold all their powers from the good pleasure of the Czar as absolutely as do his Ministers. The Synod consists of bishops and others, appointed and dismissed at will by the Czar, and has some legislative and administrative powers in ecclesiastical matters. The Council of State, founded by Alexander I., consists of the imperial princes, the Ministers, and a number of persons—mostly generals or admirals—appointed by the Czar. It has certain powers of assenting to what the Government chooses to put before it, and is especially charged with the examination of the Budget. The Senate, which was founded by Peter the Great, lost the greater part of such authority as it previously had by the creation of the Council of State. It is now little more than a High Court of Appeal; though all State officials are supposed to owe it some responsibility. Its

members are also appointed by the Czar. It is obvious that none of these bodies can exercise or acquire any real power in the State, seeing that their members depend upon the Czar for their appointment and for their dismissal or advancement. There are ten or twelve ministries, the incumbents of which are, of course, nominated by the Czar, and hold their offices during pleasure. They are quite independent of each other, and each reports to the Czar directly—a most certain mode of preventing anything like independence or responsibility. There is, it is true, a so-called Committee of Ministers; but in this are found nominees of the Czar who are not ministers; and it has little or no power as a body. For purposes of local government, the Empire is divided into fifty or sixty provinces, each under a governor and vice-governor. Each of the European provinces has a small representative council, elected by the landowners. This is one of Alexander's great creations, and is a result of the emancipation of the serfs. Mr. Wallace tells us that great nobles and ex-serfs meet in proper equality in these councils.

In contemplating the present disturbed state of the Russian Empire, we shall guard against exaggeration if we bear in mind that it was inevitable that a violent reaction must sooner or later follow such a state of things as prevailed under the Czar Nicholas. It is not yet five-and-twenty years since his death. His system, like that of some of the worst Roman emperors, had the effect of suppressing the study of politics; so that when a more liberal ruler came, he had not to his hand a sufficiency of men who were capable of carrying out his humane decrees properly. Another effect of the system of the last Czar was that the people were degraded into the condition of slaves; so that they too were incapable of understanding the benefits conferred upon them.

“Hat nicht der Sklav überall stets seine Ketten geherzt?”

On the one hand we have the benevolent measures of Alexander II. carried out reluctantly or awkwardly by men who had been accustomed to see the masses treated with severity and insolence: on the other we see the people, accustomed only to be driven here and there, grow wild over the liberties granted; and, missing the wonted crack of the whip, break out into foolish expectations, and, in some cases, into outrage. That excessive repression will be followed by excessive outbreak is as certain as anything in mathematics. It is as true of freedom in a people as it is of steam in a boiler. And it is equally true that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children. The life of despair which Alexander II. must now be living, however courageous a man he may be: the ingratitude with which he cannot but charge a section of his subjects: the misery of suspicion with which he must now be regarding those near and those afar: all

these sufferings are the punishment for his father's ill-doings, as surely as the execution of the mild Louis XVI. was the atonement for the crimes of his two predecessors. We said just now that twenty-five years have not yet passed since the death of Nicholas. Alexander began well. Not only had he the ordinary popularity of a new sovereign and of a reign of promise, but he has actually done very great things for the people. It was not until fifteen years after the death of Louis XV. that the French Revolution began, in the moderate form of the assembling of the States-General; and those had been years of fearful distress and threatened collapse of the State. Russia has not suffered since Nicholas what France suffered after Louis XV. Probably no persons in Russia have since 1855 suffered so severely as thousands of persons suffered in France under the sway of the mild Louis XVI. Certainly, whatever cruelties or wrongs may have been committed in our generation by Russian officials far from the master's eye, the Russian State has never in this century openly committed or tolerated anything like the horrors which the French Government perpetrated up to the Revolution. And let it be remembered that a crime of a vicious individual, even be he an official, will not cause a nation's gorge to rise as will an outrage which is recognised and tolerated by the Government. Therefore, measuring Louis XVI. with Alexander II., as the successors of selfish sovereigns: comparing the state of Russia from 1855 to 1879 with that of France from 1775 to 1789: comparing the great concessions of Alexander with the feebleness of Louis: we think that the present discontent and trouble in Russia is the reaction—the violent but *temporary* reaction—after the tyranny of Nicholas, as certainly as the French Revolution was the result of the misgovernment of a monarch who had been dead fifteen years when it began. And in this last sentence we wish *temporary* to be regarded as the tone word. Reaction is, from its very nature, temporary. France has apparently swayed to and fro like a pendulum ever since 1789. Russia is a State which still possesses the strong, forward impulse of a young State. If her sovereign has, besides his greatness of heart, the breadth of mind and the moral courage to lighten his own burden and strengthen himself by opportune concession, to avoid the common-place temptation to repression, and the Napoleon-like temptation to diversion by foreign war, then he can make use of this force of reaction, and can do even more to civilise his realm than in the earlier years of his reign he did to restore its strength. But nothing is more sure than the fact that Russia will never make progress—except, perhaps, as a mere fighting power—until the people are taken into partnership. The age of enlightened despotism is past.

And what is to be gained by foreign war? In Asia, Russia can earn the enmity of England. This may be a great or a small misfortune, but in no case is it an advantage. As for any profit to be derived from provinces conquered in Asia, that is an idea which is exploded long ago. We ourselves grumble over easily-ruled Hindostan, which, poor as it is, is rich in comparison with other Asiatic countries; and there are many amongst us who wish that we had never taken it, and some who would even now give it up. A war in Europe could not but be disastrous for Russia. A war with England would be a joke; neither Power could touch the other, and Bismarck's witticism about the whale and the elephant would be realised. Besides England there are only Germany and Austria which Russia could fight. Each of these Powers is strong, and each has found out the value of their working together in the presence of Russia; they know—better, perhaps, than the Russian—the violent race-hatred which exists between Russian and German. French and English have hated each other; German and French hate each other now; but these are the enmities of equals, who are on bad terms over some greater or smaller point, enmities which time or concessions may reconcile. But the hatred between German and Russian is the hatred between black and white, between the superior and the inferior race; aggravated in the German by the brutality which he has seen in the Russian and by the danger which was so long threatened in the future; aggravated in the Russian by the sense of inferiority, by observing, when he is discontented, that he is ruled by a German, that the chief offices in his country have been held chiefly by Germans, that his trade is in German hands, that it is Germany which bars the course of Holy Russia towards the conquest of Europe.

Having taken this brief survey of the external conditions of the Russian Empire, we will now examine some of the currents of popular thought which seem likely to have the greatest influence on Russian development. The mainspring of all that is going on now, and of the changes which are likely to follow, would seem to be a strong tendency towards Radicalism in the minds of thinking Russians. Converts are proverbially enthusiastic; and it is not surprising therefore if men who, having long been under a grinding despotism, now feel that despotism a little relaxed, and men who feel that the authority under which they live is still far too despotic, show themselves a little wild in their aspirations. In this stream of Radicalism the most important current is that of Panslavism, which, as it is understood by different persons, is cultivated, sometimes as a means towards Liberal progress, sometimes as a check on progress. It need not be said that a vigorous and not over-enlightened nation invariably

has a strong tendency to *chauvinism*, and that Panslavism cannot fail to be a popular cry among Russians, however varied or vague the interpretations which they put upon the word.

All foreigners are apt to form very erroneous ideas of the Russians because, as the author of "*Russland vor und nach dem Kriege*" well remarks, they do not know or study their antecedents. In the ordinary business of life we inquire a little into the origin or family relations of those with whom we have to do, but in our relations with peoples, especially Eastern peoples, we omit this:—

"That behind the smart guardsmen, aristocrats, officials, &c., whom the foreigner learns to know as representatives of the Russian nation, frequently Asiatic despot-natures hide; that the clever traders of St. Petersburg and Moscow, familiar with the details of Western traffic, occasionally show themselves as religious Bedlamites of the worst kind; that the soft, amiable, patient peasant, under certain circumstances, excels Turk or Circassian in fury and barbarity; that ever and anon things happen on the Neva, the Volga, the Moskwa which would have been impossible in the rest of Europe; all this is the subject of endless wonder to Germans, French, or English. And yet there is one obvious consideration which explains at least half the riddle; the Russians of the second half of the nineteenth century are either sons or grandsons of serf-owners, or the descendants of former serfs, or they have themselves tasted the condition of serfdom. . . . Whatever page of the history of Russian manners one opens, whether one looks at the antecedents of the imperial house and of the higher nobility, or of the official caste, or of the *bourgeoisie* or peasantry, everywhere one finds that the cradle of the present generation has been surrounded by circumstances to which no other term than that of barbarism can well be applied. The mild, enlightened monarch who has abolished serfdom and the knout, is the grandson of that Emperor Paul who seemed to belong, not to the Christian era, but to the age of the Cæsars; his father's brother was that Grand-Duke Constantine whose wildness astonished the Congress of Erfurt, and who declared himself unfit for the government of a modern State. The fathers of the statesmen who have given laws to modern Russia have led her armies, and transacted her diplomatic affairs, were partakers in the palace revolutions of 1762 and 1801, that is to say, men who styled every one "thou" up to the very highest, who handed on to their subordinates the blows which they received from the imperial hand, and who, to use Herzen's admirable remark, combined "the pride of West European nobles with the boldness and cunning of Cossack Atamans." The clergy who have to teach the emancipated peasant to read and write, and to make a man of him, were mostly consecrated by prelates who found their chief vocation in the persecution of heretics, the stupidity of which was exceeded only by their cruelty, men who were accustomed quite recently to curse formally all the heretical nations of the West at least once a year."

All classes alike, trader, soldier, peasant, can still remember, directly or at first hand, horrors that would hardly be credited in the West.

In glancing at the men who have led Russian thought in the direction of Radicalism, it is not a little surprising to find that nearly all belong to families of the high nobility. Alexander Herzen has himself supplied us with an autobiography which is a wonderful picture of Russian life. He was the son of a wealthy noble, Iwan Jakowlew, who, after the usual service in the Guards, spent several years in western Europe, and brought home with him a young German girl who became his mistress, and, in 1812, the mother of the famous writer. Iwan's household in Moscow was curious. In the same house with him and his mistress lived his brother Lew, a retired diplomatist, who busied himself with the details of several honorary offices of distinction. Lew himself had also a mistress and a family, but they lived in another house. The two brothers, Iwan's mistress, and his two children were tended by sixteen servants. A dozen horses, the choice of three palaces in Moscow for the winter, and of half a dozen splendid estates for the summer—in such luxury was the young Alexander reared. His father was a miserable man. Unable to receive his equals at home owing to his domestic arrangements, he became misanthropic. He fancied himself ill, and became miserly, while allowing himself to be robbed on all sides. At times, when the Court was at Moscow, he went, and even took his children, out into the great world; and all was gaiety, splendour. Then weeks would pass during which he and his children saw scarcely any one except the teachers of the latter. Alexander was the elder of the two. He showed great ability at an early age, and became the idol of his father. The latter, to secure them a good social position, had them well taught, and entered as children into the civil service, by which they received personal nobility; and by the time they came of age, their promotion having gone on steadily, they were in the eighth class of State servants, a position which confers hereditary nobility. The moral training of the lads was of the worst. *Les convenances, les apparences* were preserved, but that was all. Caprice and licence were the rules of life. Religious influence there was none. In spite of all disadvantages, however, the young Alexander Herzen showed a warm sympathy for the sufferings of others, a contempt for everything base, and a hatred for the corruption of his father's dependants. He rejected all opportunities of entering the military or diplomatic services; and chose the despised university career. At an early age he married, against the wish of his family, a poor cousin, who proved an excellent wife. We now find that the earnest youth developed

into the vainest of dandies, and could conceive nothing grander than the fashionable world of Moscow. He gradually, however, changed: he devoted himself to Hegel, whose doctrines led him more and more to democratic opinions; and he made a display of them which was incautious under Nicholas. Having inherited a large fortune from his father, he quitted Russia in 1847, and after residing for some time in Italy and France, established himself in London. Here in 1856 he founded the *Kolokol*, a Russian paper of the most democratic kind. Immediately after the accession of Alexander II. he demanded several of that monarch's principal measures, notably the emancipation of the serfs, and the reform of the criminal law. These demands and his denunciations of high personages caused his paper to be prohibited in Russia; nevertheless, he managed to get it smuggled in in large numbers, and even the Czar is said to have received it regularly. Its views were very Radical, it was cleverly written, and it often gave the most wonderfully accurate information on matters which proved that it received contributions from high persons in the Russian official world. With all its democratic tone, it was invariably thoroughly and patriotically Russian, and it never destroyed its influence by confounding Russian interests with those of other parties or countries. It encouraged, indeed, the Polish revolt of 1863, but this was distinctly in the hope that the Poles fighting for independence, in combination with Russian Liberals struggling for reform, would obtain greater concessions from the Crown. Herzen's house in London became a sort of place of pilgrimage for Russian Liberals; and his paper and other writings were largely read by many who did not sympathise with his views. He removed to Switzerland in 1865, and died there in 1870. It may be safely said that scarcely any teaching has had more influence than Herzen's; and it is also true to say that his influence was almost invariably wholesome. He pointed out real corruptions, and advocated really beneficial changes; and, though himself a democrat, he avoided those intemperate views which his friend Bakunin (of whom anon) tried to force on him, which many continental Radicals support, and which estrange so many reasoning men from the cause of progress.

Michael Bakunin, who was born in 1814, was the son of a wealthy family of good nobility. He studied in the St. Petersburg Artillery School, and was duly gazetted to the artillery of the line. It is not clear whether a quarrel with his father or with his superiors at the school prevented his entering the Guards, which would have been his natural destination. Two years' service in a remote village was sufficient to disgust him with military service. He resigned, and settled at Moscow, which

would seem to have been a sort of Cave of Adullam in the reign of Nicholas for all who had failed in Civil Service or Army, who disliked living on their estates, or who were tired of foreign travel. Here Bakunin joined a circle of promising young men who devoted themselves to the study of German philosophy, especially that of Hegel. Young Russia had been made acquainted with Hegel about the year 1835 by Stankewitsch, who was no professor or official, but merely a man of property. Around him gathered Herzen, Granowski the historian, and the famous Radical critic Belinski. Constantine Aksakow also, and other founders of the Slavophile party also became followers of Stankewitsch, who knew how to work up the enthusiasm of the young Hegelians. Nights, says Herzen, were spent over each paragraph of the *Logik*, and every pamphlet on German philosophy which appeared was speedily read to tatters. Bakunin and Herzen soon found—as did Heine—an agreement between the doctrines of the French Socialists of that day and Hegel's philosophy, which they pronounced to be the "Algebra of the Revolution." The disciples presently divided. Stankewitsch never reached any definite conclusions; Aksakow, Samarin, and others were led by Hegel into Panslavism; Bakunin and Belinski, with Herzen, drew from him socialistic opinions. As has been said of the Bible, and of figures, perhaps one may prove everything from Hegel. As the circle split up, in 1841 Bakunin went to Berlin in order to drink of the philosophic spring at its very source. Here he met Turgenev, Katkow, and Granowski; and here Bakunin developed his theories of an approaching millennium somewhat wildly. A good deal of nonsense was, however, talked in Berlin at that time; and Bakunin's absurdities were lost among those of many others. In the following year he moved to Dresden, in order to hear Arnold Ruge, the disciple of Hegel whom he most revered. Ruge had denounced the narrowness of national feeling, and had pointed to Paris as the centre of hope for the world in terms that would have satisfied Victor Hugo himself. By these lessons he had armed the socialist section of the Moscow circle against the Slavophile section. The master invited Bakunin's co-operation in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*; and the grateful disciple at once proceeded to bury his views on the "Reaction in Germany" in the obscure pages of that unknown periodical. The year 1843 saw Bakunin in Paris. The good time was, however, not yet come even then. There was no knowing what the French Government might not do if Russia made proposals; accordingly Bakunin migrated into Switzerland; where he remained until he returned to Paris, 1847, just before the February revolution. He was now an exile, having refused

to return to Russia when summoned by his Government. A speech at a Polish banquet, in which he apologised for his country's treatment of Poland, and pointed out that a revolution could end by establishing a federal republic of the Slavonian races, caused his expulsion from France. After a short stay in Belgium, he was one of the numerous exiles of all sorts who rushed to Paris with the idea that the events of 1848 heralded the universal revolution. We next find him preaching Panslavism and opposition to Germany at Prague, and then living in concealment in Germany. At the news of the Saxon outbreak in May, 1849, he hurried to Dresden, where he at once assumed a leading part among the revolutionists, and supported the most extreme measures. After the defeat of the revolutionary party he was arrested, tried, and sentenced to death. This penalty was commuted into imprisonment for life; and he was then handed over to Austria, under a law of the German Diet. Here he was again sentenced to death, and the penalty was again commuted. In 1851 he was handed over to Russia, and spent the next five years in prison. At the coronation of Alexander II. he received the moderate favour of banishment to East Siberia; whence, after a few years, he escaped in an American ship to Japan, and thence to London, where he arrived in 1861. Various accounts have been given of his escape from Siberia. He himself attributed it to his own daring and strength; the Siberian authorities accused him of an impudent breach of parole; according to others he purchased his escape by the betrayal of comrades. However that may be, his wild views presently shocked Herzen and other old friends in London; and a great change is to be noted in the tone of Herzen's *Kolokol* (on which Bakunin was employed at once) after his arrival. Herzen had always written as a wise Russian democrat. From the time of Bakunin's arrival we find in the *Kolokol* that lust of destruction which marks the Nihilism of to-day, a doctrine which Herzen abhorred; and from the time when Bakunin took a share in its management the paper gradually lost influence. Bakunin preached more and more wildly. Not only must the present order of political things be entirely uprooted, but all the accumulated achievements of art and science must be destroyed in the universal regeneration. He supported the Polish Revolution eagerly, which was consistent enough; but when he warmly advocated the interference of the Western Powers, and even recommended their armed intervention, he lost entirely that popularity which he had enjoyed among Liberal Russians as a victim of despotism. In 1865 the *Kolokol* moved to Geneva; and Bakunin took an active part in all the hotheaded conferences that met in Switzerland. The warlike league for universal peace,

and above all the International Society, called forth his best and wildest powers; and he succeeded in damaging both societies, and in offending Marx as well, by an ill-judged attempt to unite them. He then founded *L'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratique Socialiste*, which even the Internationalists and the militant friends of peace denounced as too radical, and which, perhaps, is the incarnation of the vague term Nihilism. The State was to be abolished, with its judicial and financial systems and universities. Religion, of course, and marriage, as a miserable conventionalism of priests, lawyers, and citizens, must also go by the board. This prudent society seems to have been joined by about a score and a half unknown persons (our own country being represented by a "Mrs. Gay"), and it proceeded to announce its views and intentions to the trembling States of Europe by an imposing circular.

In 1869 Bakunin renewed his connection with Russia in a dubious way. One Netschajew came to him professing to represent the organisation of the liberal students of St. Petersburg. This man, although young, was already an experienced swindler; and there is little doubt that Bakunin must soon have known this. However this may be, he sent him home again to be leader of the Russian section of his *Alliance Internationale*. Secret societies, as we saw in the days of the Fenian swindle in Ireland, and still more in America, are fruitful in opportunities for plunder. The zealous are persuaded, the cowardly are threatened, into giving money for "the cause;" and it is obvious that the accounts of a secret society cannot be subject to audit. Add to this the terrorism which its real or supposed agents can exercise by threats of denunciation to the society, or by occasional real denunciations to the State, and we may conceive the helplessness of those who have once tampered with the accursed thing. Netschajew made good use of his opportunities. Many young and promising men of the officer or student classes hurried round him. To these he talked of the approaching revolution, of the vast ramifications of the conspiracy, of the necessity of paying money, and of secrecy. At Moscow, he talked of the "Circle" at St. Petersburg; on the Neva he spoke of the "Board" in the older capital. At last the fraud was discovered and denounced by a Moscow student, whom Netschajew at once assassinated. The murderer escaped into Switzerland, but was properly given up by the Swiss Government. Bakunin defended him to the last, and soiled his own reputation by so doing. Netschajew's trial brought to light the fact that Bakunin had deluged Russia—especially the young, half-educated classes—with political papers of the wildest and most rabid kind: he praised Karakasow, who attempted the Czar's life in 1866, but deprecate further attempts, as the Czar

must be reserved for the judgment of the people : the aim of the revolution was to be universal destruction : absolute void must be created, for if one old social form were left it would be an embryo out of which all the other old forms would renew themselves. His hate of things German caused Bakunin to take the French side in 1870 ; and if wild nonsense could have strengthened France, no German would have recrossed her frontier. The name of one of his pamphlets, "*L'Empire Knouto-Germanique et la Révolution Sociale*," sufficiently indicates the nature of his support. He lived on a few years in Switzerland, a disappointed man. The French Radicals would have none of him ; the decent Russian Radicals could not associate themselves with the friend of Netschajew ; the enmity of Marx cut him off from the Germans. He died suddenly in 1878. A man of doubtful character, and of impossible opinions, he was himself nothing, and he can have no permanent direct influence on the world. We must, however, attribute to him some power as one of the main sources of the senseless violence of the extreme Radicals in Russia, and as a connecting link in that chain of solidarity which undoubtedly exists in greater or less strength between the irreconcilables of all Europe, from Cadiz and Carthage to the Neva.

We have thus hurriedly surveyed the two main leaders in the cause of Russian radicalism. We have said little of Nihilism, because little is known of it—we doubt even if there be a distinct organisation of Nihilists—and because we consider it no more formidable than Fenianism, a mere combination of a few idiots and a few knaves ; but it is quite certain that a deep-rooted hatred of the old system of government, even in its present modified form, exists among large classes of Russians, and that among those classes the healthy progressive counsels of Herzen, and the mad, destructive teachings of Bakunin, have circulated largely in spite of all the precautions of the Government. They have had great influence, more influence than they deserve : and why ? Simply because the State has allowed no safety valve. As long as people can be made to believe that the Czar is God, and that the whole duty of man is to obey him, they can perhaps be governed easily. But it is absurd to count upon the permanence of such a belief. *Tant va la cruche à l'eau qu'à la fin elle se casse.* Men will find out some day that the Czar makes mistakes, or is inconsistent : and their one rule of life thus destroyed, they no longer have any standards ; and, having to make for themselves new ones in a hurry, they are apt to make very bad ones. And here let it be noted, as a remarkable fact, that the wild Radical opinions seem to attract almost exclusively the petty-noble class in Russia, young officers, university students, and the lower officials. The palace revolutions of former days

were, it is true, invariably the work of the higher nobility ; but this is not extraordinary, as they alone were concerned in the affairs of the palace, and as these revolutions were merely intrigues for power among themselves. But it is remarkable, and at the same time alarming, that in a military despotism the military and official classes should contain revolutionary elements.

We will now endeavour to place before our readers another type of the leading Russian in Prince Wladimir Tschèrkasski, who died on the day of the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano last year, as Civil Governor of the provinces then just conquered by the Russian armies. The Prince was born in 1821 ; and in early life already formed an exception to his class, like Herzen, by matriculating at the supposed dangerously Liberal University of Moscow, instead of entering the Guards. He was at the university later than Herzen and Bakunin, but just at the time when the Slavophile doctrines, which the contemporaries of the latter, the brothers Aksakow, Samarin, and others, had, as we have stated, drawn from Hegel, were in full bloom ; and he joined the circle which adopted them. He appears, however, not to have been at any time an enthusiast, or other than a cool-headed, able man, inclined to scepticism generally, but believing firmly in himself. He regarded tact as the highest wisdom, and was one of a class (which the author of "*Russland vor und nach dem Kriege*" asserts to be numerous in Russia) which "knows everything without ever having learnt anything." He was sought after in society, but appears to have awakened no great love among his comrades. On leaving the university, he avoided the service of the State, and lived alternately in Moscow or on his estate. In the reign of Nicholas this was already somewhat of an act of opposition ; but Prince Wladimir was sharp-sighted enough to see that the existing order of things must change with the death of the Czar, and that it was better to begin his career in the reformed future ; and so he bided his time. The emancipation brought him forward. After that great act had become a settled question, it was still discussed whether the serfs should receive merely their personal freedom or their lands with it. The Czar was for the more liberal course ; the higher nobility generally against it. Tschèrkasski decided boldly among the nobles of his province, for the free grant of the lands. He thus became a marked man ; and was named a member of the committee of organisation for carrying out the emancipation. He was very successful in St. Petersburg circles, and became one of the most observed of the Liberals who frequented the *salons* of the Grand-Duchess Helena. As is known, the serfs received their lands with their liberty, on easy terms of purchase. When these labours were ended, Tschèrkasski received no further employment, and returned to his estates. He left, however, influential

and active friends behind him ; and it seemed certain that he must come to the front in the next great political changes.

Soon after the accession of Alexander II., the Marquis Wielopolski was sent to govern Poland in the hope of reconciling that unhappy country. Wielopolski at once introduced many humane reforms. The Polish language, suppressed under Nicholas, was restored. High schools were established. All non-Polish officials were replaced by Poles. But, when in spite of these concessions, the Poles revolted in 1863, the Czar determined on adopting a different course. Nicholas Miliutin was sent to Poland under the Grand-Duke Constantine to transfer all power in the country from the nobles to the peasants. The Slavophile party eagerly took up the crusade against the Polish nobility and the Catholic priesthood ; and many of its most active members took service in the new Government of Poland as " missionaries " for the Russification of the kingdom. The chief means for this end were the confiscation of the property of the Roman Catholic Church, and granting to the emancipated serfs their lands unconditionally. Miliutin's most active lieutenant was Prince Wladimir Tscherkasski, who started for Warsaw with a complete plan of administration in his pocket, and with a resolution in his mind to " uproot Latinism, and replace it by a thoroughly Slavonic civilisation." Left with full powers in Miliutin's absence, Tscherkasski at once destroyed institutions which had been the work of years. Volumes of laws were issued : schools shut : bishops deposed : Roman Catholic churches transferred to the Greek faith : the nobility was ruined : in a word, every institution of Napoleon I., Nicholas, or Wielopolski was destroyed. The Grand-Duke's successor, Count Berg, presently found that matters were going too fast, and made remonstrance at St. Petersburg. Berg had to oppose Tscherkasski at Warsaw, and Miliutin at St. Petersburg, until 1866. When the latter fell ill, Count Berg happened to be at the capital, and he used the lucky opportunity of influencing the Czar against the violence of the Slavophile *doctrinaires* so well, that Tscherkasski was badly received on appearing at Court, and (to his great surprise) received his dismissal when he asked for it.

The Slavophile party was checked, but not defeated. It organised at Moscow in 1867 an ethnological exhibition, to which all the Slavonic people were invited to contribute. The most flattering attentions were paid to the deputations from the Slavonic provinces of Austria, and from the Danubian Principalities ; and every effort was made to make all the guests perceive that Russia was the natural head of the race, that her language must be the prevailing dialect, and that the Orthodox Greek Church was that of all Slavonians. At a grand banquet

given by the City of Moscow, Pogodin, a veteran Panslavist, in a speech deplored the absence of the Polish brethren. The Bohemian Rieger, in an eloquent reply, said that he had always felt the recent Polish revolt to be an error, but he now thought that Russia, being in the position of a conqueror, could afford to be generous, and offer life and brotherhood. This speech of Rieger by no means received the applause which was wont to greet his utterances. The Russians could not agree with him, and it was necessary that a reply should be made. Prince Tscherkasski rose, in full self-confidence, and passing over the question of nationality, he dwelt on the equality of Russian and Pole before the law, declared that Russia owed Poland nothing, and that the necessary step towards reconciliation must be a submissive return of Poland, like that of the Prodigal Son in the Gospel. This speech naturally tickled the ears of Russian Nationalists; it supported Panslavism, but Panslavism under Russia, to which race all the other Slav races were to be as younger brothers. Tscherkasski became exceedingly popular, and was in the next year elected Mayor of Moscow. This office had a few years before been held only by traders of the second class; and at the coronation of the present Czar, the officers of his Guard declined to sit at table with the Mayor when the city entertained them. We may note, by-the by, that two or three generations back a Lord Mayor of London would not have dreamt of seating himself at table with a sovereign; and we have a half memory of having read that at the banquet to the Allied Sovereigns in 1814 the Mayor did not sit with his chief guests. Tscherkasski soon fell into conflicts with his colleagues, mainly owing to his haughtiness; and he presently resigned his office.

For the next few years the Prince occupied himself with his estates, and with the Slav Committee of Moscow. This body constantly worked to keep alive the Panslavistic feeling in Russia and other Slav countries; and the revolt in the Herzegovina and the war in Servia quickened its activity. In the summer of 1876 it became likely that Russia would declare war; and the Panslavists resolved to have an Administration ready to govern the Slavonic provinces which were to be annexed, as the Germans governed Elsass-Lothringen in 1870-1. Tscherkasski was everywhere spoken of as the man to be the head of this Administration. The Prince himself merely let it be known that he would accept such a post, if it were offered to him, only on the condition that he should have sole responsibility and absolute authority over all his subordinates. When war was declared in April, 1877, the Government was more than occupied with the new system of mobilisation, and was glad to conciliate public opinion by appointing Tscherkasski on his own terms.

The Prince now for the second time had a great "mission," the civil administration of the territories to be occupied. He took with him a few professors who were supposed to know something of Slavonic and Bulgarian law ; but the main part of his staff he filled with young officers of the Guard. These young gentlemen, it is true, knew nothing that would fit them for the work ; but they were likely to be perfectly obedient. As the Guards were not intended to take part in the campaign, many officers were attracted by the hope of service, and the promise of high pay ; while some of the more thoughtful were glad to serve under a man with such a reputation for ability and liberalism as Tscherkasski. All expected to find the "organisation" in perfect order, and that their duties in the new territories would begin at once. Unfortunately, on arriving at the front they found that the new territories were not yet occupied ; and though the "organisation" was so far complete that they received their titles as governors, town-majors, &c., of places still in the hands of the Turks, and drew high pay, yet they were reduced for occupation to watching the flies in Roumanian villages. As soon as he began to act, Tscherkasski displayed his old insolence. Even before the passage of the Danube he behaved most rudely to a deputation of Bulgarian notables, who had been received with distinction by the Czar and Prince Gortschakow. As the armies advanced, the Bulgarians were astonished to find that the "brothers" who were liberating them were severer masters than any they had yet known. The Czar had promised in a proclamation the abolition of the tax on Christians for military exemption, which was chiefly paid to the Turks in kind. Tscherkasski ordered that it should still be paid wherever soldiers were quartered for "supplies to the army." As troops were quartered everywhere, the Bulgarians gained nothing from the imperial benevolence ; nay, they were worse off than ever, for they had to pay the tax in specie because the Russian army-contractors objected to payment in produce as competing with their interests. The greatest severity was practised everywhere, and the *Nagaika* (the Cossack-whip) was freely administered. Corporal punishment, by the way, was a favourite method with Tscherkasski, and his fondness for it had caused some of his difficulties in the Moscow Mayoralty. His severity disgusted not a few of his soldier-subordinates, many of whom were of a liberal way of thinking, and had hoped to find in him a man of like mind. One notable feature of his policy, which reminded men of his conduct in Poland, was to depose the higher Bulgarian clergy in favour of Russians, and to advance in every way the ignorant and venal "Black" Clergy. Deputations which ventured humbly to petition against any of his acts were lectured and threatened.

Suddenly the Turkish victory at Plevna caused the rapid evacuation of much of the previously occupied territory. The native inhabitants were obliged to flee before the Turks; and the northward roads were blocked with men, women, and children, on whom the Russian occupation had invited Turkish vengeance. These poor fugitives were naturally without resources; but Tscherkasski's Administration, which had levied millions in Bulgaria, refused to aid them: "We are sent here to administer government, not charity." The Russian army was disgusted at the proceedings of the civil administration, and its disgust was increased by tales of the horrors wrought by the Turks on the unfortunate Bulgarians who had welcomed or obeyed Tscherkasski. Presently the Guards were ordered to the front; and the best of the Prince's nominees eagerly quitted him to rejoin their regiments. The subsequent successes of the Russians enabled Tscherkasski to recommence his system where he had left off. He had learnt nothing from experience; and his second period of activity was like his first, save that the enrolment of a Bulgarian Militia, under Russian officers, ordered from the highest quarters, occupied much of his energy. He died suddenly, as has been said, on the day of the signature of San Stefano.

When the sensible men of the national party learned what had really been done in Bulgaria, it was a painful revelation and a bitter warning for them. They had felt sure that they were doing a wise and patriotic and humane thing in supporting Panslavism. They had chosen their own man, a clever and liberal-thinking statesman of experience, with wealth and rank to raise him above any unworthy influences. And what had come of it? The Panslavists could not have made better arrangements, and yet their triumph was a sorry failure, and a relapse into the worst wrongs of which their nation had ever been accused.

With these feeble sketches of three of the men who seem to us to have had most influence, or to have been connected with the most powerful influences, over the Russian people, we must conclude for the present. We hope to tell more of Russia's recent past in a later Paper. We would willingly have said something of the probable outcome of the events of the present, and submitted some opinions. But, while we write, the events of the day change so rapidly that all calculation is upset. What might with some reasonableness have been predicted of Russia a few short weeks ago is driven out of probability by new outrages. Everything is in confusion. And the Czar, perhaps, no more than any other man knows what Russia's next policy will be, though he will have so large a share in the making of it.

Disappointment would seem to be the chronic condition, not only of the National or Panslavist party, but of all parties and

orders in Russia. The National has had its opportunity and lost it. The ultra-Radical party is now trying its hand. The crude lessons of its favourite teachers are bearing fruit in the repeated assassinations and incendiary fires ; and still oftener, perhaps, in a form of which we hear little, viz., extorting large sums of money by means of threats. This policy of their irreconcilable friends must be a deep sorrow to all reasonable seekers after a regeneration of Russia by radical change ; and its necessary ultimate failure must cause disappointment to the misled extremists who fight with such miserable weapons.

And if there is one man who suffers disappointment more than all other men on this earth, who shall it be unless Alexander II. of Russia ? A man of honesty and humanity recognised even by his foes, he inherited his Crown when the country was in the lowest depth of disaster and misgovernment. He commenced a noble work of reform in a noble spirit. He braved the great chiefs of his Empire, as none of his predecessors had ever done, in the cause of the suffering masses of his people. Nor fear, nor interest, nor respect of persons, though all these were combined against his wishes, did he allow to overcome him. He " scorned delights and lived laborious days " over the mighty question of emancipation, which was the work of years, not of a stroke of the pen. And the emancipation of the serfs, though it be his greatest achievement, is but one of many great achievements in the popular course. And when he looks for rest, if not for reward, he finds at the hands of his people, not honour and gratitude, but death. The man who, of all men of his age, of his own will and power, has benefited the greatest number of his fellow-men, he it is who walks among his beneficiaries with his life in his hand. The food that he eats, the couch on which he lies, nay, the very earth which bears him, in all of these death has lurked, and death still may be lurking for him.

It will be well for the world if Alexander II. has the moral courage to resist the promptings of pride, to be just and fear not, and to grant—in spite, not in consequence of threats—such concessions as seemed wise three months ago. All Western Europe and nine-tenths of his own people would applaud him ; for it cannot be that the ill-disciplined brains which are upset by the insane lucubrations of a Bakunin are more numerous than the few whom history shows to have been seriously influenced by Marat. A foreign war may occupy the national mind ; but war as an expedient is unworthy of a great Prince whose throne is undoubtedly based on his people's will. And it is, after all, a course which only postpones the evil day.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA.—*Central Asia and Afghanistan*—Two months after the receipt of General Lomakin's lying despatch, the Russian Government published a fairly honest account of the disaster at Denghil tepe. From this and from the previous narratives which, in spite of the care of the Government, arrived from the front, we may construct an intelligible history of the expedition. The troops collected at Chikislar suffered not only from the climate but from want of proper supplies caused by the fraud of officers high in rank. The neighbouring Persians agreed to furnish provisions, but, as the Russian officials embezzled the funds which ought to have gone to the contractors, these refused to fulfil their engagements. There was a general flight of camel men from the adjacent districts. At length, in the beginning of August, General Lazareff selected from the troops quartered in the Attrek valley a special corps. The line of advance was by the Attrek and its tributary, the Sambar, to the pass in the Kopet Dag, which leads to the Akhal Tekke oasis. The region thus traversed was one for the most part of rock and desert, and the soldiers had to bear all the evils of extremes of temperature, unwholesome water, and insects. The vanguard had some engagements with Tekkes, whom they easily repulsed. In the middle of August it was at Bendessen, at the foot of the pass, the rest of the force being at intermediate posts in the Sambar valley. Here they heard of General Lazareff's death. General Lomakin, as senior officer, assumed command, and saw a chance of retrieving the disgrace of his failure in the previous campaign. The army crossed the Bami pass, and debouched on the true Tekke country, the fertile and well-watered plain which lies on the northern margin of the mountain range. On the other side is a dreary waste of sandy desert. Streams from the hills watered the gardens, round which the mud-houses of the villagers were grouped. Melons, vines, and other fruit were abundant. There was a rich growth of corn, and even of such crops as cotton. A network of irrigation channels covered the country. The Tekkes, it seems, are nomads and robbers during only

part of the year. From seed-time to harvest they live in villages, cultivating their lands. Harvest over, they start for the steppe to dwell in huts of felt, and make raids and forays on their neighbours. At first the Tekke notables had come to the Russian camp and lulled the commanders into false confidence. But, on the eve of the descent into the oasis, they all disappeared. Thenceforth the Russians found the villages through which they passed almost wholly deserted. The whole male population had in fact assembled at Denghil tepe—a village which, in the present state of our maps, it must be sufficient to describe as east of Archman and Beurma. The Russians now felt the difficulty of transport. They had, indeed, by great exertion, collected a camel-train. But the native drivers had deserted, and the inexpertness of the Russian soldiers who took their place caused even a greater loss of beasts than they had experienced in previous campaigns. It was found necessary to leave the waggon at Bendessen. Thence the camel train brought supplies and ammunition for a fortnight only. At Durun the two columns into which the expeditionary force had been divided united. There the first Tekke guerillas showed themselves.

On the 8th September the army arrived at Geok tepe, of which place Denghil tepe ("Fort Denghil") is the fortified stronghold. Reconnaissances disclosed that it was held by nearly 15,000 Turkomans, of whom almost half were cavalry. The main fortification was a quadrangle with steep clay walls and a deep ditch. But in front of these were other trenches filled with water and parapets strengthened with rows of Kibitkas (felt huts). All the ground round was intersected by canals, and the low mud walls of the fields, while mills and embankments offered defensive points, of which the Tekkes made excellent use. General Lomakin ordered a portion of his force to advance with a light equipment to the assault, while the rest came on more slowly with the baggage train. The rear column was soon attacked by Tekke horsemen. Pistol in hand and sword between their teeth the children of the steppe encountered the Cossacks, who, terrified by their fierce onslaught, at first recoiled. At length the Tekke troops were repulsed, but the Russian advance thereafter was necessarily slow. Meanwhile the vanguard had also been attacked. Advancing, it attempted to dislodge the enemy from the ground in front of the fortress. In spite of the desperate and heroic resistance of the defenders they were compelled to retire from point after point of the outlying works. At length the Russians were masters of these, but the Turkomans sallied forth again and again to a hand-to-hand encounter with every variety of barbarous weapon. Finally they retired within the chief rampart. The assault on this was delayed

till the whole Russian force had arrived. The artillery poured a destructive fire into the multitudes assembled within. Fugitives were turned back. According to the curiously apologetic official account the Tekkes were believed to be preparing for a retreat to Askabad, where a second fortified camp had been prepared—the Russians had no news from the rear—the stock of provisions was small. The assault, therefore, seemed both necessary and feasible. Under a heavy fire the Russians cleared a way to the ramparts at the point of the bayonet. There their advance was arrested by the ditch. The Tekkes, bursting forth knife in hand, fell on them as they stood broken up into small detached groups. Success was hopeless, and the Russians had to retire in disorderly retreat to the camp. Thence they had to hurry by forced marches—their retreat harassed as far as Bendessen by the Turkoman cavalry and a fresh body of troops from Merv. Provisions were exhausted. Murrain had broken out among the cattle. The mass of the troops were withdrawn to Chikislar, and soon the farthest Russian post was at Chatte. The Russians admit that they lost 700 men. The Turkomans are said to have lost several thousands.

This brief history of the expedition is we think a sufficient explanation of its failure. The Russians tried to take Denghil tepe by the desperate tactics which succeeded at Plevna. They were repulsed because they had not lives enough to throw away. The Tekkes, unlike the Kokandians and Bokhariots, had learned something of European military methods. They had not only thrown up earthworks, but fought behind them. The Russians rightly attribute their preparations to the presence last year among them of Major Butler, an English officer, who (we are translating into plain speech an official explanation published in India) contracted with the Viceroy to proceed at his own risk to inquire as to the condition and resources of the Turkomans. Subsequently the Viceroy found it politically expedient to disown Major Butler, and there has been much unpleasantness as to his remuneration and treatment. It is certain that he gained the confidence of the Tekkes, and suggested to them plans for defence. The Russian journals at first alleged that the Turkomans fought with weapons of precision supplied by English officials; but the official account describes them as using for the most part arms of native manufacture. If they had any breech-loaders they were probably acquired in the ordinary way of trade from Persia or Afghanistan. For the present the Russian expedition has been wholly abandoned, but next Spring one will be undertaken on a larger scale.

The Russian advance this year along the Attrek was through Persian territory. The Shah made no objection, though his

permission had not been asked. He did not protest against the mission of Russian officers into his territory to secure the co-operation of tribes hostile to the Turkomans. He even allowed a Russian telegraph to be worked on Persian soil. Nevertheless the Muscovite Press is significantly angry. Persia—if it is to save itself from extinction—must, we are told, heartily co-operate in the next campaign. It must furnish abundant supplies. One section of military opinion urges that the advance should be through the comparatively easy country south of the Attrek. Persia is to be reminded that it should show gratitude for the cession of Kotour—that as a Shia Power it ought to help against the Sunnite Tekkes. It is warned that it must repress the Kurdish raids into Russian territory. And as Persia may possibly not recognise its own interest, it is luckily remembered that the fertile province of Azerbijan was once under Russian rule. Persia, nevertheless, is said of late to be sensitive to English influence, and to claim from Russia commercial facilities which that Power is not likely to concede. Meanwhile the Tekkes ask the Shah, their nominal Suzerain, to help them against the common enemy. As the Russians destroyed their crops, they have been forced to raid into Persian territory. And they have given emphasis to their triumph over Russia by successful attacks on outposts—one near Krasnovodsk. They are even said to threaten Chikislar. Russia is no longer reticent as to the real nature of the expedition. In the latest authoritative manifesto, an article by M. Kuropatkin, one of General Kauffmann's most trusted agents, the old stories of Russian prisoners and trade routes to Khiva are abandoned, and the provocation is said to be the encouragement given by the Merv Turkomans to the Akhal Tekke to resist Russia. It is certain that in the late campaign the Khan of Merv fought against Russia. The Russians may, therefore, fairly say that they are entitled to chastise him.

But the question of Merv at once raises the question of Herat. We have, therefore, to refer to the effect of the English successes in Afghanistan on Russian opinion. General Kauffmann had hardly started for his old post at Tashkent when it was announced that an army of 40,000 men was to be collected in Central Asia, and another in the Caucasus. Both were to converge on the northern frontier of Afghanistan. The Russian view is that the English occupation of Cabul has put an end to previous "understandings." Russia, therefore, proposes to give Herat to Persia, to make the provinces north of the Hindu Kush Russian, or at all events dependent on Russia (possibly under the rule of Abdurrahman), and to leave the rest of Afghanistan to English influence. The St. Petersburg

Government is said to have pressed the English Cabinet for fresh "assurances," but our ambassador is believed to have declined discussion, stating merely that the arrangement by which England conducted the foreign relations of Afghanistan would probably be permanent. It is very improbable that Russia, a prey to internal disorder and exposed in Europe to the hostility of Germany and Austria, will renew in Asia an openly aggressive policy. Indeed, it is known that the military movements contemplated have been "postponed." General Kauffmann demands money as an essential preliminary. Nevertheless, Russia has an army in Turkestan of more than the normal strength. She must, if only to restore her prestige—press vigorously towards Merv. Unless it is part of the English programme to restore (under proper guarantees) Herat to Persia, Russia may purchase Persian co-operation in her other schemes by offering to help Persia to obtain possession of the coveted fortress. A railway from Krasnovodsk or Chikislar to Kizil Arvat is seriously contemplated. Such a work would be useful not only to facilitate transport in the expedition, but as part of a line to the Oxus by which Russia would complete its rail and water way to the Northern border of Afghanistan. The main advance on Merv will certainly be made across the desert from Charjui (on the Oxus). The Russians at Merv will be nearer to Herat than the English at Candahar, and would have a far easier and more fruitful country to traverse. As to Herat, we need only say that it is one of the strongest fortresses in Asia. It stands in a fertile plain, through which passes the great highway north and south and east and west. Whether the military and commercial advantages of holding it would be worth the outlay necessary to keep a large force so far from its base with so turbulent a people and so sterile a country between—whether we could not by guaranteeing it to Persia reap all the advantages we should gain by holding it ourselves, and in addition make the Persians our firm friends, are questions too wide to be discussed here. One thing is certain: if we do not occupy Herat, Russia has the will and is not likely long to want the opportunity to do so.

Whatever the future of Russian progress, her first and immediate interest is to perfect her means of communication. Her efforts to this end may have in view only peaceful development. A new generation of Russian officials may arrive who will not look beyond the Hindu Kush. But those who promote the schemes of the day urge them chiefly on strategic grounds. A plan has been submitted for the extension of the Orenburg railway by way of Tashkent and Samarkand to the Afghan frontier. The financial details of the scheme, however, are so extravagant as to dismay even the fervent aspirations of Russian

journalists. Meanwhile an expedition has been exploring the country between the Russian frontier and the Oxus. The river it seems is navigable from Khiva to the Afghan border. The Waksh and other Northern tributaries of the great stream were also examined—"with a view to the march of an army." The scheme of restoring the Oxus to its old bed seems by no means chimerical. A scientific expedition is now on its way to Khiva to investigate the question. But meanwhile the Khan has satisfied the practical explorers who have already visited him that the design can be carried out by native agency. He has in fact, by destroying some dams, diverted the stream for some distance. More practical is the project definitely sanctioned of extending the Poti Tiflis railway to Baku. Already a telegraph crosses the Caspian. As the struggle for supremacy in Asia—if it comes—will be one of communications, we may note here that the grounding of an English steamer in the Suez Canal has revived the controversy as to the necessity of an alternative route. The Anglo-Turkish Convention, it is argued, furnishes at once a motive, a means, and a justification for the construction of a section of the Euphrates Valley railway to connect Alexandretta with a port on the Euphrates. The advocates of the line claim that it would develop a country naturally so fertile that the local traffic alone would yield good interest on the outlay. On the other hand, it is alleged that the necessity of repeated transshipment would render it useless as a through route for goods—that the local traffic, under Turkish rule, would remain inconsiderable—that it would be as much exposed to Russian attack as the Canal, which indeed other Powers are also interested in keeping open—and that in the worst case conceivable we can always revert to the old route by the Cape.

The relations of Russia with China since the cession of Kulja are not very clear. Russia has indeed undertaken to protect Chinese commerce in the event of war with Japan, but on the other hand bands of Kipchaks and Andipanis have invaded Kashgar from Russian territory—instigated, it is said, and armed by Russian officials—and have pressed the Chinese garrisons hard. Colonel Prejevalsky, the explorer, we may remark, is now on his way to Tibet.

On the 5th October, the head of General Roberts' column had reached the entrance of the Char Asiab defile. Reconnaissances showed that the steep heights on both sides were strongly held by the Afghan troops. A cloud of Ghilzais hung on the rear and threatened the force which, under General Macpherson, was still advancing from Zahidabad. The tactics which succeeded at the Peshawar were repeated.

While Major White advanced up the gorge, taking height after height, by dint of fighting, General Baker made a turning movement to the left and captured the main point of the enemy's position. They retired in confusion. General Macpherson reached camp safely, but the whole country round was "seething." The Cabuli troops had established themselves on a hill which commanded the Bala Hissar. Ours spent the 7th in preparing for the attack. On the 8th General Massey was sent to cut off the retreat of the mutineers to the Kohistan road. He found the Afghan cantonments at Sherpur deserted. The cavalry took up a position on the road, while the artillery shelled the heights held by the Afghans. Baker's brigade, which was to co-operate, did not arrive till night fall. When day broke on the 9th, it was found that the enemy had, during the night, evacuated their position. The line of retreat was towards Ghazni. Our cavalry started in pursuit, and captured guns, equipage, and some prisoners. The original purpose of the mutineers had, apparently, been to await the arrival of the troops from Ghazni, and to defend the Bala Hissar. But after the rout at Charasiab no one had a commanding influence in their councils. It is to be regretted that we lost the chance of striking a decisive blow at the head of the resistance. But for the moment the results were satisfactory. The tribal levies dispersed. That day our troops entered Cabul and were received with sullen respect by the people. On the 12th the English General made his formal entry. From the window of the palace he addressed the crowd assembled in the garden below. He told them (in the terms of his proclamation) that all the citizens had incurred the penalties of rebellion. Yet the British Government, in its clemency, would spare the city. Such parts, however, as interfered with the military occupation of the Bala Hissar would be destroyed, and a heavy fine would be imposed. Cabul, and the country for ten miles round, was placed under martial law. Carrying arms was forbidden, under penalty of death. Rewards were offered for the apprehension of persons concerned in the massacre, and of those who had opposed the British advance. The apprehensions of treachery generally felt seemed to be justified by a series of destructive explosions in the magazine of the Bala Hissar. The general belief was that matches had been scattered among the loose powder with which the floor was covered. The Bala Hissar was finally abandoned and dismantled, and the cantonments at Sherpur were converted into permanent barracks. Meanwhile, assemblies of the tribes had attacked the British posts between the Peshawar and Cabul. Colonel Noel Money's little garrison at the Shutur Gardan was invested by 10,000 Ghilzais. He prudently husbanded his resources, till, as

General Hugh Gough was approaching from Kushi to his relief, he attacked and dispersed the enemy. After that the garrison returned with the relieving force to Cabul, and the Shutur Gardan was abandoned for the winter. The question was naturally asked whether a route, which, like the Kuram, is closed for several months in the year, can fairly be considered a military route at all. Subsequently the troops on that line were all withdrawn to Kuram Fort. Punitive expeditions which it was found necessary to undertake against the Chakmanis, the Jajis, the Orakzais, and lastly the Zaimukhts, were brought to a successful issue.

The efforts made to enable the force in the Kuram to march at once on Cabul had withdrawn transport and supplies from the Khaibar. On this account the regiments hastily dispatched there advanced slowly and painfully through the rugged sterile country, turning aside now and then to chastise the neighbouring tribes for outrages or to requisition supplies. Our commanders conveniently collected in kind the arrears of revenue due to the Amir. On the 7th of November the head of the Khaibar force met troops sent from Cabul. Soon regular communication was opened up by the Lataband Pass, which was found preferable to either of the alternative routes. Military posts were established at intervals. The supreme command was vested in General Roberts.

That officer had from the first described himself as advancing to vindicate the authority of the Amir. According to this convenient theory all who opposed us were rebels. Indeed, so far was the fiction strained, that an "amnesty" was declared for those who opposed us "in the belief that the Amir was a prisoner in our camp." He had from the beginning been regarded with suspicion, and soon he became, in fact, a prisoner. Two commissions were appointed. One, a military tribunal, was for the trial of prisoners. Afghans have had frequent experience of the fate of partisans of the British once the British have gone away. Our occupation of Cabul was believed to be only temporary. No student of history, therefore, can wonder that there was great difficulty in getting true evidence. On the other hand, no one who knows Oriental character can wonder that an immense amount of false evidence was given. A military commission is not, perhaps, the best tribunal for investigating cases of the kind. But it was necessary to impress the Afghans by a spectacle of speedy retribution. Executions took place daily in the Bala Hissar, not only of persons convicted of participation in the massacre, but of persons who had merely fought against us. In the callous townspeople these executions produced no feeling of horror, but at least

they destroyed the old belief that it is safe to plot against the foreigner. We are in military occupation of Afghanistan. To adopt the refinements of sentimental jurisprudence is obviously impossible, but public opinion, while it approves the most deliberate and far-reaching execution of justice on all concerned in the attack on the Embassy, will not long tolerate the treatment as rebels of men who took part in a resistance which was probably as patriotic as any act of Afghans could be.

The second commission made inquiry into the circumstances of the massacre. Its report has not yet been made public, but certain facts generally believed may be briefly noticed. Remembering the dishonest vehemence of some recent electioneering speeches it is necessary to remark that (1) an Envoy was sent to Cabul, and not elsewhere, at the express request of the Amir; and (2) the smallness of the escort was due to the confidence—not an unreasonable confidence, we submit—of Sir P. Cavagnari himself that his personal influence would render him as safe at Cabul as at Peshawar. There is reason to believe that before the massacre the Herati regiments paraded the streets “*par ordre supérieur*,” abusing and threatening the Resident. There were constant quarrels between the soldiers of the escort and the Afghans. The Amir, in his Privy Council, expressed a disposition to rule by “*Afghan ways*,” not in honest fulfilment of his treaty stipulations. He had, too, a not unnatural repugnance to the proposed tour through his dominions, during which the Envoy was to be ever at his elbow, overshadowing his authority, and torturing him with suggestions. The actual assailants were not, it would seem, the Herati troops, and it is not clear that violence was from the first intended. The Amir made no real effort to bring his faithful soldiers against the mutineers. He may have been dazed with fright or opium, but his guards interfered to save his own treasure from pillage. The night before the fight at Charasiab he received the “rebel” chief in his tent. He did not supply us with the information he undoubtedly possessed as to the plans of the enemy. He tried to dissuade us from advancing. He had, before leaving Cabul, put to death one of our partisans. He planned flight from our camp. Feeling, then, that he was treated as an enemy by us and as an imbecile by his own people, he tendered his resignation to General Roberts. He did not appear at the public entry into Cabul. General Roberts, having in vain urged him to reconsider his resolve, accepted the abdication. The proclamation which announced it to the people of Afghanistan declared that, after consultation with the principal Sirdars, chiefs, and representatives of cities and provinces, the General would decide on the future arrange-

ments for the government. Meanwhile the Amir's authority would be exercised by us. Whether it is the intention of Government to invite these representatives to choose an Amir, or to approve of an Amir already chosen by us, or whether it purposes to allow Afghanistan to revert to its normal condition of tribal independence, concluding treaties with independent rulers of provinces or tribes, or to put English garrisons at the important strategic points and leave the civil government to native chiefs, or to assume the whole government of the country, there is at present nothing to indicate. The Amir remained in our camp a prisoner. As his presence was embarrassing, he was sent under escort to India. He relinquishes without regret the position for which when a young man he struggled with such ardour and genius, and trusts, like the ex-ruler of the Punjab, to end his days as a game-preserving squire in a Midland County. Several of his advisers, whom the evidence taken by the Commissioners implicated in the guilt of the massacre, were at the same time sent in custody to India. The deportation of the Amir, whose wrongs we had gone to redress, and of the Ministers who had come to our camp virtually under a safe-conduct, provoked some obvious criticism.

The Amir, before his disgrace, had given information which led to the discovery of hidden treasure. This came as a welcome contribution to the military chest. There were abundant supplies of wood at Sherpur; but forage was soon a difficulty. Parties were sent out to bring it in from the neighbouring districts. An attempt was made to open a new route to Jalalabad by the Lughman Valley. There were constant rumours of fresh combinations of tribesmen and disbanded soldiers. At Ghazni an old mollah was active in preaching a jihad. Padshah Khan, the most influential chief of the Ghilzais, was active on our side. The headmen of the Kohistan and other villages around Cabul had "come in." But Asmatullah Khan, the great Ghilzai chief of Lughman, held aloof. To extend our authority, and to get the much-needed supplies, members of the family of Dost Muhammad were appointed to the charge of the districts of Kohistan, Logar, and Maidan—all adjacent to Cabul. In the latter there had been some severe fighting towards the end of November—ending in the burning of villages by our troops. After this, the newly-appointed Afghan governor was murdered by the people. Meanwhile, the Kohistan regiments in Turkestan, being left without pay, returned to their homes. On reaching Bamian, near Cabul, they were invited by General Roberts to surrender. They did not do so, but some of them sent in their arms. From the records of the Cabul arsenal it appears that

Shir Ali had accumulated over 379 guns and 50,000 rifles (40,000 of English make). Of the guns we have captured 256, but only 7000 rifles have been given up. Thus with a disbanded soldiery, anxious to retrieve the disgrace of their defeat, with a population ready everywhere to rise against us, with arms broadcast over the country, danger was always in the air.

Early in December gatherings were reported in the Maidan, Kohistan, Zaimukht and Logar districts. On the 9th General Baker marched by way of Charasiab to get behind the Ghazni insurgent-band gathering in the Maidan district (on the Ghazni road, west of Cabul), and cut off the retreat to Ghazni. General Macpherson was despatched at the same time to Argandeh, on the Ghazni road, in order, by a feint, to draw on the insurgents who, it was understood, were anxious to gain a junction with those from Kohistan. General Macpherson was to prevent the junction and drive back the Maidan band on General Baker. On the 10th General Macpherson encountered, not the Ghazni insurgents, but those from Kohistan. He drove them back without any serious loss. General Roberts ordered him to advance the next day to Argandeh by the mountain road, while General Massey was to proceed to the same place by the valley. General Massey, advancing too confidently through a country cut with irrigation channels, suddenly found himself in front of the Ghazni force, numbering 10,000 tribesmen and soldiers under Mahomed Jan—the rebel leader at Charasiab. The cavalry escort made desperate but unavailing efforts to check the advance of the Afghans. Our men seem to have retired in disorder, abandoning four guns. General Roberts and Colonel Macgregor rallied some of the men, and the guns were happily recovered. Meanwhile, the enemy had tried to force their way to our camp by the Cabul gorge. Encountering there two companies of the 92nd Highlanders, and pressed in the rear by General Macpherson, they were forced to take up a position on the hills above the city. During the night they attempted to take the hills commanding the Bala Hissar, but were repelled by the English pickets. The 12th was spent in unsuccessful and apparently not very strenuous efforts to dislodge the insurgents from their strong position on the conical hill, Takht-i-Shah. That night General Baker, who had been hotly engaged in the Chardeh Valley, returned, and the splendid corps of Guides came in from Gandamak. General Baker's flank attack next morning compelled the enemy to abandon the hill. But meanwhile the troops below had been attacked by other insurgent bands. The victorious soldiers from the hills and the cavalry from Shirpur at length dispersed them. The city throughout remained

quiet. The most serious feature in the affair was the unwonted bravery of the Afghans and the skill with which they were led. The following day General Roberts again attacked the enemy, who numbered 30,000. The fighting was severe, and we lost one gun. The enemy, continuing to advance, General Roberts thought it better, till reinforcements arrived, to abandon the other positions and collect his forces within the Shirpur cantonments, about two miles from the city. His force consists of 7,500 seasoned soldiers. He has abundant supplies, and the position he holds is admirably suited for defence. Admitting that the abandonment of the city must damage our prestige, there is no ground for serious anxiety. The tribes along the Khaibar may perhaps rise and harass communications. But the line, it must be remembered, is held by 17,000 men, and fresh troops from India are ready to take the place of those ordered to reinforce General Roberts. Telegraphic communication was not for some days interrupted.

But even if the Cabul force be isolated for the winter it can still hold its own. It is necessary to emerge successfully from some great difficulty such as this, to break the tradition of English disaster which, no doubt, encourages Afghan resistance. The partisans of inactivity of course regard this fresh evidence of the vitality of Afghan spirit as a demonstration of the soundness of their views. We, who regard interference as a regrettable necessity which circumstances have forced on us, have always believed that difficulties such as these, or greater difficulties still, were possible and probable. If the English people are to be frightened from an enterprise by finding that it involves toil and sacrifice, the sooner it abandons the responsibility of empire the better. If Shir Ali's broken soldiery and tribal mobs, having little artillery and no scientific leaders, have proved formidable, how much more formidable would have been the task of advancing on Cabul, every important point being held by Europeans, and by Afghans trained and led by Europeans and fighting with European artillery? Yet few Liberal statesmen are rash enough to say that we could tolerate, for an hour, a Russian establishment at Cabul. Events have shown so clearly that such an establishment was projected, that here we need only add that Government is stated, on credible authority, to have discovered, at Cabul, *conclusive documentary* evidence that Russian diplomacy has been active there, in a sense hostile to England, since 1878. There is even believed to be evidence of Russian complicity in recent events.

Our position at Candahar, at any rate, justifies the policy of annexation. That fertile province is experiencing the first and happy stage of

English rule. A strong and beneficent Government has succeeded to a weak and oppressive Government. The period of codes and scientific government has not yet arrived. The common sense of administrators is glad to adopt the loose but popular methods of native systems. The benefits already are obvious. The area of cultivation has doubled. Already the trade in wool is rapidly expanding. The Durani governor is wholly our friend, and the mass of the people would be only too glad to hear that our rule is to be permanent. There is a satisfactory absence of startling events. A force went from Candahar to occupy Khelati Ghilzai. Near that place, on the 24th October, it defeated a band hastily raised by a Taraki chief. Want of supplies prevented it from advancing to check the seditious movement at Ghazni. The active Governor of Bombay visited Candahar, and, *more Indico*, held a durbar there.

At Herat the news of the Cabul massacre was received with rejoicing. Ayub Khan is described as much embittered against the English. The fate of Cabul has been so often decided by movements from Herat that the place has naturally become a focus of intrigue. Nothing is more to be desired than that the Afghan soldiers should attempt to meet the English in the field. Ayub Khan, it seems, has decided to play our game by advancing to attack Candahar. But difficulties of transport and supply are likely to check his progress. There is a report that General Stewart has informed Ayub Khan that if he does not hold Herat for the English, he will soon cease to hold it at all. The province of Farrah is still under the rule of an Afghan Sirdar fanatically opposed to us. With the exceptions we have thus noted, all the leading Sirdars have come—not, perhaps, to show their devotion, but to see what they can pick up in our camp. It seemed at one time that Wali Muhammad was to be sent to try his fortune in Badakshan, but another prince has been sent in his stead. The Trans-Hindu Kush provinces may, for the present, be regarded as practically independent under the local chiefs.

Our communications with the new frontier are being rapidly improved. The railway to the Khaibar and the branch to Kohat will probably reach the Indus next summer. The line to connect Sakkar, on the Indus, with Quetta, and ultimately Candahar, is being constructed with unexampled rapidity. Already engines run twenty-four miles beyond Jacobabad.

Burmah.—In the beginning of October, the *chargé d'affaires* at Mandalay—in accordance with the instructions of the Indian Government—suddenly left the Residency. To avoid the appearance of flight, he

and his party walked through the streets to a steamer in the river. He waited to take on board all the Europeans who cared to leave Mandalay. In a letter to the Burmese minister he said he was going away as his position had for some time been "inappropriate." No hindrance was offered; indeed, the Burmese officials sent to the steamer, with a courteous letter, the property which had been left at the Residency. The party reached Rangoon safely. For a time commercial intercourse was suspended, but soon the Irrawaddy flotilla began again to ply. Some difficulty was apprehended, owing to the objection of the Burmese officials to the presence on board of preventive officers of the British Customs. The Burmese, however, waived their objection. Soon after, a mission despatched by the King to the Viceroy, reached Rangoon. They were detained there for some weeks. Then the Viceroy informed them, through the Chief Commissioner, that the British Embassy at Mandalay had been treated with so little courtesy and respect that he could not receive a merely complimentary embassy which was not authorised to discuss the removal of the grievances complained of. The ambassadors have referred to Mandalay for instructions. But there is reason to believe that the King will be inflexible regarding the Court ceremonies. No British Ambassador will again submit to the humiliation they imply. The mission was sent at the suggestion of the Kinwoon Menghye—the most temperate of the King's advisers—and it is feared that its repulse will lead to the triumph of the war party at Mandalay. The appearance of some Burmese marauders in the passes caused alarm for a time at Akyab. British troops are massed on the frontier. Meanwhile, the country round Mandalay is in a disordered state. The King describes himself as anxious for a good understanding, but objects to being "pressed" into "new" stipulations.

Rampa.—The wretched disturbances in Rampa continue. For a time they abated, and it would have been easy, by offering pardon to the less guilty, to have secured the surrender of the leaders. But the latter have recovered their influence, and, protected by jungle and malaria, bid defiance to our troops.

The Naga Outbreak.—The Nagas, a hill tribe on our north-east frontier, have often given us trouble. Of late it has been the policy of the Assam Government systematically to suppress raids and extend the sphere of our influence. To carry out this policy, Mr. Damant, a young Bengal civilian, was posted at Kohima, a newly-established station in the Naga hills. In November, hearing that the Nagas had accumulated arms at Konoma—a village twenty miles from Kohima—he went there

with eighty sepoy. Advancing to the village with half his escort, he was received with a volley and shot dead. In the fight that followed, nearly all the Sepoys were killed. The Nagas then attacked some other posts, and surrounded Kohima. A hastily raised force advanced and relieved the little garrison and crowd of non-combatants just as they were reduced to the last extremity. An expeditionary force then advanced on Konoma. The fighting was of the most desperate kind, and our loss was very heavy. At length the enemy were driven from the village. Their power is said to be completely broken.

Nursey Kessowjee. Wasadeo Balwant.—Some criminal trials in the Bombay Presidency have created intense interest among natives. Nursey Kessowjee, once the richest merchant in Bombay, was convicted of cheating certain spinning companies, of which he was agent and treasurer. At all the great centres of trade, we may remark, there are symptoms of a revival from the long depression, which at Bombay caused many failures. The other trial was that of Wasadeo Balwant. Crowds of natives cheered the outlaw as he passed to and from the Court during the five days the trial lasted. From a diary and autobiography which formed the chief evidence against him it would seem that he was inspired with an insane hatred of all things English. He hoped that the Dacoities would be the beginning of disorders which ultimately would lead to the destruction of the Government. With the proceeds of the plunder he hoped to be able to prosecute his patriotic schemes. But there is reason to believe that these outpourings were an after-thought indulged in to give a romantic colour to a vulgar and inglorious adventure. He admits that he failed to animate others—even the “starving” peasants—with his spirit. A native jury found him guilty of conspiring to wage war, dacoity, &c. He was sentenced to transportation.

The Deccan Ryots Act. Bengal Police.—The Indian Government has at last taken a definite step for the relief of the distressed agriculturists of the Deccan. In certain districts—Ahmadnagar, Puna, Sholapur and Satara—the peasant proprietors are hopelessly in debt. The causes are complex. Money-lenders are in the East a universal, and, we may almost say, necessary institution. They supply the capital necessary for a poor and thriftless people. Our Government, by limiting and fixing its demand for land revenue, created proprietary rights in land—unrecognised by the native systems which preceded ours. Our civil law declared the rights

thus created saleable in satisfaction for debt. Thus borrowing was facilitated. The people were at once weighted by inherited debt (i.e., debt of a sacred obligation), prone to mischievous extravagance, and grossly ignorant. The money-lenders were rapacious and comparatively intelligent—at any rate they were able to secure legal talent of a very unscrupulous order. The Courts administered a judicial system, not understood and not trusted by the people. The judges were overworked, and often corrupt. The underlings (upon whose good offices the decision in many cases depended) were as a rule wholly venal. The period of prosperity created by the American War was followed by a period of depression. The Government Revenue system, though not in itself oppressive, was rigid and inelastic. Everything combined to put the ryot at the mercy of the money-lender. In 1875 agrarian riots on a wide scale took place, the object being chiefly to destroy the bonds and processes (for the most part fraudulently obtained) which were the evidence of indebtedness. A commission made inquiries in 1876 as to the causes of the distress, and their report revealed an almost inconceivable degree of wretchedness. In many cases peasants who had paid over and over again the original loan had finally become mere bond-slaves of the money-lenders. Since 1876 the subject has practically slumbered, but at last a measure of relief has been passed into law by the Legislative Council. Its provisions are as drastic as the provisions of a satisfactory measure must be. Securities are provided against the fraudulent execution of documents and for the rigid record of payments. Some attempt is made to utilise indigenous institutions by making village headmen judges in petty cases, and by providing that no suit can be entertained unless an attempt has first been made to settle it by “conciliators.” The number of judges is increased, and *a system of personal supervision is substituted for that of interminable appeal.* Limitations are placed on the employment of professional agents, and to prevent fraudulent *ex parte* decrees the Court can compel the attendance of the defendant. In all contested cases the Courts can *go behind* the bond and inquire into the whole history of the transaction between the parties. The old (shorter) period of limitation is reverted to. As to execution of decrees, implements and cattle used in husbandry are declared exempt from seizure. Imprisonment for debt (except in cases of fraud) is abolished. Land, unless *specially pledged* for repayment of debt, is exempt from attachment. Lastly, Courts are empowered to discharge debtors “from claims which could not be fully realised except by demoralization or lifelong bondage.” The collector, however, may manage the land and apply

the proceeds to the payment of the debt. The Bill had been referred to a Select Committee, in which the advocates of "strict legality" succeeded in modifying it in material parts. An animated and indeed acrimonious debate followed in the Council. Finally, the original provisions of the measure, as framed by the Bombay Government, were restored. We need not review the criticisms to which such a measure is obviously open. Many of its features are mere experiments. We are not sure that it is not too late to try them now, and we can only regret that the measure is not extended to other districts, where the same evils exist, and where they are not yet beyond remedy. The evidence given in the despatches and the speeches in Council as to the utter inefficiency and demoralising influence of our judicial system confirms all we have so long urged. The discovery that in certain districts of Bengal police officers have systematically arranged for the committal of robberies by their own accomplices in order to procure the conviction of innocent persons, and *that the existence of the system was well known to the native gentlemen of the district, not one of whom even told the magistrate of it*, further illustrates how little, under the present system of Government by records, reports, and returns, the over-worked and ever shifting personnel of administration possesses the confidence of the people.

Miscellaneous.—The regulations by which "special war correspondents" are subjected to arbitrary censorship and humiliating restrictions have elicited from all the Indian papers protests characteristically vehement. The attempt made by a drunken Eurasian to assassinate the Viceroy is of no political significance, but may, perhaps, serve to draw attention to the degraded condition of the class to which the offender belongs. No one has shown greater anxiety to ameliorate their lot than Lord Lytton.

THE COLONIES.

The rumours of the coming Dissolution of the Imperial Parliament bring before the public the leading statesmen of all parties. Those of the one party endeavour strenuously to prove their claim to power, while those of the other as stoutly defend their stronghold of possession. In such a contest blame for the past or for the present is out-shadowed in the minds of practical men by the programmes offered of future action. And it is a prominent sign of the times that in one, and that one rapidly becoming the greatest, of the

divisions of national policy, complete unanimity appears to prevail between the capable leaders of either party. The very mention of the Colonies bring leaders of all sides to agree that the maintenance of the happy union between the various provinces and communities of the present British Empire is the one bright hope of the economic future.

Nor is this other than a necessary development of the position that has come upon the British nation. In great measure silently this nation has become, during the first half of this century, possessed of a vast portion of the earth's surface, hitherto, for the most part, undeveloped, but offering, in extent of soil, richness of natural wealth and congeniality of climate, at the least twice the economic possibilities of Europe. To form a just conception of the future of such a nation in the presence of such opportunities, we must form an abstraction for ourselves of an untenanted, uninhabited Europe; hand this over to this England of to-day; and then set about inquiring how best such a people, with such a possession, could lay the seeds of their inevitable future prosperity?

Already vigorous advance has been made towards the utilisation of this vast domain. Already this new Europe is populated by no less than 10,000,000 Englishmen, and already an enormous amount of capital has been sunk in this new soil. But this preliminary and partial exploration has served the one purpose of proving, beyond all cavil, the actual presence of enormous undeveloped resources. The "fertile belt" of Canada is proved fit, if brought into service, to supply a world with wheat; the vast interior of Australia, not so long ago reported to be little better than a barren and a burnt-up wilderness, is now proved to be the possible home of incalculable flocks of merinos, of long-wools, that shall suffice to supply the world with wool of a quality and in an abundance unknown in any previous epoch of civilisation.

The British nation has thus passed through two stages. It has, in the first place, taken possession of these vast tracts; and it has, in the second place, by thorough exploration and occupation, proved incontestably the value of their permanent acquisition. The third stage is now imminent, in which, wisely and well, the nation must set itself, to its own immense benefit, to a due utilisation of these its ascertained opportunities. And the prime basis of such action is the infusion throughout the nation, and more especially among those who are to guide, an adequate knowledge of this new estate. Without reference to the representation of *Colonial interests* in the Imperial Parliament, there is present an urgent necessity for the representation of *Colonial*

knowledge. Many constituencies, especially such as thrive on the export of manufactures, cannot serve their own interests better than by setting up as their representatives capable men possessed of Colonial knowledge.

Colonial matters—political, commercial and industrial—are more and more forcing themselves on the attention of those who yet reside in the Old Centre of the Empire; and with this demand for knowledge of Colonial matters arises, as we see all around—in books, novels, newspapers, addresses, speeches—an earnest desire to create a due supply. And the rise of this knowledge surely dissipates those misty ideas of estrangement, possible or eventual, which were, at no very distant date, the immediate results of ignorant apprehension.

It has been one of the few silver linings to the recent long-continued cloud of depression, that our various Colonies still maintained an open-armed invitation of prosperous homes and unlimited prospects to any and all who found themselves unable to hold their own in the face of bad times in the crowded Old Country. And for the last few years, when our exports, or, in other words, the direct results of home labour and capital, continued steadily to decline, the exports of such results to our various colonies continued steadily to rise. And merchants and manufacturers, so soon as they acquire knowledge of our Colonies, only become desirous to see the economic connection, at all events, stoutly maintained, and the tie of material interests firmly perpetuated.

It has thus grown to be a necessity of commercial and political life that—one and all—we should note carefully the growth and development of these various distant communities of Englishmen. These colonies are, in every sense of the term, new countries; England is, in every sense of the term, an old country; and to bind these, the one to the other, is to open for all the very best possible opportunities of future prosperity; opportunities which have never before presented themselves to a nation, and opportunities which will exist for the present generation, but for that generation alone, to profit by or to let go for ever. Politicians and statesmen, not only in the Old Country, but in each of the various Colonies, are now witnessing the dawn of this question. Traders, manufacturers, capitalists, labourers, every citizen of the empire, *quâ* producer, one and all, have a vital stake in this problem; and in no less degree does it become the duty of every citizen, *quâ* consumer, clearly to estimate the high advantages now proffered for his acceptance or refusal. But the primary basis of right action is intelligent appreciation of present and prospective conditions; and

this is obtainable alone by close study and attention to the developments proceeding in every part of the empire.

In order to judge summarily of the commercial, political, and social elements in these developments, it is well to bear in mind that the Colonial Provinces of the British nation group themselves economically under constitutional categories. We have, on the one hand, the self-governing communities of North America, the Australias, and South Africa. We have, on the other hand, the Plantation Colonies of the West Indies, the Mauritius, and Ceylon, where history, climate, and circumstances combine to necessitate more paternal forms of government. In the third place, we have a string of provinces which may fairly be termed the trade outposts of this widespread nation. A rough economic table of the British Colonial Empire stands as follows:—

	<i>White Population.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Trade.</i>	<i>Debt.</i>
Industrial. I—Self-governing	7,000,000	7,000,000	£23,000,000	£140,000,000	£93,000,000
Plantation II.—Crown	1,000,000	112,000	2,000,000	15,000,000	2,000,000
Factory III—Outposts ...	300,000	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000

By the aid of such general tabulation it will be seen that the first division of Colonies, for instance, would by itself, in every economic respect, already take high rank among the States of Europe, following indeed close in the wake of the large and ancient monarchy of Spain. Or, again, that the trade of this group with England alone largely exceeds that of England with any one foreign State, being actually twice as large as that with her immediate neighbour France. But it is when we remember that the first group of Colonies, with its seven million energetic inhabitants, possesses resources and soil equalling those of two whole Europes, that we see, at a glance, the inevitable future that opens out. And in such a review it is necessary to bear in mind, from the first, that in these three groups of great English communities there has been now firmly and definitively established a life, social, political, and economical, the precise counterpart of that in the Old Country. There has thus grown upon us the new and profitable duty of recording and watching the rapid development of these various communities of Englishmen, and reviewing, from time to time, the progress of salient types of colonial enterprise; and so disseminating more accurate information in affairs so increasingly important to the whole economic world.

The Canadian Dominion.—In the varied history of England's Colonial empire few more important incidents have occurred than the recent resolution on the part of the Dominion of Canada to send one of her Cabinet Ministers to England in the capacity of Minister Resident

in the Old Country. This new departure in Canadian policy will be welcomed as a genuine, because autonomous, development of the British Constitution. Safe reforms and constitutional changes are not those which grow out of the enthusiasm of individual genius, nor even of that contagion of enticing ideas which has proved so disastrously powerful on the Continent; they are rather those which spring of the material necessities of the times, and this move on the part of Canada is the automatic supply of a demand that the growth of circumstances has brought into existence.

It is suggested that a member of the Ottawa Cabinet shall reside in London, as it were the mouthpiece of the Dominion Ministry of the day. It will be seen that, at the first blush, he is not a mere ambassador, not a mere representative of a distant State, but he is rather a connecting link between the imperial and the local authorities. Nevertheless, there are grave issues connected with so important and novel a step. Under previous conditions the supreme authority of the British race, vested in the St. Stephen's Parliament, delegated many of its powers to local parliaments, and all communications were carried on by its own department, the Colonial Office speaking through the mouth of the delegated representative of the Crown in the colony. This representative, in those larger and more important provinces which enjoyed what are called self-governing powers, became, so far as all local affairs were concerned, a local Crown acting by and with the advice of a Ministry responsible to the inhabitants of the Province through a local Parliament. But now we are, so far as is known at present, to see a Minister of this local Ministry living in England for the avowed purpose of communicating directly with the several Departments that carry out the work of the Imperial Parliament.

The high importance of this move cannot be overrated. With regard to Canada it is of course no difficult matter to see that with fertile territories of enormous extent, with rapidly-increasing population, already exceeding that of many European kingdoms, and with all the unbounded expectations engendered by such national environments, large questions of urgent importance must continually crop up in a near future. The Defence Question, in these days of scientific warfare, leads Canadian wisdom to seek close union with the large establishments and world-wide experience of the Old Country. The important Fishery Question, again coming to the front, is a type of the questions which must necessarily arise from time to time, while two such progressive countries as those of the United States and the Canadian Dominion lie in territorial contiguity. Again, the Colonies, and Canada most prominently among them, are day by day becoming recognised as the best

fields for English capital, and the financial arrangements of that large proportion of such investments which come directly under Colonial government control need an increasing amount of Government attention. Again, the fast growth of all things Canadian, more and more claims Canadian aid for that occasional Imperial legislation which affects things Canadian, and more and more needs the countenance of the Imperial Parliament in that occasional Canadian legislation which affects the Empire at large. This new move is a sign that Canada must needs be heard of in the Imperial Parliament, no less than that imperial views must be respected in the Canadian Parliament. There has been recognised need for all this in the recent Merchant Shipping Act at home, or in that still more recent relapse to Protection which has seized, for the time, on the Canadian Parliament. And with this relapse Canada comes to learn by experience the troublous difficulties of the hard and intricate machinery of commercial treaties with foreign nations. It indeed suits her economy to find, in London, a Foreign Office, with its accredited staffs in every capital and part of the world. In all these various questions we may recognise the necessities that have developed the presence in London of a responsible manager of these details. It is a sign significant and telling of the value the Mother Country is to the Colonies when once they reach a stage of importance among the States of the world. But in an abiding contract the benefits must be mutual. If Canada's Minister-Resident is to enjoy all the aid of our Foreign Office, what will Canada offer, in return, for the annual English outlay, at the sole charge of which this Foreign Office and its diplomatic service are maintained? Already the character of the answer is looming in the future; already Canada is proving her true patriotism by quiet deeds; for instance, we hear of the progress of the idea that Canada will organise an armed contingent to serve the imperial purposes of the British race. It is true, at the present, these tendencies to combined action afford rather a prospect of complications than of distinct schemes; but time, by bringing them, one by one, into the light of day, will place them where they can be seen and truly judged of; and then, inasmuch as they spring from the necessities of the growing circumstances, they will be found to range themselves in due order and group themselves in formation the best for efficiency and work. The very experience of the first working of this scheme of a Minister-Resident will at once bring out all the angles or difficulties, and briefly develop the efficiency or inefficiency of such means to attain the expected ends.

Among other political experiences which Canada can supply with benefit to the Imperial Government few will be more useful than her management of spirited and warlike natives. But the native

policy adopted by Canada has met with such obvious success, even when compared with that adopted away across a border among "cousins," that the world is apt to imagine all difficulties successfully overcome. The fundamental reason that such difficulties still exist is the continued presence of the Indian races, together with the fast-increasing disappearance of their "natural" food supply, the buffalo. The only alternative is that Indians be inoculated with the powers of self-help, which shall not be confined to hunting the bison; and to accomplish this pass on from the nomad or hunter-stage of existence to the agricultural. And we find, already, even Chippewayans and Sioux in many cases transformed into fair agriculturists. But this spirit of civilisation does not promise anything approaching to a universal success, and there thus remains the necessity for the Dominion Government to prevent that absolute starvation which, from time to time, threatens portions, at all events, of these interesting peoples. The expense hereby incurred is the sole preventive of the appearance of that discontent and material despair which would result in open warfare. It was a tendency to this latter state of things, resulting from unfortunate financial delays, which was at the bottom of the recent rumour of an Indian outbreak at Battleford.

The North-West mounted police, which has already achieved an assured reputation for all the requisite smartness and capacity, at the present maintains the supremacy of the State without fear of failure, and appears to be amply competent to prevent, or even to deal with, the threatened riots or outbreaks that are heard of from time to time. But, on the whole, a marked success has been achieved by the Dominion system, which, in brief, induces all Indians who will to derive their sustenance from a permanent occupation of the soil, and in addition sees to it that those who will not, and who seem incapable of rising above the more congenial but wholly uncertain life of the hunter and trapper, are kept from actual starvation by the timely exertions of a government system of sufficient doles.

In the districts of the West, which as yet have not been declared by Government open to settlement, the "squatters," those essentially useful pioneers of civilisation, have lately lost many hundreds of cattle killed in secret by starving Indians; and the advent of many bands of Sioux, discontented with the state of affairs across the border, has not mended matters, but increased the necessity for extra military precautions, and further energetic assistance in the prevention of starvation, by the Government Indian Department. The fertile country around the South Saskatchewan, some day to become a most wealthy agricultural district, is now the scene of these anxieties. It is

such questions of increasing settlement which would receive so beneficial an impulse from the completion of the new Trans-Continental Railway.

South Africa.—While in our North American Colonies the Native question becomes a minor and ephemeral trouble, in our South African provinces it stands out by far the most important incident of our presence in that part of the world. It is the Native question that lies at the base of all South African troubles; and the fact must never be lost sight of that the European population at the present in occupation of South Africa is utterly inadequate of itself, and by means of its own resources, to maintain a supremacy over the native population. The two races are so widely different that, by the experience of all other ages and countries, to leave them to themselves would be to leave them to a death-struggle for the survival of the fittest. It may be that the Whites, in the end, would come off victorious, but they could only do so by a rapid deterioration in character, and by falling to the low level of winning a supremacy of physical or "scientific" force, which should supersede all ideas of freedom, honour, or humanity. The half-million whites could only secure themselves a clear supremacy over several millions of natives by means and measures that have, for instance, made a by-word of the Spanish conquests in Central and Southern America.

But in the actual facts of the case there is the far brighter outlook of that continued connection with a wide-spread empire, which ensures not only material and physical support, but the influence and countenance of a public opinion of more than average honesty and sympathy. That this opinion can be sternly patriotic is seen in the universal support the nation gave when once, whether rightly or wrongly, the local need was recognised of crushing the power of Cetshwayo. The one great need is that this public opinion secures to South Africa a permanent and consistent policy in regard to native affairs. Hitherto schemes totally differing from one another have succeeded one another in rapid succession. With the appearance of excessive danger the aid of the Imperial Government has been freely given, and one more periodical renovation of native policy has inevitably followed. Immediately before the present complications the policy had been for the Cape Colony to annex various native districts, under the title of Territories, ruled more or less in accordance with native systems. Meanwhile, the Colony of Natal, with its own preponderating native element, found itself fast drifting into threatening difficulties with the powerful and warlike native states on its

borders, which, as yet, maintained their independence. A third element in these South African difficulties was the presence of communities like that of Griqualand West, which arose from the rush of all classes to diamond-fields or other centres of industrial enterprise. And there remained, in addition, the yet surviving Boer States of the Orange River and the Transvaal.

It must be borne in mind that the native races of South Africa are in a low stage of civilisation; they are not possessed of the wealth or the instincts which untold centuries of civilisation of one kind or another had conferred on the natives of India. The resources, both human and material, at the command of the colonists of the Cape and Natal are thus absolutely inadequate, at the present, of themselves, to deal with such a mass. The unvarnished fact of this is seen in the continual aid that has had to be given by the empire at large.

The natives of South Africa do, however, approach nearer in political character to the natives of Hindustan than to the Maories or Red Indians; for it is found that when once they can be persuaded to adopt settled modes of life they increase, and do not decrease, in numbers. And there is the one great hope that they may be induced to pass from the "stage of warfare to that of contract," and to become the tillers of the soil, and not the plunderers of one another. In such an event the European colonists of South Africa will have the best prospects for a supply of cheap labour—the one great need in the development of new countries. To secure such a state of things the first requisite is confirmed security of person and property; and this, in South Africa, unhappily involves the somewhat appalling question of a scientific frontier. The history of our presence in South Africa is simply one tale of successive annexations, each one the cause of the next; for there rules a type of community which has on its borders the reckless, and often unscrupulous, enterprise of pioneer colonists; of men among whom the survival of the fittest has developed a race unexcelled in the fixed habit of ever pushing on beyond civilisation; of men who will only regard new boundaries as new coigns of vantage whence to push on to new conquests.

This point has come prominently to the front in the new settlement of Zululand. We hear of the express revival of the right, on the part of those set up in authority, to exclude traders, and even missionaries. It remains to be seen whether the practice of such a right is feasible on the frontiers of civilisation. But it is an attempt to set up that definite frontier which is the sole hope of South Africa. Traders and missionaries are the pioneers of civilisation in savage lands, and whithersoever they penetrate political influence must needs follow.

John Dunn is the new chief who is to wield this right on the very frontiers of Natal. He may safely be credited with practical experience, whatever his other qualities; and he revives the old tale, heard in the South Seas—and, indeed, wherever they appear—that missionaries inevitably combine worldly trading with their higher task. But there is much subtle reason in the contention that the readiest road to the heart of the savage is the palm of his hand. That missionary succeeds in his high purpose the best who introduces himself by means of the passport of present usefulness. The surest course to win the attention of the savage is the attractive magnet of material good. And this fact, if we can believe the records of the past, must in great measure underlie every missionary effort, even in the present day. The Americans at Bhamo, no less than the hard-working Wesleyans in the isolated islands of the Pacific, find themselves, willy-nilly, the centres of the “foreign” trade. The Jesuits—practically speaking, the most successful of all missionaries—persistently and avowedly made the economic basis the starting-point of their religious propaganda. John Dunn proposes to levy a licence-fee of 25*l.* on each trader entering his dominions. This will in some measure protect *bonâ fide* traders, and prevent roving ne’er-do-weels thrusting their white dishonesty and villany on his natives. This will leave the field the better open to the essentially-desirable advent of *bonâ fide* commercial intercourse, whether this latter be in the hands of professed traders or become the useful adjunct to the exertions of those whose ultimate object is of a higher and more religious cast.

One step remains unaccomplished ere the case for the final settlement of the South African question can be made out.

The British High Commissioner has now the serious work in hand of winning the permanent support of the Boers to the definite institution of British rule in the Transvaal. And the most serious news from South Africa is that which describes the spirit of discontent and sullen opposition, which it is idle to maintain does not exist in most undesirable proportions. The very presence of the Boers in the Transvaal is, it must be remembered, an historical protest against British rule. To establish their peculiar ideas of a polity, to secure the free working of the institutions they deemed the best for their position, the Boers pushed on beyond the British frontier lines and occupied the Transvaal. That the very rule they had escaped should again embrace them is sufficient cause for more than sullen discontent.

It is not surprising, then, that we now hear of reports of bodies of men retiring to the high lands from Pretoria and Middleburg; and of

the preparation of large supplies of "Biltong," the Boer substitute for the pea-sausages which enable German armies to enter upon a campaign. But the presence of Secocoeni in Pretoria, defeated and a captive, will, no doubt, rob this armed opposition of its backbone; and summarily decide the question whether such a movement could assume sufficient proportions to seriously jeopardise a collision with the very large British force, both of regulars and colonial troops, at the present in the Transvaal. But it is well at once to acknowledge the actual character and position of the Boers. Grafted on to the original sturdy Dutch character is an amount of ignorance of the outside world that reminds one of that of the most infatuated South African natives. There is, no doubt, actually prevalent among these Boers an opinion that the English, after their strenuous efforts in Zululand, are, for the time being, urgently in need of rest and replenishment. The departure of troops and general reduction of armaments confirms these most ingenuous prejudices. But, in addition to this, the South African Boer, by history and tradition, is only too ready to oppose British dominion either by stubborn resistance, or, if that fail, then by "trekking" beyond its present reach. These Boers are known as a peculiar people, living in a species of patriarchal village communities. The units are large farms, covering several thousand acres, each of them a law unto themselves, under the headship of the father of the family. When the members of these units become too numerous, a party branches off to found a new community—trekking away till it occupy a new domain bought from the natives, after the manner of independent pioneer adventurers, or even simply taken possession of on the principle "*Res nullius cedit occupanti*." These communities, each being individually a law unto themselves, have developed a rooted aversion to the payment of taxes for the support of a Government which they feel to be no necessity for themselves. But this system of pushing civilisation among inferior races by isolated bands, has degenerated in its methods far below the standard which has been always upheld by the inveterate English custom of holding together and working in close union with the remainder of the nation. And especially does the lack of union rob such a system of that overpowering physical strength which is the sole guarantee for the success of such an attempt to improve the condition of warlike inferior races.

In the Transvaal we have to deal, then, with this intermediate system of civilisation—and it is obvious that to win ready acquiescence at the first at all events, we must respect, so far as possible, the peculiar style of life that has now taken rank as second nature; and above all bear in mind that the presence of an actively supreme Government must only

intrude so far as is actually necessary. The recent Middlebrough and Potchesfstran incidents, though in their outward guise mere assertions of old Boer proceedings, customary in less settled days, yet prove that the spirit of independent discontent may give dangerous colour to otherwise unnoteworthy proceedings. There must no room be left for doubt as to the actual existence of an actually supreme Government. If necessary, a timely exhibition of force must be made to convince even the dullest inhabitant of the country that a new order of things has come about, and that all residents within the extensive Transvaal must conform to the ideas of the nation that now guides their destinies. But this should be largely tempered with an intelligent consideration for traditional prejudices and weaknesses.

The alternative has, indeed, been suggested that the English had best, for their own sake, retire from the Transvaal. Such a course is practically impossible. To contradict ourselves and restore the misrule, and the scandal, and the supremacy of the natives in the Transvaal would be to declare ourselves incapable of proceeding in our self-appointed mission of winning South Africa to civilisation. To retrace our steps would be to sacrifice our whole prestige, and would be regarded as the harbinger of fatal weakness, of failure, and of eventual retreat from the whole scene. Facts do not warrant this; and the very enterprise and the power of English colonists resident on the spot would give the lie to such a course. Whether rightly or wrongly, we have taken a step which, for the sake of all the English in South Africa, we must stand by; nor may we forget that a fast-growing majority of the inhabitants of the Transvaal itself have definitely embraced the advantages of our rule.

But the gravest task of this settlement of the Transvaal is that historical danger of the future, the further extension of the frontier. Those Boers that sturdily refuse to acquiesce in the new order of things will "trek" across the frontiers. And hitherto the history of the rapid increase of our South African responsibilities has been merely the history of following, step by step, closely on the Boers "trekking" for independence from our authority. Into and out of the citadel of Cape Town we have dogged their steps right across the continent, through Natal, and up to the Limpopo. The exodus of the Boers across the last boundary has already commenced, and it becomes the point of most grave importance whether those in authority can devise any means for definitely staying this indefinite chase of an *ignis fatuus*—a chase which otherwise promises to extend the authority and force at the disposal of so small a community of Englishmen over so enormous an extent of Southern Africa as to dissipate and so eventually destroy it.

When Parliament meets, one of its first and most important duties will be the determining on the future policy in regard to South Africa. It is sincerely to be hoped that the common sense of the House will at once quash any electioneering allusions to the past. The necessary lessons of history must not be allowed to degenerate into mere recriminations and futile talk of what might have been done. The history and present position of the South African communities do, indeed, need much close study. The old Cape Colony has recently been arranging the annexation of a "new territory of the Transkei," of some 16,000 square miles, and another newly-defined territory of Griqualand East, embracing some 7000 square miles of territory. The 20,000 English colonists of Natal are working valiantly to overcome the difficulties of their position, and are even anxious for more united efforts. Meanwhile the vigorous "digger" community of Griqualand West are opposed to the idea of annexation to the Old Cape Colony, though there are some among them who favour a proposed union with Natal and the "Eastern Province." And the Transvaal, trusting to the original Shepstone Proclamation, is expecting a separate government of its own.

This late war has brought the whole question of the South African future to a head. In the Old Colony itself there are many who discover no particular benefits in burdening that colony with the arduous duties of governing an endless variety of South African States. The older colony is indeed in an altogether different stage from any other South African community. Its "native question" is so far settled that the natives within its borders are all of them peaceable citizens, merely representing a supply of more or less efficient labour. In Griqualand West, in the Transvaal, and in Natal, the native question at the present time represents the treatment of an overwhelming and, in divers times and places, a vigorously hostile element. And again, in the "native territories" in Basutoland, Griqualand East, and the Transkei there is no white element, but a mere representation of white supremacy in the presence of magistrates and other Government officers. There is thus a heterogeneous group of states which have hitherto developed haphazard, and with no common effort or design. Such a state of things cannot last, and it becomes the question of the future whether the small community of Englishmen in South Africa is to be left burdened with this task, or whether it is not more in accordance with right policy for the English nation as a whole to take upon itself the management of all those districts where the native element predominates and leave the colonists of the Cape Colony and Natal free to devote their energies to developing their own

magnificent resources with such practicable boundaries as they may set to their respective Governments. The material aid of our presence in South Africa is the civilisation of the natives. There is plenty of surplus brain and muscle power in England at the present day to influence and rule the native element in South Africa, and to raise it till it affords a market for products and an area of supply not only to the colonists of the more settled districts, but to the manufacturers and merchants of the British Isles as well. But it seems hopeless to expect the handful of English, busied with their own affairs in the Old Colony Cape and Natal, to be able successfully to bear the strain of establishing and maintaining a wide-spread rule over an enormous and populated territory. This may be a fitting task for the surplus powers of a nation of 30,000,000 : it is no fit task for a community of 300,000.

Perhaps this view of the case can gain no more distinct advocacy than when the financial arrangements in connection with the late war are set out before the public. The total gross revenue of the various South African communities scarcely exceed 3,000,000*l.* per annum. The struggle with the Zulus necessitated imperial aid, and this aid was forthcoming ungrudgingly and without hesitation. The colonists of South Africa, it has been found, once more, are actually unable of and by themselves to hold dominion over the vast tract at the present, nominally the possessions of the British Crown. But if this aid is necessary, it must repay itself. Among other incidental advantages, this imperial aid has connected the Cape with the rest of the world by telegraph. This desirable move was a mere hope of the future till imperial necessities brought imperial means to the task. South Africa early enjoys this benefit, purely by reason of the fact that it is a portion of the British Empire. This telegraph does much to open up the Eastern Coast of Africa to civilisation. With this progress the South African colonies will enjoy the rapid growth of markets, of which, by their geographical position, they have the commercial command. Is the imperial aid that rendered these bright prospects possible to be accepted without repayment? English taxpayers, who supplied this aid, cannot afford such generosity altogether gratuitously.

There are two distinct modes of repayment, of the highest benefit alike to England and to the Cape Colonies. The one is political. Many hope to hear again of a Royal Commission, or some other competent means, to inquire into the political prospects of South Africa. This inquiry would embrace such questions as the relations of the various local administrations to the Home Government; the very complicated arrangements between the various colonies and the numerous native

tribes; the difficulties with the Boers; the frontier arrangements, and relations with outside tribes. But the political mode of repayment would be for England to take over and administer, by the means of a local administration, all those districts of South Africa in which the native element is beyond the surplus powers of the white residents. A service, both military and civil, on a necessarily modified form to that of India, would make use of much of the unused energy of England in the highly remunerative work of ruling the native element, with a view to developing the undoubted resources of a vast tract of territory. Meanwhile, the colonists of the Cape and Natal could lay aside the unnecessary strain of managing and controlling these native forces, and thus devote their every energy to the task of developing the resources of their individual territories.

The other mode of repayment is more strictly commercial. This new Crown Dominion in South Africa, managed directly by the Imperial Government, would enter upon a perfectly free exchange of products with England; and the Cape and Natal could in no better way repay the imperial aid than by binding themselves with this new Crown Dominion, and with England, in the vitalising bond of free trade. It is impossible to be blind to the fact that some policy of this kind must be entered upon, which shall secure a stable and consistent Constitutional policy for all South Africa, native and European, in the immediate present, and become the trusted guarantee against all vacillation or sudden changes for the future.

The Australias.—This question of free exchange of products has always had attractions for the practical minds of Australians. Even at the present day, however, the five colonies on the Australian continent are but sparsely populated; they cover an extent of territory nearly equalling that of Europe, but their united populations do not equal that of Switzerland. These populations, are, however, the subject of very rapid increase; and with this increase of inhabitants the respective boundaries of the various colonies are, day by day, giving practical evidence of the ruinous restrictions of interchange brought about by Custom houses. As a consequence the proposals of the various governments grow more frequent and more definite in the direction of some measure which shall put an end to a difficulty which, in a near future, promises to assume most expensive dimensions. Mr. Lalor's late mission to Sydney came to no practical result. And now South Australia has made a fresh attempt to open the question.

An aggravating cause of these movements is the fact that the colonial Governments have been permitted the somewhat anomalous

liberty of imposing Custom duties for other than revenue purposes. And although it is true that only Victoria, as yet, has entered upon a full-blown policy of Protection, yet each colony feels that any other may, in an evil moment, follow in the steps of Victoria. And these Australian colonies already know, by experience, that such a step not only injures the colony that determines on it, but extends the blighting influence far across its own borders. The whole question is, however, fast becoming of such general or imperial importance, that rapid prominence is being given to the question of the permanent establishment of free exchange of products between all portions of the British empire. The inauguration of such a state of things would at once reduce these customs' difficulties of the Australian interior to insignificant proportions.

Further evidence of the coming desirability of some such system is given in the rapid rise to importance of the industry of wine-growing in Australia. Wine is for the present a recognised food of civilised man. Yet the old established homes of its production in Europe are in actual danger of periodical destruction from such visitations as those which destroyed, for the time, the capacities of Madeira, or which promise, from the insidious ravages of the phylloxera, to bring a similar blight upon some of the most prolific wine districts of the Continent. And although Australia has no reason to boast of eventual security from such destructive visitations, nevertheless the wider and more varied the area of the supply of this commodity the better the economical results both for producer and consumer.

Australian wines suffer under the present artificial disadvantage of being grown under a too-bountiful nature. They develop naturally just too large a percentage of alcohol to suit these artificial restrictions with which European commercial ideas for the present hamper trade. The Melbourne Government has lately taken the pains to procure 37 samples of must from various Australian vineyards, and to ferment these under the Government seal. No alcohol was added, but of the resulting samples of wine only ten were below the present arbitrary English standard of 26 degrees. At the same time, of these samples only one or two exceeded a 29° or 30° limit. The Select Committee of the House of Commons have reported in favour of raising this arbitrary English standard. The present Ministry seem to see in these wine duties one of Lord Salisbury's remaining handles to win concessions towards free-trade from such nations as Spain and Portugal. But there is the further influence of such a step in that it will open up to the Australian and the South African colonies a rich market for an important and prolific product. This step towards

greater freedom of exchange within the British Empire would place a powerful Freetrade lever in the hands of the Imperial Government. If Spain, for instance, should hesitate to make the necessary concessions she would at once risk not merely the competition, as now, but the actual substitution in English markets of Auldana for Xeres.

This promotion of closer intercourse has been already conspicuously served by the first Australian International Exhibition, which has proved such a signal and gratifying success in Sydney. New South Wales, as the oldest of the Australian colonies, has thus most properly taken the lead in giving tangible proof to the older worlds of Europe and America that Australians are ready to take their place among the workers of the world. It is a happy combination of circumstances which brings forward the Melbourne International Exhibition in close succession to that of Sydney, for, though the novelty and pride of originality will be wanting, there will be all the additional incentives of rivalry and experience. Such a minor experience, for instance, is the complaint of certain English exhibitors of the inadequate provision afforded for their interests, especially as compared with that made by the United States Government on behalf of its own enterprising citizens; these Englishmen ask for a Commission on the spot of greater power and energy. Melbourne will enjoy the pick of the Sydney exhibits in addition to a fresh contingent resulting from increased fame. And, if reasons of State permit the Heir to the Crown to honour Australian hospitality with his presence, the edifice of industrial union will be crowned and complete. The Free-traders in Protectionist Victoria have, however, loudly derided the illogical episode of a World's Fair in a hotly Protectionist community; and the economists of Australia, no less than those of the rest of the world, will glean a most useful lesson from the results of these two exhibitions held, the one in a Freetrade, and the other in a violently Protectionist community. Able prognostications have, indeed, been made that the holding this exhibition in Melbourne will tend greatly to open the eyes of Victorians to all they are missing, by attempting so vigorously to protect themselves from all the aid the outside world is eager to afford them.

Strict Protection has now been tried in Victoria for several years; but lately even the popular Premier, Mr. Berry, has met with what is almost tantamount to defeat in his recent attempts to further develop the grand idea of his party, "Protection to Native Industry." In Victoria, once again, those inevitable results, foretold indeed by all who know aught of economic history, have come about, and with a suddenness evidently not expected by Mr. Berry and his colleagues. Their recent proposal to increase many of the duties was not only met, but thwarted,

by the vigorous action of the various industries, each on its own behalf, against this supposed benefitting of others. Never was there more practical realisation of the truism that just in so far as protection benefits one class of producers, in so far does it directly injure all the other classes of producers in the community. Victorians are to be congratulated that Protection in Victoria has thus early produced the only good result of which it is capable, and that is the practical demonstration of its own evil effects.

That this mistrust in the hustings' cry of "Protection to Native industry" is thus shown to be engendered in the Victorian mind does, in some degree, account for the fact that Mr. Berry so clings to his Reform Bill, even though, even in its modified shape, it has failed to win that majority in the Assembly which is requisite for all legislation effecting changes in the Constitution. Mr. Berry has consequently recommended the Governor to dissolve the Assembly, and the dissolution is expected in the beginning of the new year.

In the July number of the *Westminster*, much space was given to a detailed account of this important Constitutional struggle proceeding in Victoria; and precisely in the terms of those remarks have matters since progressed. A majority in the Assembly, of "representatives of labour, of small capitalists, of the less prosperous members of the community," have continued, in the main, to support Mr. Berry's new Reform Bill which, after all the good counsel he received in England, reverts again to the two previously discarded schemes of Government by means of one supreme House of Parliament, or, in default of this, of superseding Parliament by Government by Plebiscite. On the other hand, the Upper House, composed of "able, successful, and energetic leaders of the community, proving themselves worthy and admirable members of a House of Commons," has passed the counter Bill of Sir C. Sladen, which seeks to popularise and add power to the Upper House, and, in brief local phrase, render it a "Second House of Commons" side by side with the Assembly. In July we hoped little for the activity of that sagacious compromise which has been the guiding spirit of the English Houses of Parliament; and, as we then pointed out, the two dominant parties of Victoria rule in the two Chambers respectively, and these two rival Reform Bills can neither of them win the necessary assent of both Chambers.

But in the immediate future a dissolution of the Upper House is impending. This is altogether sufficient reason for the still stringent character of Mr. Berry's Bill. A definite and vigorous scheme of Reform is, perhaps, the sole remaining platform on which his party can with confidence face the country. His return to power rests on his

holding his party together. Already his old cry of Protection has received a severe blow, and the coming Exhibition is not altogether in its favour. Already there are signs of reaction against the very efficiency and searching minuteness of the Education Policy that has been recently pursued. There is a strong and growing feeling against its stringent secularity; there is a powerful and cogent opinion rapidly gaining ground that State education has overstepped its limits by increasing the burdens of all altogether unnecessarily, inasmuch as the State is throwing on the shoulders of the taxpayer duties and expenses which, with a less parentally inclined Government, were willingly and more efficiently borne by the private individuals actually interested.

It is probable that when the new House meets, circumstances will be considerably altered. Nevertheless, deadlocks will yet be possible until some scheme of Reform is law. There seems to be much truth in the contention that the Victorian community is hardly yet sufficiently developed to be ripe for a Bi-cameral Parliament in the English acceptation of the term, and that, for the present transitional stage, provisional measures are necessary. And as manhood suffrage already obtains, we are to look to other communities in like condition and discover that deadlocks between the two Houses are preventible by the simple expedient of allowing the two Houses to vote together on any point on which their respective majorities hopelessly differ. The Constitutional struggles of Victoria prove of the utmost value, educationally, to her statesmen; but in order to prevent that economic and material loss that comes of deadlocks,—in order to prevent actual waste and retrogression, some such provisional scheme is the sole alternative in the probable absence of agreement just yet on any more radical scheme of reform. But it is an alternative which may well carry Victoria along to a stage of more capable development; when, in the words of the advice lately given by the Secretary for the Colonies, “a satisfactory and enduring solution of the difficulty may be arrived at within the Colony in some reasonable proposal for regulating the future relations of the two Houses in financial matters in accordance with the high Constitutional precedent of the British Parliament.”

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

THE *Life and Works of St. Paul*, by Canon Farrar, may be pronounced a really meritorious production.¹ Its merit will assuredly be recognised by a public restless for knowledge, but impatient of the labour of acquisition, ambitious to be considered liberal and well-informed, and anxious to be reassured, where faith is wavering and dogma dear. To the thoughtful few, on the other hand, the florid eloquence and jaunty invective which are the substitutes for careful criticism and sober judgment, will prove sadly unsatisfactory. A theological Rousseau, the author of the volumes before us is a master of passionate rhetoric, often admirable, but sometimes degenerating into the lackadaisical effusiveness of Ouida. The favourite phrases of sensational writers—showy flowers of speech—and grandiose expressions like supreme moment, proletariat, sporadic in its occurrences, apostle of progress, tide of light, vivifying wind, blazing heaven and blazing sea—will, we hope, disappear, in subsequent editions of Canon Farrar's book. Occasional exaggeration, too, invites ready suppression. One, at least, of the *flogging scenes* in his pages, might easily be divested of its excess of epithet; and the overwrought description of St. Paul's infirmities and swoons disfigures and spoils a portrait which frequently shows traces of a master's hand. Of the learning of Canon Farrar, of his unusual acquaintance with Hebrew literature, of his comprehensive reading, none who examine this *Life of St. Paul* can entertain any doubt. He has done good service for the general reader by depicting the leading characteristics of the Jewish and Gentile world, by enabling him to realise the opposing forces, the contradictory circumstances of the civilisation with which Paul had to struggle, and the social conditions which acted on him and on which he reacted. On the other hand, an uncritical treatment of historical documents, an evasive rush past difficult problems, and an obstinate adhesion to foregone conclusions fatally distinguish this book. If sometimes we are surprised at a concession which a German theologian would welcome, we are no less surprised at the abrupt recoil from the consequence of the unexpected admission. Canon Farrar is quite right, for instance, in his diagnosis of the *ecstatic* Speaking with Tongues, which was a morbid symptom of primitive Christianity; but he is quite wrong in not recognising with Neander, whom he professes to follow, in part at least, the ideal element

¹ "The Life and Works of St. Paul." By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. 2 vols. with coloured maps. London, Paris, and New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Co.

pervading the narrative of the First Pentecost, a narrative from which only one inference can be reasonably drawn,—that the employment of *foreign languages* was the real phenomenon that excited the surprise of the Assembly. Again, in his review of the contents of the Epistle to the Romans we are startled by a very convincing résumé of reasons for rejecting part of xvi. chapter as an original constituent of the letter, but we are equally startled at finding that he adopts not the simple explanation of F. C. Baur, but the ingenious conjecture of Schulz, who supposes that numerous copies of the Epistle, with appropriate conclusions, were addressed to different churches, the valedictory fragment in question being intended for that of Ephesus. Again, a prodigious suggestion, which corresponds with the theory of rationalising theologians, on the appearances of Jesus is offered us in Dr. Farrar's account of the Conversion of his swooning St. Paul. "At such moments," he remarks (*vide* vol. i. p. 195), "the spirit only lives, and the $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$, the animal life is hardly adequate as an $\delta\rho\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\ \lambda\eta\pi\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ to apprehend such revelations;" and after a quotation from Reuss, he adds, citing Vida:—"Christ stood before me," said St. Theresa, "I saw him with the eyes of the soul more distinctly than I could have seen him with the eyes of the body," and the text is, in its sceptical interrogatory, quite as surprising as the note. "Is the essential miracle," asks the Canon, "rendered less miraculous by a questioning of that objectivity to which the language seems decidedly to point?" This view of the matter approximates, in its hazy indecision, to the clear verdict of Professor Zeller, that "a personal meeting with the Crucified is not, in the case of Paul, to be thought of; and that we are concerned with a purely inward vision of Him, which the vivid excitement of the Seer's mind and imagination caused him to look upon as an external appearance." It is hardly to be supposed that Dr. Farrar agrees with the Tübingen theologians. On the contrary, he raises an expectation only to disappoint it; he asks a question and his tongue hesitates to answer it. Had we space at our disposal, we should point out the thoroughly inconclusive character of many of his attempts to explain away difficulties, anachronisms, and discrepancies in the New Testament writings. As it is, we content ourselves with remarking that he is amusingly indignant because nobody has disproved the existence of a second and purely hypothetical Theudas; and that he actually cites the notorious Certificate, in the supposititious Second Epistle of St. Peter, as a proof of the friendship existing between that Apostle and St. Paul. Leaving minor considerations, we must say a few words on the cardinal consideration of all, in a polemical point of view. Dr. Farrar's book contains an arraignment and contemptuous dismissal of the theologians of the Tübingen school. The existence of that school is not dependent, as Dr. Farrar appears to be of opinion, principally on the support afforded by the representations in the Clementine Homilies. The procedure of that school is critical and logical, but in the main historical and constructive. Its object is to establish the development of Christianity, to trace the continuity of its phases, and of the incidents which had to do

with it, to render intelligible the expansion of Judæo-Christianity into the Catholicity of the second and third centuries. The logical strength of Baur's position lies in the perception of the antagonism between the Petrine, or primitive type of Christianity, and the Pauline or progressive type. A continuous argument is grounded on the study of the Epistles of St. Paul, particularly Galatians and Corinthians, in contrast with the *accommodated* history of the Acts of the Apostles; on the study of Gnosticism; on the study of the New Testament writings in general; on the traces of antagonism, divergence or difference in early patristic literature; on the inconsistency of the representations in the fourth Gospel with the statements in the other three, and lastly, on the confirmatory indications of what Professor Jowett calls the radical difference between St. Paul and the Twelve scattered through that Ebionitish romance—the Clementine Homilies. In the capital crises in the Apostolic history, that of the conferences, Acts xv., Gal. ii., in the encounter of Peter and Paul at Antioch, in the transaction at Jerusalem, Acts xxi. 17-26, Dr. Farrar has struggled hard to support the orthodox view, but with little success. While far from accepting every allegation in the writings of Baur, or any of his followers, we are convinced of the substantial correctness of their cardinal conclusions.

The study of systematic theology is greatly facilitated in recent days by the valuable series of characteristic works translated from the German, now in course of publication by Messrs. Williams and Norgate. The second volume of Baur's "Church History of the first three centuries" has just reached us.¹ The translation by the Rev. Allan Menzies appears to be executed with care and skill. The volume treats of the dogmatic and hierarchical antithesis which the Catholic Church presents to Gnosticism and Montanism, the development of doctrine, the relation of Christianity to the heathen world and the Roman State, the ethical and religious principle contained in it, the contracted morality which impaired its action, and the original and subsequent forms of the Christian cultus.

On the heterodox side of opinion we have an elaborate criticism of the Mosaic Records of the Exodus by an anonymous author.² Disbelieving in miraculous agency, the writer necessarily rejects the traditionary tale of the forty years' wandering. Yet out of certain notices of the primitive history of Israel—in particular Jephthah's invaluable Record of Negotiation—he undertakes to expiscate the truth which lies in the ancient legend. His criticism is minute and ingenious, his manipulation of Hebrew words dexterous, but we more than hesitate to accept the details of his arguments. The identification of the true Sinai is an embarrassing problem. The derivation of the name which Furst proposes, סַיִן or *fissure*, seems to us etymologically superior to that of Buxtorf, בֹּשֶׁת or *bush*, which our author adopts, and Furst's derivation carries us to the granitic

¹ "The Church History of the First Three Centuries." By Dr. Ferdinand Christian Baur, &c. Third Edition. Translated from the German by the Rev. Allan Menzies, B.D. Vol. II. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1879.

² "The Hebrew Migration from Egypt." London: Trubner and Co. 1879.

mass in the Sinaitic peninsula of which Jebel St. Catharine is the southwestern peak. The rationalistic explanation of the appearance of Jehovah in the bush reduces the prodigy to an optical illusion : "The play of the sun's rays on the red sandstone produced the appearance of fire, while the bushes on the rocks remained unconsumed." Independently of details which provoke suspicion, the ultimate conclusion is a probable approximation to the truth. A nucleus of fact is, thinks the author, discoverable in the story of Joseph and the Exodus, though the true tale was travestied for the glorification of God and of the conquerors of Canaan. A number of Hebrews was driven by famine to settle in Egypt, and then reduced to servitude. After the lapse of a long period they obtained their liberty. Accompanied by a section of a friendly tribe, they then made their way across the desert to a land (Idumæa), which their ancestors had quitted, and at a mountain in that land (now called Jebel Neby Harun, the mount of the prophet Aaron, better known as Mount Hor, and pronounced by our author to be the true Sinai), concluded a covenant with the God whose abode that mountain was. Subsequently they forced an entrance into Palestine, invading and occupying the Trans-Jordanic region. This enterprise was confined to a portion of the conquering horde. Another division afterwards known as the men of Judah, assisted by the inhabitants of the country around Sinai, made an irruption into Southern Canaan. The meaning of the ancient nomadic expression for an indefinite period was forgotten, and the liberated people were made to subsist exclusively on manna, an exudation from shrubs growing on the sandhills of the Araba, or lower vale of the Jordan, until they crossed the desert, or according to the legendary account for *forty years*.

Our next book is still more heterodox, being a translation of Lessing's "Fragments from Reimarus," edited by Rev. Charles Voysey.⁴ Historically Reimarus must always occupy a high place in the annals of criticism. Of a lucid, penetrating, sagacious mind, he was great, almost heroic as a pioneer. Many of his views, however, are no longer tenable. In the absence of that light which a learned and laborious investigation has since shed on the records and history of early Christianity, Reimarus may be pardoned for the coarse crudity of some of his hypotheses. He is not, however, exactly the writer we should recommend to the refined inquiring few or the indiscriminating Philistine herd. We will briefly illustrate our meaning and the method of Reimarus. In the account of the Day of Pentecost given in the *Acts*, Reimarus perversely supposes the writer to say, not that a tongue of fire, but that the wind sat upon each. He accounts for the growth of Christianity by representing the Apostles as speculating impostors, who persuaded many of the rich to give up their property to the common use, and found a Savings Bank, in which the expectants of Millenarian felicity strove to buy shares in the kingdom of heaven. Among the shareholders in the Apostolic bank were Ananias and Sapphira, and Peter, finding part of their money wanting, called Ananias to account.

⁴ "Fragments from Reimarus." Translated from the German of G. E. Lessing. Edited by Rev. Charles Voysey, B.A. London : Williams and Norgate. 1879.

Overawed by the Apostle's assumption of importance "the man fell down, God knows how." The same fate awaited his wife, and Peter and his colleagues, instead of restoring the money laid at their feet to the lawful heirs, considered it a good prize and kept it. In accounting for the Resurrection, Reimarus assumes that Christ really died, and that the Apostles got rid of the body with all speed (the master and gardener allowing them to visit the grave day and night) and then announced the Ascension of Jesus and his immediate Advent, in order to utilise the idea to their advantage. This hypothesis is, we think, preposterous; but is the editor less absurd, when, as he professes, to do less violence to the narrative, he contends that Jesus, who was not really dead, was resuscitated "by the kind exertions of Joseph," was enabled to escape from the tomb in the disguise of the gardener's dress, and then fled away into Galilee? Is not Mr. Voysey aware that in none of the Synoptics do we find either garden or gardener, and that he is indebted to the late and unhistorical Gospel attributed to St. John for the suggestion of his horticultural hypothesis?

From the world of heresy and schism we pass into that of orthodox belief. The Archbishop of York has collected various essays and speeches, written or delivered by him, into one volume, bearing the title of "Word, Work and Will." The first of these essays is a reprint of an Introduction to the Speaker's Commentary. Though superior in quality to many hierarchical utterances, the volume is disappointing if regarded as the production of an ecclesiastic whose exalted position and acknowledged intellectual power create and justify high expectations. The problem of the three Synoptic Gospels in this essay is not satisfactorily treated. The Archbishop follows Reuss in reckoning sixty-eight verses in Mark which are not to be found elsewhere, omitting all mention of Schweigler's more moderate computation which limits them to twenty-four or twenty-seven. In Justin's writings his Grace finds only twenty-nine quotations from St. John's Gospel. If he will turn to the fourth volume of Zeller's "Theologische Jahrbücher," he will discover a more imposing catalogue, due in part to the united labours of the lynx-eyed Otto Bindemann and Kirchhofer. The Archbishop does not conceal from his readers that these quotations are anonymous, but he leaves them to infer that there is no doubt of their derivation from the Fourth Gospel. The same observation applies to his fourteen quotations from Mark. This derivation, however, is contested by able divines, both in England and on the Continent, and even a recent Bampton lecturer admits that the references to the Fourth Gospel are comparatively "remote and uncertain."

Nor is the treatment of the question of the inconsistencies and discrepancies in the evangelical narratives more satisfactory. Dr. Thomson apparently regards the artificial chronology, Matt. chap. i., as a mere unimportant omission, whereas in reality it is a premeditated suppression of fact to suit the writer's purpose. He sees

* "Word, Work, and Will: Collected Papers." By William Thomson, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York. London: Murray. 1879.

reason for believing that Mark made use of Matthew ; in which opinion he is right, but he does no justice to the cogent arguments of Zeller, Schwegeler, and Strauss, which leave little doubt that Mark made use of Luke as well. On the other hand, we are convinced, with Dr. Thomson, that Marcion was acquainted with St. Luke's Gospel, and this acquaintance is now admitted by the author of "Supernatural Religion," to whose book we are referred in a note. The Archbishop's vindication of Miracle is as disappointing as is his theory of Inspiration. He merely repeats the old chatter about God imposing laws on nature, indignantly protests against making man a machine, and boldly maintaining that if one wonderful thing happens many wonderful things may happen, declares that the head of Medusa, that is the uniformity of nature, has no terrors for him, and that modern science has not made the belief in miracles one whit more difficult ! Besides the Essay on the Synoptic Gospels, the Archbishop's volume contains a Paper on the death of Christ in opposition, as we infer, to the view held by a section of the Liberal Church ; and an address on the existence of God, in which the design argument is handled somewhat rhetorically, as indeed it is in another Paper, where, however, it is more directly and closely discussed. In the former of these Papers Dr. Thomson admits Kant has proved that the argument from Design could not amount to a demonstration ; so that we are brought back under this teaching to Carlyle's "Probable God." The other Essays are entitled "The Work of Life," "Sports and Pastimes," "Emotions in Preaching," "Defects in Missionary Work," and "Limits of Philosophical Inquiry," all suited to feed with food convenient for them those who seek religious sustenance within the ring-fence of ecclesiastical security.

Two volumes of Sermons will be found equally safe and edifying reading. Dr. Mozley's volume⁶ consists of parochial and occasional discourses arranged in chronological order. They appear to be characteristic, as the editor observes, of the writer's turn of mind and original way of viewing things. Mr. Cooke's volume entitled "Church Doctrine and Spiritual Life," indicates thoughtfulness, cultivation, and learning. Assuredly Mr. Cook is entitled to express his convictions in his own language, but we submit that when he calls eminent German writers "dreaming neologians" he misuses words, and substitutes invective for argument.

A third volume of Sermons by an anonymous author may be described as the production of a well-stored and refined intellect.⁸ Its Christianity is not the Christianity of the Churches, nor is it the

⁶ "Sermons Parochial and Occasional." By J. B. Mozley, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. London : Rivingtons. 1879.

⁷ "Church Doctrine and Spiritual Life." Sermons Preached in the Chapel, Lincoln's Inn. By F. C. Cook, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Canon of Exeter, &c. London : Rivingtons. 1879.

⁸ "The Origin of Evil, and other Sermons." Edinburgh and London : Blackwood and Sons. 1879.

Christianity of the Christ of the Gospels, but that of an idealised Christ; its God is not the Omnipotent Being in whom we were once taught to believe, but a God who is under moral obligations, and who could not have prevented evil consistently with his own wisdom and perfections. Instead of citations from Prophets, Evangelists, and Saints, our author's pages abound with quotations from secular writers, philosophical, scientific and poetical; Huxley, Tyndall, Lewes, Hamilton, Greg, the two Mills, Tom Moore, Shelley, and George Eliot, almost entirely displacing Jeremiah, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Zechariah, and other old authoritative acquaintances. From the author's point of view the subjects of the different discourses are effectively treated. A minute criticism would object to the abominable word *scientist*, and should a second edition be called for we would advise the author to be quite sure that Galileo was stretched upon the rack before he repeats the assertion.

Mr. Samuel Sharpe, who is known as a writer on Egyptian history and antiquities, seems ambitious of figuring as a champion of order in his criticism of "New Testament Literature." So sound is he in his theological views that he courageously adheres to the hypothesis which identifies the Claudia and Pudens of II. Timothy with the Claudia and Pudens of Martial's epigrams, thus coming into open collision with another bold champion of orthodoxy, Dr. Farrar, who pronounces "the whole theory an elaborate rope of sand." Nor is this the only point in which the two champions are at issue, for while Mr. Sharpe is confident that St. Paul was imprisoned but once, Dr. Farrar was equally confident that he was imprisoned twice. A single captivity, says the Canon, on the assumption that the Pastoral Epistles are genuine, forces us into a mass of impossibilities. Is Mr. Sharpe aware that Usteri, Lücke, Neander, and Bleek, were unconvinced of the authenticity of I. Timothy, and that about twenty critics, some of the highest eminence, regard the Pastorals, wholly or in part, as spurious? The authenticity of these Epistles, according to Conybeare and Howson, stands or falls with the release, travels, and second imprisonment of Paul; while Professor Jowett reluctantly admits that they have no hold on history, and that neither an early or late date will prevent their collision with the Acts of the Apostles. As a specimen of Mr. Sharpe's mode of reconciliation, we may adduce the case of Trophimus, who in some of the Epistles of the captivity appears in Rome at the side of the Apostle, whereas in Timothy Paul declares that he left Trophimus sick at Miletus; a contradiction which Mr. Sharpe disposes of by the amusing suggestion that Trophimus got sea-sick on the voyage, and was considerably sent on shore by the good-natured Apostle. Mr. Sharpe's reconciling criticism, we must explain, is particularly directed against Dr. F. C. Baur. To refute Baur's arguments, intended to prove a late date of St. John's Gospel, he thinks it sufficient to cite I. Cor. viii., where the word *gnosis*, or knowledge,

* "On the Journeys and Epistles of the Apostle Paul." By Samuel Sharpe, Author of "The History of Egypt." London: John Russell Smith. 1879.

is held by him to be conclusive as to the existence of gnosticism when the Epistle was written; though, in reality, the *gnosis* in the passage cited is the knowledge of Divine truth which the Apostle and all Christians possessed, and has nothing to do with gnosticism. Mr. Sharpe's principal expedient for reconciling differences and trampling Baur in the dust lies in the alteration of dates. One of these chronological improvements is effected by translating the words, *fourteen years after*, Gal. ii., *in the course of fourteen years*, in defiance of the authority of Chrysostom and of all scholars, so far as we know, with the exception of Stroth. Another correction is found in I. Thess. iii. 5, where the words: *I also sent* are interpreted by Mr. Sharpe, *I sent a second time*. In virtue of this correction our author is enabled to place I. Thess. six years later, than is usually done, here strangely enough agreeing in principle though not in date with Baur, as he does also in regarding Rom. xvi. in part as no constituent portion of the original epistle.¹⁰ As further samples of our author's exegesis, we may add that the Man of Sin of the mysterious passage in Thessalonians is the Nero of A.D. 57, and that the restraining power, there darkly imaged, is Seneca! Like Dr. Farrar, Mr. Sharpe gives us a chronological table of Pauline dates. Our readers may compare the two tables and draw their own conclusions. Till the orthodox reconcilers of difficulties are agreed among themselves, we may be pardoned if we decline to accept any of their ingenious manipulations, or to allow that they have refuted the arguments of the great theologian of Tübingen. In Mr. S. Sharpe's critical researches little or no dogmatic teaching will be found.

For the present standards of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Rankin refers us to the "Westminster Confession," the "Shorter Catechism" and the "Directory of Public Worship." Presbytery he regards as a protest against Roman corruption and as a return to the first principles of the New Testament. While sharing none of Dr. Rankin's predilections, we recognise in his "Handbook" a convenient repertory of facts;¹¹ and though written in a certain spirit of partisanship it appears, to be carefully and honestly compiled. Besides an historical sketch of the struggles, sacrifices, secessions, and extensions of the Scottish Church, the "Handbook" contains chapters on the Constitution and Courts, the Property and Revenue, the Gains and Losses in membership of that Church, a review of hostile arguments and a recital of testimonials in its favour, selected from the writings and speeches of statesmen, historians, and theologians.

M. Pereire, whose pamphlet on the Religious and Social Question¹² has been translated from the French by Miss Twemlow, is, like Dr.

¹⁰ Rom. xii., xv. 7 and xvi. 1-20, are under the title of "Fragments to Ephesus," separated by Mr. Sharpe, from the Epistle to the Romans, though their authorship is still attributed to St. Paul.

¹¹ "A Handbook of the Church of Scotland." By James Rankin, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1879.

¹² "The Religious and Social Question." By Isaac Pereire. Translated by Miss Tremlow. London: Elliot Stock.

Rankin, favourable to ecclesiastical influence, but with a considerable difference in his point of view. Leo XIII., dreams the French enthusiast, may possibly be the man who will close the reign of the 18th century, by reconciling religion with science. To effect this reconciliation the Church must eschew the tortuous institutions of the Jesuits, accept existing progress, regulate the march of industry now abandoned to a blind and immoderate competition, and establish an encyclopædical link between isolated branches of science. In the appendix to this pamphlet may be read the Pastoral Letters of Monsignor Pecci, archbishop of Perugia, on the Church and Civilisation, written in 1877-1878.

Mr. Frothingham, "who also looks forward to a time when the friends of the Church shall shake hands with the friends of Reason," has in his lecture on the Assailants of Christianity taken¹³ three or four of the most renowned names of the opponents of that religion—Celsus, Voltaire, and Paine, to indicate the temper in which the most famous of these assaults have been made, and the objects which the assailants had in view when the attack was planned.

"The French Exhibition of Horrors," is the title of a sermon on the sin of torturing animals, written with the pen of violent good-intention.¹⁴ For an instance of an ass and an angel both rebuking cruelty, we are referred to the story of Balaam. There are occasions, we suspect, on which the ass still enacts his part of the performance, while the angel unfortunately is conspicuous only by his absence. With this resonant invective against vivisection (a practice concerning which we shall not here express an opinion), we take leave to bracket a sermon on the modern aspect of the Sunday Question.¹⁵ In this sermon Mr. Raynor insists that the Sabbath was coeval with the creation; and that as the Dove was sent out three successive times at intervals of seven days, we are clearly justified in assuming that the Sabbath was known and observed in the Ark. Mr. Raynor apparently would acquiesce in "a return to something like the rigour and severe observance of the Scribes and Pharisees," rather than risk the consequences of the growth and increase of the present license.

An echo of an angel's voice may be heard here and there in the "Lyra Apostolica" of Dr. Newman and his fellow-minstrels.¹⁶ From a small and prettily got-up edition of this work of sacred song, we quote a passage to show that, if the angel still speaks, his utterance is not always as "musical as is Apollo's lute."

"Oh Shame! that Christian joins with Infidel,
In learned search and curious seeming art!
Burn we our books, if Christ's we be in heart,
Sooner than Heaven should court the praise of Hell."

¹³ "The Assailants of Christianity." A Lecture by O. B. Frothingham. New York: Putnam's Sons. 1879.

¹⁴ "The French Exhibition of Horrors: a Sermon on the Sin of Torturing Animals." By Rev. John Moffatt, Minister of the Scotch Kirk, Bayfield, Canada. Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co. 1879.

¹⁵ "The Modern Aspect of the Sunday Question." By Rev. E. Raynor, Curate of Marstone, Kent. London: Remington and Co. 1879.

¹⁶ "Lyra Apostolica." New Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1879.



These lines are borrowed from a poem called "Science," bearing the signature of & or John Henry Newman. We do not say that, from his own point of view, the eminent author was not right, but how anti-human, how inhuman is that point of view !

PHILOSOPHY.

THE contents of the new volume¹ of the complete edition of the extant philosophical writings of Leibnitz, the publication of which was commenced in 1875, are as follows :—The Correspondence between Leibnitz, the Landgrave Ernst of Hessen-Rheinfels, and Antoine Arnauld (1686–1690), between Leibnitz and de Volder (1698–1706), between Leibnitz and Des Bosses (1706–1716); and a series of Letters from Leibnitz to Nicaise (1692–1701). Only one out of the thirty-six epistles of the De Volder collection has been printed before. Many of the characteristic opinions of the illustrious thinker find expression in these letters, notably the intimate connection between the Leibnitzian Dynamic and Metaphysic. A considerable portion of the Des Bosses correspondence has also hitherto existed only in MS. preserved in the royal library at Hanover. Should equal editorial care be exhibited in the succeeding volumes, there is little doubt that this edition will become the standard of reference for future students of the Leibnitzian philosophy.

The present age is not unfrequently believed to be dominated by a restless spirit, which impels it to "prove all things," but such a belief, according to the honourable Member for Hertford, is simply a delusion of the Zeit-Geist.² Philosophy is now playing a similar part to that which she sustained in the Middle Ages. She then condescended to be the servant of Theology, she now aspires no higher than to co-ordinate the generalisations of the special sciences. The confidence of mankind, however, in the good workmanship of those who undertake to construct its spiritual home, is as misplaced now as then; and a not very violent sceptical storm will beat down the solid-seeming fabric erected on sandy foundations. The author endeavours to make good his assertions by a strict examination of the bases of modern science, the Law of Causation, and the persistence of the material universe, together with the constructive processes of sense. The inductive methods are usually valued as methods of eliminations of the non-essential. But how can they help us to

¹ "Die Philosophischen Schriften von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz." Herausgegeben von C. J. Gerhardt. Zweiter Band. Berlin, 1879. London: Trubner & Co.

² "A Defence of Philosophic Doubt: being an Essay on the Foundations of Belief." By Arthur James Balfour, M.A., M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

definite conclusions, seeing that a vast number of phenomena co-exist with every partial change? We gain nothing by having recourse to the dogmatisms of the transcendentalists. Transcendentalism can only assure us that any state of the universe, as a whole, is dependent on the previous state of the universe as a whole, but what we want to know is, what particular effects are due to what particular causes? Our author is no respecter of persons. He assails with equal energy Mill, Hamilton, Spencer, the Kantians. In an examination of various theories of an external world, Mr. Balfour endeavours to show that science has as little right to its firm trust in a persistent as in an orderly universe. The final judgment is, that the fair pile of science rests upon nothing better than a practical impulse. We must radically revise our conception of Nature, although how this is to be done the author does not inform us. It leaks out towards the end that this vigorous onslaught on current creeds is undertaken as a sort of "argumentum ad hominem," the "hominem" being the "free-thinking" anti-supernaturalist. As it is alleged that Religion has nothing better to say for itself than that it is the expression of a need, let hard-pressed theologians show that this reasoned Science traced to its source can produce no higher guarantee. The work is undoubtedly able, if at times somewhat oversubtle. We will concede that this much is proved—that Science is not Philosophy, and may not be judged in its own cause. A scientific logic, and a history of the evolution of the real, cannot be deemed substitutes for a genuine metaphysic which shall decide upon the ontological value of the processes and conceptions employed.

The industrious professor of Economic Science in University College, London, has recently published a revised edition of his "Theory of Political Economy," enlarged by a preface³ which will be read with much interest by students of the history of this subject. Professor Jevons, it is well known, has endeavoured to reconstruct the sciences of Formal Logic and Economics. But as in the one case he found, after elaborating his system, that he had been in principle anticipated by Beneke, so now he is constrained to admit that another, but more obscure, German has been before him in the practical department. One Gossen published in 1854 a book of 278 pages, entitled, "Entwicklung der Gesetze des menschlichen Verkehrs, und der daraus fließenden Regeln für menschliches Handeln," which seems to have been entirely ignored, even by his own countrymen, until 1878. In this work Economy is treated as the theory of utility, the law being enunciated "that separate portions of the same pleasure-giving object have very different degrees of utility, and that in general for each person only a limited number of such portions has utility; any addition beyond the limit is useless, but the point of uselessness is only reached after the utility has gone through all the stages or degrees of intensity." The treatment is thoroughly mathematical, and the close resemblance to Professor Jevons's conception of the scope of the

³ "The Theory of Political Economy." By W. Stanley Jevons, LL.D., M.A., F.R.S. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

science is freely acknowledged by the later author. Not the least valuable part of the present edition is a list of mathematico-economic books, which proves that the employment of mathematical methods and symbols is by no means so novel or unusual as commonly supposed in this country. The author abates nothing of his vigour in his closing section on "the noxious influence of authority." Whatever may be the ultimate judgment on the professor's own services to the cause of science, he will certainly deserve the gratitude of English economic students for having laboured so earnestly to enlarge their field of view.

Professor Knight⁴ is an intuitionist moralist, friendly to the doctrine of Evolution as a reasonable account of the history of the manifestations of the moral sentiment, but refusing to allow that it explains the moral consciousness itself. He professes to find in consciousness an authority that "carries the sign of its own absoluteness and non-contingency with it, in the imperial and autocratic manner in which it deals with any slight to its demands." Even those unable to agree with the author will admire his fair and conciliatory spirit. His speculative leanings are to Eclecticism, a creed which he strives to rescue from ill-deserved obloquy. The straits to which the upholders of a belief in personal immortality are reduced is shown by an attempt to revive the doctrine of Metempsychosis, as the only refuge from Agnosticism, or absurdity. We are sorry that one, who could exhibit the freedom from ecclesiastical prepossessions which is displayed in these Essays, should have condescended to the sophistical argumentation of the "Ethics of Creed-Subscription." If, it is argued, we subscribe a document, which we have not examined, we are untruthful, and likewise if we sign when our reason and conscience revolt against its contents; "but if we sign it, not only as a personal expression of belief, but as *the manifesto of a Church* . . . we escape from all untruthfulness." Does the inward authority, which "carries the sign of its own absoluteness and non-contingency with it, in the imperial and autocratic manner in which it deals with any slight to its demands," make no sign here?

The author of the admirable *résumé* of Mr. Spencer's Philosophy, entitled "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy," has collected into a small volume a number of very readable Essays, written in a clear and lively style.⁵ Mr. Fiske champions Darwinism very effectively, and administers a well-deserved rebuke to Mr. Mivart for his Old Bailey style of treating the illustrious Naturalist. One of the most interesting Essays is an account of an independent thinker, who should be better known in this country, a man who was probably the purest positivist that ever lived, Chauncey Wright. A discriminating review of Buckle's "History of Civilisation," written at the early age of nineteen, is, in our opinion, juster than the postscript written fifteen years later. In a foot-note to the youthful article we read "from the favourable estimate of Positivism which runs through it, I now of course thoroughly dissent:"

⁴ "Studies in Philosophy and Literature." By William Knight, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.

⁵ "Darwinism and other Essays." By John Fiske, M.A., LL.B. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

"the "of course," we presume, containing implicit reference to opinions of the author expressed elsewhere. There are, indeed, indications that the last epithet the writer would wish to have applied to him would be "Comtist." Perhaps there is even a needless warmth in his repudiation of the connection.

Sympathetic readers of the miscellaneous writings of the late Prof. Clifford will be glad to possess, in a suitable form, the brilliant and suggestive articles and lectures published in periodicals from time to time or as separate pamphlets.⁶ The collection is preceded by a short memoir from the pen of Mr. F. Pollock, which might perhaps have been made more attractive by the judicious interweaving of letters or other lighter literary remains. We are informed that it was Clifford's intention to recast the materials of these volumes, and publish them in a systematic form, under the title, "The Creed of Science." A sketch of contents is printed from the author's note-book. Clifford was one of the first to draw attention to the ethical bearings of Mr. Darwin's rendering of the Doctrine of Evolution; but his most important contribution to philosophical literature was unquestionably the Paper originally contributed to *Mind* "On the Nature of Things-in-themselves." It is too brief to be regarded as more than a series of hints, but hints less pregnant have often made the fortunes of reputed thinkers before now.

Since the publication of the just-mentioned volume there have appeared four lectures on "The Physiology and Psychology of Vision,"⁷ delivered before a popular audience, which bear witness in a striking manner to the great expository talent of the gifted teacher. In the absence of any good elementary introduction to Psychology from the physiological side, these lectures may be recommended as a specimen of the sort of thing a beginner needs nowadays, to enable him to place himself at the right point of view for dealing with the ideal-real propositions of Mental Science. The lectures have been prepared for the press from the notes of a shorthand reporter, and are usefully illustrated by Professor Foster, of Cambridge. The last of the four lectures, "On Boundaries in General," is somewhat discontinuous with its predecessors, but is excellent reading none the less.

Those who desire a succinct and popular statement of the theories usually held by empirical mental philosophers at the present time⁸ could not do better than peruse the pamphlet lately published by Mr. Charles Bray.⁹ Mr. Bray is not a "positivist" *pur et simple* of the stamp of Chauncey Wright, but allows his imagination to play round his facts, and does not refuse to employ the language of transcendentalism to render his thought coherent. At the same time, though professing an ideal Pantheism, the author is careful to inform us that "our only

⁶ "Lectures and Essays." By the late William Kingdon Clifford, F.R.S. Edited by Leslie Stephen and Frederick Pollock. In Two Volumes. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

⁷ "Seeing and Thinking." By the late William Kingdon Clifford, F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

⁸ "Psychological and Ethical Definitions on a Physiological Basis." By Charles Bray. London: Trübner & Co.

certain knowledge" is "our knowledge of pleasures and pains." It is too hastily concluded from this, however, that "Happiness is our Being's end and aim." The pessimists will hardly feel themselves annihilated by the summary arithmetic, "add up the pleasures on one side and the pains on the other, and the pleasures will exceed the pains by at least ten to one."

There is evidence of a good deal of vigorous reflection in Mr. Stinson's execrably-printed little book⁹, but a logical innovator must make out a better *primâ facie* case for a claim on the reader's attention, who requires the mastery of such an uncouth terminology as we are here treated to. The familiar nomenclature is discarded for such terms as homon, similical, heterical, commensura, gregaria, &c. Causes are defined as "the capacial gregaria of the aggregate existences from which given changes or effects spring." The author is sometimes curiously heretical; as, "in all propositions, we say that the copula is, means EXISTS." The syllogistic rule that "the middle term must be distributed once at least" is "not only of no value, but erroneous."

In "Is Life Worth Living?"¹⁰ we have a repetition of the old, old story: Woe unto you who seek to be enlightened! He who eats of the tree of knowledge shall surely die! "A horde of intellectual barbarians" (*alias* men of science) has fallen upon the fair city of faith raised by mediæval piety, and has wrought ruin and confusion where before all was harmony and order. As far as we can make out (it is not always easy to make out our author's meaning), the worth of life consists in the possession of morality, and morality is dependent on a supernatural faith—*ergo*, if a man declines to make the profession "Credo quia impossibile," his moral sense will become atrophied, and existence will lose its relish. Hartmann remarks that "the statement that the world has been called into existence that its denizens may comport themselves morally in it is logically on a par with the assertion, that a ball is given in order that the guests may array themselves in dress-coats and white cravats;" and Mr. Mallock appears to have adopted some such idea of the import of existence as is suggested by this simile. Although the author gives himself wonderful airs of superiority to most of the prominent representatives of contemporary science and philosophy, his book is lamentably defective both materially and formally, betraying a strange ignorance of the nature and scope of science, and abounding in what Mr. Mill aptly styled "the fallacies of confusion."

Should any confiding reader, however, lose his mental balance by making trial of Mr. Mallock's "Credo," he will recover his equilibrium on carefully studying a small volume from the pen of an anonymous American writer,¹¹ who has been at the pains to analyse most of Mr. Mallock's ambiguous premisses and awe-inspiring conclusions. Nor

⁹ "Organon of Science." Three Books in One Volume. By John Harrison Stinson, Esq. Eureka: California. 1879.

¹⁰ "Is Life Worth Living?" By William Hurrell Mallock, Author of "The New Republic," &c. Second Edition. London: Chatto & Windus. 1879.

¹¹ "The Value of Life." A Reply to Mr. Mallock's Essay, "Is Life Worth Living?" New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.

is the book *merely* a reply ; it is also constructive, and shows what human life really is and may be made to be, when energies, at present expended on fantastic and enervating fictions, are brought to bear upon the stern realities which are not to be conjured into non-existence by the wand of the most potent literary magician.

Mr. Spencer has decided to publish the remainder of the second volume of his "Principles of Sociology" in single parts, as they are completed; a proceeding sufficiently justified by the fact that, according to the author's plan, the various sections of this division of the Synthetic Philosophy are substantially independent treatises. The first seven chapters of the present issue¹² have already appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, that on "Titles" in foreign periodicals, whilst the remaining four are entirely new. Critics unfriendly to Mr. Spencer's working-out of the Doctrine of Evolution will probably find little to take exception to at the present stage. The conclusion reached is that ceremonial observances, however whimsical in appearance, have a natural origin and growth, and exemplify the law of evolution in their progressive integration, heterogeneity, definiteness, and coherence.

While Mr. Spencer is busily collecting and sifting the mass of material requisite for his sociological generalisations, ethical students may ponder over the last results of the synthetic philosophy which the author has had the goodness to summarise in advance.¹³ The reader of Mr. Spencer's previous writings will be sufficiently prepared for comprehending the drift of the present volume, and it would have been very regrettable had the long preparation, requisite for working out a science of sociology, prevented the world from benefiting by the author's mature views on the subject of morals. Regarding ethics as a portion of the theory of conduct in general, Mr. Spencer reaches its laws through an examination of its physical, biological, and sociological data, thus giving a basis to Morality firmer than can be supplied by the arbitrary will of God, or human legislation, or the empirical calculation of consequences. Theologians, Intuitionists, and Utilitarians will, of course, all be up in arms against Mr. Spencer, for he alleges that they one and all make moral science impossible by ignoring natural causation. G. H. Lewes said of psychology that it was in a similar condition to that of chemistry at the time of Lavoisier; we believe a still more unfavourable estimate might be given of the crowning science of ethics; and if Mr. Spencer's treatment has the effect of saving the large amount of useful energy at present expended in creating and balancing "systems" his Principles of Morality will not form the least part of his long philosophical labours.

It is rarely given to a thinker to be equally successful in dealing with the profounder questions of theoretical and practical philosophy. The genius which may have a keen eye for the entanglements of social phenomena, and by the aid of analysis, followed by synthesis, be able to construct a system of practical philosophy which may furnish both

¹² "Ceremonial Institutions : being Part IV. of the Principles of Sociology." (The first portion of Vol. II.) By Herbert Spencer. Williams & Norgate. 1879.

¹³ "The Data of Ethics." By Herbert Spencer. Williams & Norgate. 1879.

insight and foresight, may go quite astray when it has to deal with the primary facts of consciousness and the general theory of being. We are inclined to think these remarks apply even to so many-sided an intellect as that of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Followers of Mr. Spencer in the detailed working out of the problem of evolution will often be disposed to part company with him when he gets on the ground of metaphysics, as in his theory of an external world, and the disquisition on the Absolute. The most faithful disciples deplore Part VII. of the "Principles of Psychology," and a large part of "First Principles" will continue to be a stone of stumbling to those who desiderate a philosophy on a purely empirical basis. Mr. Guthrie performs a useful service in carefully analysing the premisses and arguments of "First Principles,"¹⁴ showing conclusively, we think, that Mr. Spencer has no business with his "Unknowable Absolute," that his system would be more coherent without it, and that even his relative postulates are not only insufficient, but contain metempirical assumptions. At the end of his own criticism of "First Principles," the author reviews several critical notices of the evolution philosophy by both friends and foes.

We do not know why the author of a "History of Pantheism"¹⁵ should conceal his name, as his book, although perhaps hardly adequate to so weighty a theme, is a very creditable performance. In the second volume we have a sketch of Modern Philosophy, in its pantheistic aspect, from Spinoza to the beginning of the present century. The difficulty of treatment lies chiefly in the vague connotation of the term "Pantheism," which may be made to include systems utterly alien to one another in their general spirit. Thus, the close conjunction of Leibnitz and Schopenhauer does not commend itself, and the author himself admits it is straining a point to include Berkeley in the present sketch.

Herr Tschofen is not the first, nor will he be the last, to point out the difficulties and inconsistencies of the philosophical system of Arthur Schopenhauer.¹⁶ But the value of the philosophy of Schopenhauer does not lie in its coherence as a system, but in the unflinching determination to reveal the hidden springs of human action, and in the ingenious attempt to find a clue to the puzzling labyrinth of the world in the deepest fact of conscious being. One may quarrel about the nomenclature, but if the Ding-an-sich is ever to be laid hold of, it can only be by a mode of apprehension less mutable than that which gives us the so-called laws of Nature. Herr Tschofen's main concern is with Schopenhauer's treatment of the two fundamental problems of ethics—Human Freedom and the Basis of Morality. With regard to the former Schopenhauer, as is well-known, follows his master Kant in asserting a transcendental, while denying an empirical freedom, diverging from Kant, however, in deriving the fact of free-

¹⁴ "On Mr. Spencer's Formula of Evolution as an Exhaustive Statement of the Changes of the Universe. By Malcolm Guthrie. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

¹⁵ "General Sketch of the History of Pantheism." In Two Volumes. Vol. II. London: Samuel Deacon & Co. 1879.

¹⁶ "Die Philosophie Arthur Schopenhauers in ihrer Relation zur Ethik." Von Johann Michael Tschofen. München. 1879. London: Trübner & Co.

dom from the consciousness of responsibility, instead of from the existence of a moral law; a proceeding possible to him in virtue of his intuitive apprehension of real being. It is the sense of guilt that tells us we are free. We blame ourselves, not because we have done this or that, but because we *are* this or that. It is the noumenal will in us which has committed the original and only proper sin. To constitute guilt, however, we must not only do a misdeed out of an original act of will, but we must also identify our personal will with the noumenal will. But, asks Herr Tschofen, is the cognition that we are agents the truth intended to be expressed by the term Responsibility? Oddly enough, while relegating responsibility to *esse*, not *operari*, the feeling of repentance is referred to *operari*. "I can," says Schopenhauer, "never repent what I have willed, only what I have done, because, misled by false notions, I did what was unconformable to my will." But how can this responsible, unrepenting will be said to be "free?" In no sense capable of application to the individual-will, but only to the world-will, and the freedom of the world-will becomes unthinkable directly it becomes a "Wille zum Dasein." With regard to the second problem, we think Herr Tschofen hardly assigns the principle of sympathy, or compassion, its due place in a complete ethical system.

Professor Frohschammer has tried to find a niche in the temple of philosophic fame by setting-up the hitherto neglected principle of "Phantasy," as the true Ding-an-sich. In the work¹⁷ that lies before us he aims at showing the precise part played by Imagination in two systems distinguished by their rational spirit. The object is undoubtedly praiseworthy, for there are probably few readers of Kant, at least, who have not been puzzled by the seemingly lawless apparition of the Productive Imagination. At the stage of the *Asthetik* the Imagination is active, calling into consciousness the pure forms of space and time, and shaping the material of sense; but even the categories are not dead rigid formulæ, lying ready-made in the recesses of the understanding, they are synthetic functions, which are brought into action by the transcendental exercise of the imaginative faculty. The author's review of the "*Analytik*" must, however, be read with care, for Herr Frohschammer is not superior to the temptation of interpreting doubtful passages in a sense more favourable to his own doctrine than the words of the original necessitate. Even in the *Practical Reason* the writer endeavours to show that the faculty of Imagination plays an important part, not only by giving form to the Categorical Imperative, but by vitalising the Will itself. In Spinoza the Imagination fills the gap between *Natura naturans* and *Natura naturata*, appearing both as connecting link, and as organ mediating the manifestation of the substantial affections.

Dr. Lindsay rightly describes his two bulky volumes¹⁸ rather as a

¹⁷ "Ueber die Bedeutung der Einbildungskraft in der Philosophie Kant's und Spinoza's." Von J. Frohschammer. Munchen: Theodor Ackermann. 1879.

¹⁸ "Mind in the Lower Animals in Health and Disease." By W. Lauder Lindsay, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.S. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.

collection of notes, "*mémoires pour servir*," than as a systematic treatise on the subject of Animal Intelligence. Considering, however, the backward state of the science of Comparative Psychology, so serious an attempt at the interpretation of the phenomena of animal life has a considerable transitional value. The author rightly calls attention to the arbitrary character of many of our psychological distinctions, and pretty plainly hints that Mental Science requires radical revision. He adduces excellent evidence to prove that the current idea of man being everywhere the apex of the animal creation is erroneous; that just as the so-called lower animals cannot be ranged in serial order, so many races of men fall below the brutes both intellectually and morally. The author is not very fertile in the construction of hypotheses. † We do not get many useful suggestions from him with respect to the large class of "unsolved problems in the psychology of the lower animals."

The author of an *Essay on Spiritual Evolution*¹⁹ is a scientific spiritist. He is well-read, if not very original, and his little book may be serviceable to some unable to see that "Evolution without reincarnation is a maimed and incomplete doctrine enough."

We would willingly subscribe to the dictum of the author of a little book on "Personality,"²⁰ that "without a metaphysical *ego* there could be neither memory nor sensation," if only its enouncer would admit the "ego" to be metapsychical, and did not require us to find it in consciousness. *Cogito* may imply *sum*, but both transcendentalist and empiricist have over and over again urged the confusion of the synthetic unity of apperception with the immediate perception of a real entity. "The positive ground is this: That we are sometimes conscious of ourselves; apprehending ourselves along with our state in the same indivisible moment of time." We may be abnormally constituted, but this is a feat we find ourselves totally unable to perform. According to the author, we are also "conscious of ourselves as free and creative agents." This large draft on consciousness must, however, be dishonoured, for the simple reason that until we have volition, we do not know that there is any will. To ask consciousness to tell us what the will is, or was, before it wills, is like asking a man to look in his own face; and it is the error of this "introspective" school to imagine that we can be at once spectator and theatre.

Mr. Bascom's book is rather inaccurately described as *Science of Duty*.²¹ There is a good deal of admirable reflection on moral ideas, and a rough attempt at classification of dutiful actions, but no attempt to reach ethical principles by regular induction, or to deduce moral

¹⁹ "An Essay on Spiritual Evolution, considered in its bearing upon Modern Spiritualism, Science, and Religion." By J. P. B. London: Trubner & Co. 1879.

²⁰ "Personality, the Beginning and End of Metaphysics, and a Necessary Assumption in all Positive Philosophy." Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1879.

²¹ "Ethics on Science of Duty." By John Bascom. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

actions from one or a few first principles. In the early part of the volume Intuitionism and Utilitarianism are balanced against one another, with the result of a preponderance of worth in favour of the former; but the Intuitionism thus preferred is the old *d' priori* Intuitionism which affords no foundation for a system of scientific ethica.

The new edition of Professor Veitch's translation of Descartes is distinguished from its predecessors by a lengthy prolegomenon on the philosophy of Descartes, and its subsequent development, extending to 181 pages.²² We cannot divest ourselves of the suspicion that this elaborate critical introduction is intended as a counter-blast to the English Hegelians. Descartes, with his philosophy of self-consciousness, is held up as the type of the sober-minded philosopher, while the absolute systems, from Spinoza to the present day, are condemned as not only theoretically indefensible, but as practically injurious. There is rather too much of the Professor of Rhetoric in this introduction. Phrases as "such an infinite is not worth the paper it is written on," "this is a system which can satisfy only when faith and hope have fled from the breasts of men," "is this conception at all adequate or worthy of God?" and the like, savour more of the oratorical temper of the pulpit than of the judicial spirit appropriate to the pure truth-seeker. We could have spared some of this preface for the sake of a little more of Descartes—such as the "*Recherche de la Vérité*."

Mr. Abbott has rendered a service to philosophical students by translating Kant's "*Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*,"²³ which has been hitherto only accessible to English readers in a mutilated form. We have now in one volume, in the English language, "*Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*," the "*Kritik der P. V.*," and a part of "*Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*." There can be no question as to the superiority of the present translations over those of the same portion of Kant by Semple. Mr. Abbot has prefixed to the translation a memoir of Kant, and some less useful remarks on the theory of morals.

Karl Rosenkranz was one of the earliest, most devoted, but most discriminating of Hegel's followers. An account of his literary labours has just been published by one of his colleagues,²⁴ giving the impression of a highly-cultured and many-sided mind. For a picture of the man himself we are referred to the autobiography published in 1873, which, however, stops abruptly at the twenty-eighth year. Dr. Quabicker pronounces the "*Wissenschaft der logischen Idee*" to have been his most important contribution to philosophy, being an attempt,

²² "The Method, Meditations, and Selections from the Principles of Descartes." Translated from the Original Texts. Sixth Edition. With a New Introductory Essay, Historical and Critical. By John Veitch, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1879.

²³ "Kant: Critique of Practical Reason and other Works on the Theory of Ethics." Translated by Thomas Kingsmill Abbott, M.A. Being an enlarged edition of "Kant's Theory of Ethics." London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1879.

²⁴ "Karl Rosenkranz. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Hegel'schen Philosophie." Von Dr. Richard Quabicker. Leipzig, 1879. London: David Nutt.

while retaining the fundamental conceptions of Hegel with respect to Thought and Reality, to effect a partial separation between Logic and Metaphysics. But perhaps the most original of his works is "Die Poesie und ihre Geschichte." It has had, however, it is remarked, the ill-fate to be little spoken of, but much plundered from. Rosenkranz had the not singular misfortune to be at once too much committed to the peculiar tenets of a school to influence the general public, and too independent to be adequately recognised by his own party. We are not aware that any of his productions have ever found their way into print in this country. *The Speculative Journal of St. Louis* has from time to time translated portions of his writings.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

THE title of the third of the series of "Diplomatic Sketches," by "Outsider"—"Mr. Gladstone and the Greek Question"¹—is not, we think, particularly well chosen. The book is really an essay on the question of the Greek frontier, prefaced by a retrospective sketch of the history of the modern Greek kingdom; and Mr. Gladstone is only referred to from time to time as the most eloquent and influential of the English supporters of the claims of Greece. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, in his great speech on the Treaty of Berlin, delivered in the House of Commons on July 30, 1878, and in the very moderate but weighty speech in which he supported Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's resolution on the subject in the past Session, has put the Greek case in a manner so forcible and exhaustive as to leave little to be added. The story is expanded by "Outsider;" it may be summarised here in very few words. During the Russo-Turkish war Greece was induced, by the urgent remonstrances of the British Government, to abstain from availing herself of a tempting opportunity for asserting her legitimate claims by force of arms, and her forbearance was obtained by the assurance that England would take care that she should not suffer in the end from adhering to a pacific course. The British Government, in apparent conformity with this policy, proceeded to suggest that Greece should be represented at the European Congress. Once at Berlin, however, the attitude of our plenipotentiaries suddenly changed. The Greek envoys were kept waiting in the ante-room, and after they had made their statement, we believe it was suggested that they were at liberty to retire. The proposal for a rectification of the Greek frontier, made by France and Italy, which would have practically included within the limits of Greece all those portions of Thessaly and Epirus which are inhabited by a population of Hellenic race, was rejected, mainly owing to the objections of the British plenipotentiaries. To the narrower scheme which was ulti-

¹ "Mr. Gladstone and the Greek Question." London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1879.

mately adopted our representatives gave a grudging and reluctant assent, only in order "not to disturb the unanimity of the Congress." Since then the Porte has done nothing to carry out the "invitation"—on the force of which word in the original French, "Outsider" makes a useful observation—of the Berlin Treaty; and, as our author points out, Safvet Pasha actually assured Sir A. H. Layard, and authorised him to communicate his statement to the British Government, that "it was the *final* resolution of the Porte to refuse the cession of any Ottoman territory to Greece." Meanwhile, the Porte being apparently determined to maintain a policy of masterly inactivity, a "collective mediation" of the European Powers had been suggested by France; but even this exercise of diplomatic pressure has been prevented by Lord Salisbury's opposition. Mr. Gladstone's words, uttered a year and a half ago, thus still remain, to our national discredit, as true as when they were first spoken:—"The Slavs, who relied upon Russia, have in the main obtained what they desired; the Hellenes, who relied upon England, have in the main failed to obtain it." We should add that "Outsider" points out that Janina, the possession of which town is really the most important point in dispute, contains a population of nearly 40,000 Christians and only 2000 Mussulmans. His book contains other useful statistical information and many valuable references; and we must not leave it without referring the reader to the author's ingenious theory of the motives and aims which dictated the policy of Prince Bismarck during the war and at the Congress over which he presided. If "Outsider's" suggestions are even partially true, the German Chancellor must certainly be credited with all the attributes of a modern Machiavelli.

Crossing over to Crete, we find Mr. Yule attempting to throw, from a point of view on the whole sympathetic, "A Little Light on the Cretan Insurrection."² It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary for those desirous of the light in question to go much further than Mr. Yule's preliminary sketch of Cretan history, in which he shows that, under whatever form of government, insurrection has always been a chronic, and indeed the most prominent, feature in the annals of that island. He also makes it clear that, after the re-transfer of Crete from Egypt to the Porte, on the fall of Mehemet Ali in 1840, the population enjoyed a really considerable measure of prosperity. Mr. Yule concludes that annexation to Greece would prove far from beneficial to the Cretans, and that their efforts should rather be directed to securing their practical independence under the nominal suzerainty of the Porte.

Mr. Brodrick, acting under the proverbially dangerous "advice of friends," has republished a series of "Studies" on subjects more or less political in character.³ We are disposed to agree with Mr. Brodrick's friends that some of the essays contained in the present volume deserve to be reserved from the ordinary fate of periodical literature;

² "A Little Light on the Cretan Insurrection." By A. F. Yule. London: John Murray. 1879.

³ "Political Studies." By Hon. G. C. Brodrick. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.

at the same time, the book contains several articles which we can scarcely regard as of permanent interest. The first two essays—on “Representative Government” and “Roman Colonies under the Empire”—strike us as excellent specimens of University prize essays, both on highly-interesting subjects, both accurately and thoughtfully written, but neither of them strikingly original in its contents. University history, too, like other history, repeats itself; and, if we recollect aright, a gentleman of the founder’s name won the Arnold Prize last year with an admirable essay on the Roman Provincial System, a subject practically identical with that which Mr. Brodrick, as a candidate for the same prize, successfully attempted a quarter of a century ago; and the younger writer, it must be remembered, enjoyed the advantage of the flood of light which Dr. Mommsen’s researches have within recent years thrown upon this and similar subjects. On the other hand, we are glad to see that Mr. Brodrick has reprinted the admirable letter to the *Times*, in which he defended the system of College scholarships and fellowships from Lord Salisbury’s extraordinary crusade against those ancient institutions. Another reprint from the same journal, containing a description of the debate in the Canadian Legislature on the Pacific Railway Contract, which led to the resignation of Sir John Macdonald’s Ministry in 1873, is scarcely likely to find many readers at the present day; and, in any case, an old scandal of this kind might well have been left to the ephemeral record in which it first appeared. The article on “Primogeniture,” we notice, though containing much useful information, is not free from some minor inaccuracies. Thus, for instance, Mr. Brodrick says that “Mr. McCulloch, writing in 1849, calculated that at least half Scotland was then entailed, though an Act passed in *the previous year* had already facilitated disentailing by provisions borrowed from the English law.” It happens, however, to be the case that the work of Mr. McCulloch, to which Mr. Brodrick refers, was based on an article of his which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1824, to which Mr. John Austin replied in these columns; and that it was published, in a greatly enlarged form, not in 1849, but in 1847; the writer’s calculations cannot therefore have been affected by the Act of 1848. In pointing out some minor blemishes in Mr. Brodrick’s work, and in expressing our opinion that his rather bulky volume would have been all the better for a little curtailment, we must not be understood as denying its general merits; the article on “Liberal Principles,” and the letters on “Liberal Organisation,” will probably at the present time be considered by most readers the most interesting portion of the book.

Mr. Somers Vine has published a very useful account of the growth and development of our municipal institutions since 1835.⁴ The subject of local self-government is one on which far too little is generally known, Birmingham, we believe, being the only municipality

⁴ “English Municipal Institutions; their Growth and Development from 1835 to 1879, Statistically Illustrated.” By J. R. Somers Vine, F.S.S. London: Waterlow & Sons. 1879.

which has found a *vates sacer* of its own. The first two parts of Mr. Vine's book are, we understand, mainly a reprint from a "Municipal Corporations Directory," &c., published annually, of which Mr. Vine is the editor. He also deals in the present volume with the various municipalities, during the period over which his work extends, under the several headings of area, population, franchise, police, health, revenue, education, &c. &c.; and a chapter is devoted to those interesting "survivals," the unreformed corporations, which Sir C. Dilke has taken under his special supervision.

Passing from politics to political economy, we have first to notice Mr. Baden Powell's book on "Protection and Bad Times,"⁵ which contains many remarks and suggestions deserving of careful consideration. He holds, for instance, that the position that young societies, if any, are the sole proper spheres for a protective policy, which Mill seems to advance in his work on "Representative Government," is really untenable, it often being equally to the apparent interest of an old-established State to encourage the development of particular industries by artificial means. The answer would seem to be that, while it may be argued that a young and unskilled community ought to protect *all* the industries and manufactures which local conditions render possible, on the other hand, in an old and highly-civilised State a restrictive tariff, except on *particular* articles and under special circumstances, can be proved to be obviously prejudicial. Mr. Baden Powell, however, argues very forcibly against the expediency of protection in the case even of nascent States, showing that their true interest is to exchange their raw material against the manufactures of older countries, rather than to compel their citizens to consume articles which, being secured against foreign competition, are practically certain to be both bad and dear. He gives a lucid account of the effects of protection on labour, showing, what indeed scarcely requires demonstration, that high wages, coupled with a restrictive tariff, while of no real benefit, even of an immediate kind, to the labourer, are necessarily injurious to the capitalist—and through him, we might add as an inevitable corollary, to those whom he employs. The last portion of Mr. Baden Powell's work is devoted to a careful, and on the whole encouraging, examination of the causes of the recent commercial depression; together with a discussion of the numerous remedies, both fallacious and effectual, which have been suggested in various quarters.

Mr. Brassey, dealing with the same subject as Mr. Baden Powell, though from the standpoint rather of practical experience than of scientific theory, comes to much the same conclusions as to our industrial position.⁶ He agrees with the former writer in considering that if our manufacturers will content themselves with moderate profits, and take pains to maintain the traditional reputation of British goods for excellence of quality, there is no reason to apprehend that we shall be beaten in any important branch of trade by foreign competition.

⁵ "Protection and Bad Times." By G. Baden Powell, M.A., &c. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

⁶ "Foreign Work and English Wages, considered with Reference to the Depression of Trade." By T. Brassey, M.P. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1879.

He points out that the recent bad times have not been without an alleviating feature in the great fall of prices, which has proved beneficial not only to the consumer but to the manufacturer, enabling him to purchase his raw material, and consequently to offer his goods, at a cheaper rate; and this, we are informed, is always the beginning of a new start, "as soon as the bottom has been reached." It is gratifying to know that Mr. Brassey considers, and adduces facts and figures which, as far as we are competent to judge, fully bear out his opinion, "that the apprehension that we are living as a nation beyond our means, rests on no solid foundation." His conclusion is based mainly on a comparison of the relative state of our imports and exports, with the interest on capital borrowed from England by our colonies and foreign States; at the same time he repeatedly condemns the extravagant expenditure and loose finance of the present Administration. We observe that Mr. Brassey agrees with Mr. Gladstone in the opinion, which the latter was recently so severely attacked for expressing, that the commercial supremacy of the world must ultimately pass to the United States; at the same time he thinks that "there is no immediate prospect of a competition which can be injurious to our own manufactures." The volume before us contains some very interesting information as to the comparative cost and efficiency of British and foreign labour. The results are, on the whole, by no means unfavourable to our own workmen, of whom, however, the writer fairly admits that, as M. Renan puts it, "*on a toujours les défaits de ses qualités*," a remark which may be illustrated by Mr. Brassey's account of the stalwart labourers in the Victoria Docks, who require their *five quarts* of beer per day. We can strongly recommend Mr. Brassey's book as containing a mine of valuable facts and figures, many of them derived from sources not easily accessible to the ordinary reader.

Five years since, M. Menier, the well-known deputy, published the first volume of a work on "*L'Avenir Economique*,"⁷ in which he dealt with his subject from a political point of view, developing the principle that national prosperity depends upon the assurance by the State of liberty and security to the individual. In the preface to the second volume, which has just appeared, and in which the prospects of the future are discussed from a more strictly economic standpoint, M. Menier illustrates the positions he had formerly advanced by a reference to the episode of the "16th of May" and its results. In the first portion of the present work, the powers and duties of the State in reference to the development of the national resources are discussed, and the result of the abuse of the former and neglect of the latter historically illustrated. M. Menier, we find, is no friend of centralisation, and contrasts its results, taking for an example the working of the department of *ponts et chaussées*, with those of the free development of local initiative and local responsibility in England. On several points the writer institutes a comparison between the French system and those existing in England and the United States; and grumblers

⁷ Menier, "*L'Avenir Economique*:" tome deuxième, partie économique. Paris: Plon et Cie. 1880.

at home may be glad to learn that his conclusions are by no means uniformly favourable to his own country. On some matters of detail as to English procedure and administration, M. Menier's information is not precisely accurate; but we have noticed nothing which substantially impairs the value of the results at which he arrives. He proceeds to discuss the French canal and railway systems, and the development of public works, with special reference to the extensive projects of M. Freycinet, while the last section of the volume is occupied with the important subjects of national wealth, revenue, and taxation. We have only to add that M. Menier, like Mr. Brassey, presents his readers with an immense mass of information, statistical and otherwise, which cannot fail to prove serviceable as well to the statesman as to the economist.

Mr. and Mrs. Marshall, both of whom, while resident at Cambridge, were well known as sound and able teachers of political economy, have published what the editor of the *Times* would doubtless call "a small but handy volume," on the "Economics of Industry," in which the theory of value, wages and profits is carefully and lucidly explained.⁸ The book, we venture to predict, will prove useful both to those who have no leisure to study the larger text-books, and also as an introduction to the subject in the case of students who hope to proceed to the more detailed works of Mill or Fawcett. It was probably a necessary feature in the scheme of the work which, as we understand, is primarily designed to serve as a manual for classes attending the Cambridge University Extension lectures, that, in order to keep down price and size, the print should be somewhat disagreeably close. We are glad to learn that so able an exponent of political economy as Mr. Marshall has withdrawn his resignation of the Headship of the Bristol University College. There is no subject of which the sound teaching, in an institution like that at Bristol, is of higher importance.

We have received the first volume of a work on "Copyright and Patents for Inventions," by Mr. Macfie, of Dreghorn;⁹ as the first volume deals exclusively with the subject of copyright, in the second, we should suppose, that of patent law will be discussed; the reviewer, however, is specially informed that the second volume has been delayed in order to give Mr. Macfie an opportunity for forming a mature opinion on the Bill, dealing with the law of copyright, introduced last Session by Lord John Manners. The contents of Mr. Macfie's compilation are of a highly-miscellaneous character, ranging from an account of the "Pure Literature Society" to the quotation of an article from *Truth*. The author, however, assures us that "irksome search" will be rewarded by information on two important subjects—we should ourselves have thought on a large and varied assortment of subjects. Indeed, after glancing through Mr. Macfie's work, we felt

⁸ "Economics of Industry." By A. and M. P. Marshall. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

⁹ "Copyright and Patents for Inventions." Vol. I. By R. A. Macfie, of Dreghorn. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879.

strongly reminded of the old Scotch lady—possibly an inhabitant of Dreghorn—who, after finishing a perusal of Johnson's Dictionary which had occupied her leisure moments for some years, remarked that it was "a very interesting work, though the rapid change of subject was apt to be bewildering." Mr. Macfie, we should add, is an advocate of cheap books for the million, and doubtless would feel little sympathy with the views on the subject expressed by Mr. Ruskin, if he ever happened to hear of them, which, indeed, is a most improbable supposition.

Herr J. P. Schneider, of Bremen, sends us a pamphlet on the Conference of Coinage held at Paris last year.¹⁰ We gather that this is the second *brochure* which the author has published on the subject, as he precedes it with a letter, reprinted from a Bremen journal, which letter he describes as forming the connecting link with his former pamphlet. We are thus unfortunately not in complete possession of the author's views; but his main object is to protest, as he does in very forcible language, against the demonetisation of silver, which he seems to regard as an imminent danger.

We are rather under the impression that Mr. Cavanagh, in his elaborate book on the "Law of Money Securities,"¹¹ has attempted to cover too wide a field. Thus, in devoting rather more than one hundred pages to the law of mortgage, the writer can scarcely hope to add very much to the knowledge derivable from any elementary manual on the subject. Snell, for instance, if we recollect aright, deals with the subject at considerably greater length than the scheme of Mr. Cavanagh's work enables him to assign to it. We cannot help thinking that he might have done better had he confined himself to writing a text-book, brought up to the present day, on the law of bills, bonds, and promissory notes; or on the law affecting Stock Exchange securities, stocks, shares, debentures, &c. At the same time, it is quite possible that some practitioners may find it convenient to possess in a single volume the information which Mr. Cavanagh has brought together; and, so far as we have been able to test his work, he seems a sufficiently accurate and trustworthy guide.

Mr. Forbes Johnson, of the Irish bar, has published a pamphlet, which it appears is the third part of a treatise on the "Science of Law," in which he professes to discuss the codification of the law of England.¹² It will perhaps be sufficient, as an example of Mr. Johnson's style, to quote his opinion that "the Bench have succeeded in establishing amongst us a system of jurisprudence, which I believe to be the most destructive to morals, and the most injurious to industry, that ever yet was forced upon a nation through the tyranny and ignorance of man." In Mr. Johnson's view, the judges should ignore all "points"—young men who raise points being, it appears, his particular abhorrence—and learn to study the conscience; in a word, the fusion

¹⁰ "Die Pariser Münz-Conferenzen von 1878." Von J. P. Schneider. Bremen: G. Rauchfuss. 1879.

¹¹ "The Law of Money Securities." By O. Cavanagh, B.A., &c., Barrister-at Law. London: Stevens & Sons. 1879.

¹² "How to Codify the Law of England." By W. Forbes Johnson, Q.C. Dublin: Hodges, Foster & Figgis. 1879.

of law and equity should be superseded by a confusion of law and ethics—that is, we presume, Mr. Johnson's ethics. We fancy that Mr. Johnson's *magnum opus*, when complete, will prove, judging from the present instalment of his views, rather a singular addition to our legal literature.

The action of "breach of promise," upon which Mr. Herschell somewhat unexpectedly persuaded the House of Commons to express an adverse opinion last Session, has found another opponent in Mr. MacColla, who informs us that his unpretending little treatise is the first book ever published on the subject.¹³ It contains some curious antiquarian information, a succinct account of the existing state of the law, with references to the principal modern cases in which legal points have been raised and decided, a very fair discussion of the arguments by which the action is commonly supported, and some rather feeble attempts at humour, consisting mainly in travesties of some recent actions, which might have been advantageously omitted. The following specimen of pleading, in an action brought by a father for an assault upon his son, some three centuries ago, may be thought amusing:—"For that on the 1st May in the 28th Elizabeth, he *vi et armis* strook him with a spade upon his back, by which he became decrepit and lame, by reason whereof he lost his marriage, and could not marry him as before, to his damages £200."

We presume, though rather doubtfully, that "Woman's Work and Worth, in Girlhood, Maidenhood, and Wifehood,"¹⁴ (the distinction between the first two terms is rather puzzling: is not a maiden a "girl?") a subject on which Mr. Davenport Adams has published a very substantial volume, falls within the province of sociological investigation. The fulfilment by the *beau sexe* of its natural duties has certainly always been regarded as essential to the well-being, and indeed the preservation, of society; the existence of corresponding rights it was perhaps reserved for the present age to actively assert. It is only fair to Mr. Adams to say that, though a hearty advocate of the "higher culture," in which view, within the limits of sound sense and with due regard to the laws of health, we thoroughly agree with him, he writes in no extravagant spirit; and the chapter which he devotes to an account of the educational facilities of a superior kind, now open to ladies, will probably be found not the least useful portion of his work. Mr. Adams also gives a very complete list of female celebrities in all ages, from Homer's heroines down to Miss Ellen Terry.

"Counsel to Parents"¹⁵ is the title of a little volume by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, of which the name is applicable only to a comparatively small portion of the contents, the bulk of the work being devoted to an exposure of the suffering and misery caused by precocious sexual indulgence, and to a plea for a higher standard of social opinion on the

¹³ "Breach of Promise: its History and Social Considerations." By C. J. MacColla. London: Pickering & Co. 1879.

¹⁴ "Woman's Work and Worth." By W. H. Davenport Adams. London: John Hogg. 1880.

¹⁵ "Counsel to Parents on the Moral Education of their Children in Relation to Sex." By Dr. E. Blackwell. London: Hatchards. 1879.

subject of the relations between the sexes. The advice to parents, as far as it goes, is sound and useful. The writer is of opinion that men, as a rule, should marry at the age of twenty-five; Aristotle, if we recollect aright, suggests thirty-seven, the period of life at which the philosopher is believed to have himself entered the matrimonial state. Dr. Blackwell does not seriously attempt to cope with the difficulty that, in the present state of society, marriage at the age she mentions is to a large class of men practically impossible; and we are also surprised that, in some of the conclusions on which she insists, she seems to make no allowance whatever for differences of individual constitution and temperament.

The earlier portion of Mr. Miller's book on the Riviera,¹⁶ contains an amount of twaddle and triviality which we could scarcely have believed that any sane man, even a Scotchman, would venture to publish. That Mr. Miller has absolutely no sense of the ridiculous goes without saying; but surely he might have reflected that the cautions and hints to travellers, which fill his preliminary chapters, not only are contained in every guide-book, with the somewhat numerous exception of those of which Boedeker or Murray would consider the mention superfluous, but that they could by no possibility be required except perhaps by some Cook's tourist of the baser sort, who had for once resolved to emancipate himself from the thralldom of "personal conducting;" and that a traveller of this type would be most unlikely either to winter in the Riviera or to purchase an expensive volume like Mr. Miller's. To give an instance of the subjects in which our author seems to have revelled, while visiting some of the most beautiful spots on earth, we should be glad to know of what possible interest it can prove to any rational being to learn that at Mentone the bankers gave 25fr., at Nice 25fr. 10c. for the sovereign, in cashing Mr. Miller's circular notes; that from one banker at Pau Mr. Miller obtained only 25fr. 5c., while out of another he succeeded in squeezing an extra sou; and so on for a couple of pages. We must also raise a protest against the writer's frequent allusions to domestic politics and to religious questions, and the expression of his personal views, which on the latter subject, as we might have expected, are of the narrowest kind; the introduction of such topics in a book of travel seems to us extremely out of place. Some of Mr. Miller's experiences of the manners and customs of the foreigners among whom he moved are startling for their novelty, others remarkable for their *naïveté*. Thus, he informs us that they are very fond in hot weather of opening the windows in the railway carriages; from the draughts thus produced, Mr. Miller, it appears, unfortunately "several times caught a cold," a disagreeable complaint to which he is doubtless constitutionally liable; we confess that we should ourselves on many occasions have been only too delighted to find our foreign companions in Continental railway carriages so appreciative of the benefits of fresh air. He also notices "a very singular custom which the German gentlemen have of tucking their napkins under their

¹⁶ "Wintering in the Riviera, with Notes of Travel in Italy and France. and Practical Hints to Travellers." By W. Miller, S.S.C. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1879.

chins and spreading them over the breast, like a row of babies with their bibs on," a simile which appeals to the imagination with singular force, or at all events proves that Mr. Miller himself possesses a highly-developed imagination. Mr. Miller is not, we rather fancy from one or two incidental remarks, a great proficient in foreign languages; but if he really supposed that all the foreign gentlemen whom he observed adopting this "very singular custom" came from Germany, he must surely have been struck by the abnormal development of travelling propensities on the part of members of that nation. Once more, our author mentions the "odious" practice of putting down upon the table "a case of what turns out to be toothpicks;" he asks why those who use such articles do not keep a "private pick," a question to which we believe and hope that individuals thus attacked would usually find no difficulty in supplying an answer. Our author's indignation reminds us of the story of a waiter at a third-rate restaurant in the City, who, when a customer remonstrated on the absence of the implements referred to, replied that they had ceased to supply them, "as the gentlemen *would* carry them away with them;" in any case, it is clear from Mr. Miller's strictures that he neither belongs to a London club, nor is affiliated to the "crutch-and-toothpick" brigade. Another singular remark of the writer's is that on Sunday—he is discussing the observance of that day—it was customary, at the hotels which he frequented, to serve at dinner "a course of ices or *some other rarity!*" Putting aside these puerilities, many of the chapters descriptive of towns in the Riviera and other parts of Italy are sufficiently readable, and may be found useful by those contemplating a winter in the South, who start with little previous knowledge of Italy. Mr. Miller visited Rome and Florence, Venice and Milan, but does not give, or indeed pretend to give, any information in the least valuable or original as to art, history, or antiquities; here and there, on the other hand, we find a hint which might prove useful as to the best hotel. A word of praise is certainly due to the illustrations; most of them, we learn, are from sketches made by the author, and on the whole we are inclined to prefer Mr. Miller as a draughtsman to Mr. Miller as a writer.

The name of Mr. Pendarves Vivian has to be added to the already somewhat numerous list of British legislators who have recently published their experiences of travel in the United States.¹⁷ Mr. Vivian's object, however, seems to have been less to study manners and institutions than to shoot bears and antelopes, in the attainment of which object he appears to have achieved a considerable measure of success. At the same time, Mr. Vivian is evidently a shrewd observer of local peculiarities, as his account, for instance, of the judicial system existing in the Yosemite Valley, and we fear in many other districts of the Western States, and of its practical results, sufficiently proves. Of the delights of camping out Mr. Vivian gives a glowing description, though in another passage he is constrained to admit that the practice has its disagreeable side. On one occasion, the author was com-

¹⁷ "Wanderings in the Western Land." By A. Pendarves Vivian, M.P., F.G.S. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1879.

pletely lost; and as he wandered about through the whole of a severely cold night, with occasional rests by the side of such fires as the fear of Indians would allow him to construct, and without having taken any food except a roll since breakfast on the previous morning, it seems clear that he owed his life to an exceptionally strong constitution. Mr. Vivian complains, with a sportsman's natural indignation, of the wanton destruction of the buffalo, for the sake merely of the hide, the market price of which has become so low as scarcely, we should imagine, to pay for the cost of these hunting expeditions, while an interesting animal, valuable also as an article of food, is threatened with extermination. We should add that Mr. Vivian gives us a good deal of information about mining operations in California, a subject on which, we take it, he is entitled to speak with authority. His book, besides numerous illustrations, contains an interesting geological map of some of the Western States.

Mr. Parker Gillmore, who has on previous occasions published some interesting accounts of his own travels and adventures, has now produced a work¹⁸ of which the heroes are creatures of his fancy—two young Englishmen and a Russian; at the same time, matter contained in the present volume is probably to a great extent based on the personal experiences of the writer. The main portion of the book is occupied with a very lively account of a caravan expedition, in search of buffalo and other game, over the American prairie, enlivened by occasional brushes with the Indians. Two of our heroes then take ship at California and sail nearly round the world, beginning by hunting whales and seals, and ending by being attacked by pirates and tigers. The scene then shifts to the trenches before Sebastopol, where a tragic episode occurs, and, in order completely to fulfil the promise of the title-page, the volume ends with a thoroughly melodramatic shipwreck. Altogether, Mr. Gillmore's book is one which pater-familias will doubtless find a useful addition to his library during the Christmas holidays.

The same may be said of another work from the pen of Mr. A. R. Hope, which we have received from the same publishers.¹⁹ This book also treats of struggles with the Red Indians of America, but Mr. Hope deals with the subject from a historical point of view; at the same time his work is full of anecdotes and written in a lively and interesting style. Combining, as it does, information with amusement, Mr. Hope's volume would prove an excellent school-prize for the lower forms. His narrative is substantially confined to the last half of the last century, and describes the struggles by which some of the States which have now attained the highest degree of civilisation, such as New York and Pennsylvania, were gradually wrested by the pioneers of European settlement from the dominion of the Red-skin.

Mr. John S. Hittell, of San Francisco, has favoured us with a copy

¹⁸ "Travel, War, and Shipwreck." By Parker Gillmore. London: Griffith & Farran. 1880.

¹⁹ "The Men of the Backwoods." By Ascott R. Hope. London: Griffith & Farran. 1880.

of the seventh edition of his work on "The Resources of California."²⁰ The author's view of that undoubtedly flourishing and rapidly progressive State are of a highly roseate description, as may be gathered from his remark that "I could not live contentedly elsewhere; and I imagine that neither the earth, the sky, nor the people of any other country equal that (? those) of this State." We learn that since 1874, when the sixth edition of Mr. Hittell's volume appeared, the population of California has increased nearly one-third, while the railway mileage has doubled. By English readers the chapters on "Society" and "Climate" will probably be considered the most interesting portion of Mr. Hittell's work; the author strongly recommends the air of California to those suffering from pulmonary complaints.

Passing from North to South America, we have next to notice a very readable work by Mr. E. D. Matthews,²¹ who, having been engaged as resident engineer in the construction of a railway in Central South America, and having some leisure on his hands owing to the temporary suspension of his engineering labours, employed it in a trip up the Amazon, and the less known Madeira River. The latter is navigated principally for the sake of the rubber, large groves of the tree (*Syphonia elastica*) which yields this valuable product being found on its banks. Mr. Matthews' description of the turtle swarming by thousands on the river-side is almost enough, we should fancy, to cause a special expedition, in the interests of geographical research, to be sent up the Madeira from the Mansion House; the City companies, with their usual liberality, would doubtless contribute to the cost of its equipment. Our author accomplished his voyage in a canoe manned by Indians, whom he seems to have displayed considerable tact in managing, mules being employed when the river ceased to be navigable. After passing through Bolivia—of the capital of which country, variously denominated Sucre or Chuquisaca, he gives an animated account—he reached the coast of the Pacific at Arica in Peru. Mr. Matthews' book contains some very good illustrations and an excellent map; and its appearance at the present time, when, owing to the sanguinary struggle between Chili, Bolivia and Peru, public attention has been drawn to the affairs of those States, is singularly opportune.

We have received an interesting account, by Mr. A. Leslie, of the various Arctic and Polar expeditions undertaken within the last twenty years by Swedish vessels under the direction and superintendence of Professor Nordenskiöld.²² To the narrative is prefixed a short autobiographical sketch by that eminent explorer. At the present time, the account of the recent voyage of the *Vega*, and the discovery by that adventurous vessel of a north-east passage, from which such valuable results may be expected, will probably be con-

²⁰ "The Resources of California." By John S. Hittell. Seventh Edition. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co. 1879.

²¹ "Up the Amazon and Madeira Rivers, through Bolivia and Peru." By Edward D. Matthews. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1879.

²² "The Arctic Voyages of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, 1858-1879." London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

sidered the most interesting portion of a work which is interesting throughout, and which should certainly find a place in the library by the side of Capt. Markham's little volume, "Northward Ho!" which we noticed in our last Number. The *Vega*, it seems, was detained in the ice for no less than 264 days, and we fancy that her enterprising crew are scarcely likely to find many emulators for the present. We observe, in an account of an earlier expedition, complaints of the reckless destruction of the walrus and other Arctic animals, which remind us of Mr. Vivian's observations on the threatened extirpation of the buffalo in America. We should add, that Mr. Leslie's volume contains an account of many of the interesting scientific observations, principally geological, made by Professor Nordenskiöld and his companions in the course of their various voyages to the North.

Mr. F. N. Streatfield has published a very readable account, written in an unaffected and agreeable style, of a ten months' campaign against the Gaikas—or, as he indiscriminately calls them, "Kafirs"—in 1877.²³ The subject is one in which we fear the public has ceased to take much interest, subsequent events in South Africa having relegated our troubles with the Gaikas into a comparatively insignificant episode of the past; but Mr Streatfield's account of his military experiences will at any time furnish pleasant reading for a leisure hour. Himself a civilian, he was suddenly called upon to command a peculiarly ragged regiment—speaking literally, we imagine that even rags were at a premium—of 250 Fingoes, the Fingoes being a tribe of friendly natives. The number under Mr. Streatfield's command was afterwards increased to 600, and he seems to have succeeded in reducing some by no means promising raw material to a very fair state of military discipline. During two months the author had the advantage of serving under Col. Wood, of whom as a commander he speaks in terms of the warmest praise; and he also had an opportunity of appreciating the high soldierly qualities of Major Buller. On one occasion, he had the honour of lending his blanket to General Thesiger—we give the names and ranks of these officers as they stood when Mr. Streatfield wrote—finding shelter for himself in a waggon of mealies. Of serious fighting very little seems to have fallen to Mr. Streatfield's share, unless, indeed, he modestly disparages the importance of the apparently trifling skirmishes, the successful issue of which seems to have invariably led to extensive "lifting of cattle," in which his corps of Fingoes were from time to time engaged.

It seems that "the Kennedy Family of Scottish Vocalists" are in the habit of "singing round the world," while Mr. Kennedy, junior, in the intervals of his song, makes notes for the benefit of the stay-at-home public of the adventures they encounter.²⁴ Their last tour was in South Africa, and seems to have been highly successful, while it

²³ "Kafirland: a Ten Months' Campaign." By Frank N. Streatfield, Resident Magistrate in Kaffraria. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1879.

²⁴ "Kennedy at the Cape, a Professional Tour through Cape Colony," &c. By David Kennedy, junior. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Publishing Company. 1879.

must have been extremely gratifying to the evidently patriotic Kennedy family to meet with Scotchmen everywhere in their travels, and to have an opportunity of celebrating St. Andrew's Day at Kimberley in the most festive manner. The account of the Diamond Fields, and of the iron town of Kimberley, will be found worth reading by those unacquainted with the more elaborate description in Mr. Trollope's work on South Africa; and the book also contains an interesting sketch of the Lovedale Institution, near King William's Town, under the management of Dr. Stewart, where nearly 300 Kafirs are educated and taught various handicrafts.

Public attention having been recently directed in an unusual degree to the position of affairs in Asia Minor, in reference to the engagements which we have undertaken with regard to that country, and the possibility of introducing reforms in its government and developing its resources, a little pamphlet which stands next on our list deserves a special word of notice. It seems that Dr. Krikor (or "Gregory") Arzruni, editor of an Armenian journal rejoicing in the name of *Mschak*, delivered at Tiflis, last spring, a lecture on the history, characteristics, and present condition of Armenia and its populations,²⁵ and Dr. Arzruni's lecture, evidently the work of a very competent observer, has been translated into German and published at St. Petersburg. Dr. Arzruni's tone is that of an ardent patriot, and he hints that the time may come when Armenia will be forced to free itself from the galling yoke of Turkish dominion by an appeal to arms; we can only express our hope that less violent means may be found of ameliorating the position of Dr. Arzruni's countrymen, and removing the grievances and obstacles to national development of which they complain.

Mr. J. W. McCrindle, Principal of the Government College at Patna, is engaged in the useful design of bringing out a series of translations of those Greek and Latin works which relate to ancient India, and now sends us a volume containing his rendering of the well-known "Periplus" of the Erythræan Sea,²⁶ vulgarly ascribed to Arrian, and of Arrian's account of the voyage of Nearkhos from the mouth of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf. Mr. McCrindle tells his readers all that is known of the probable date and authorship of the Periplus, which is attributed to an Egyptian trader, and supposed to have been written about A.D. 80, and his translation is enhanced in value by the useful prefatory account of the various commercial products mentioned in the work, and by the notes, mostly geographical, which he has appended to the text.

"Sporting Sketches at Home and Abroad,"²⁷ a series of papers of which the majority are reprinted from a weekly journal, should

²⁵ "Die ökonomische Lage der Armenier in der Türkei." Von Dr. Krikor Arzruni, übersetzt von A. Amirchanjan. St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1879.

²⁶ "The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythræan Sea." By J. W. McCrindle, M.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

²⁷ "Sporting Sketches at Home and Abroad." By "Bagatelle." London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen. 1879.

certainly be found capable of fulfilling the modest aspiration expressed by the author in his preface. All of the stories are readable enough, even if some of the feats recounted prove a little difficult to digest. The Indian sketches are, we think, on the whole the best part of the book. The writer should not talk about people being armed "*cap-d-pie*," the phrase is neither French nor English.

We have also to acknowledge the Calendar for 1879-80, of Queen's College, London,²⁸ an institution intended, we perhaps ought to add, for the general education of ladies, and the granting of certificates in various departments of knowledge. Some notes, drawn up for the use of the Revenue Department of the Nazim's Government, on the social and economic condition of agriculturists of the district of Aurungabad in the dominions of the Nizam,²⁹ the author being a native member of the Civil Service, whose name, unless the printer betrays us, will be found accurately set forth below, and whose pamphlet contains some interesting information, as to which we should be glad to know whether it is applicable only to the district specially referred to. Some further instalments of useful statistical publications, issued by the Italian Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce,³⁰ to which the space at our disposal enabled us to refer more fully in our last Number. The report for 1879 of the Howard Association,³¹ a society which, we believe, is doing a good deal of useful work in an unassuming fashion, and which we regret to learn is suffering from an adverse balance-sheet. Some notes, by General Hewson, on the projected Canadian Pacific Railway.³² An indignant poem on the Zulu War, preceded by a flattering dedication to Mr. Gladstone, and a choice assortment of quotations, varying from the Lamentations of Jeremiah to the Lays of Macaulay, the author of which remarkable production describes himself as a Negro-graduate of University College, Oxford.³³ And a pamphlet on "Religion in Schools,"³⁴ to which no publisher's name is attached, but which purports to have been printed by Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant.

²⁸ "Queen's College, London : Calendar for 1879-80." London : Macmillan & Co. 1879.

²⁹ "Notes on the Agriculturists of the District of Aurungabad." By Furdoonji Jamshedji. Bombay : "Times of India" Office. 1879.

³⁰ "Annali di Statistica." Serie 2^a. Vols. IV., V., VII., VIII. Roma : Tip. Eredi Botta. 1879. "Bilanci Provinciali." Roma : Tip. Genniniana. 1879. "Popolazione : Movimento dello Stato Civile." *Ibid.* 1879. "Movimento della Navigazione." Roma : Tip. Elzeviriano. 1879.

³¹ Howard Association Report, 1879.

³² "Notes on the Canadian Pacific Railway." By General M. Butt Hewson. Toronto : Boyle. 1879.

³³ "Reflections on the Zulu War." By a Negro, B.A., of University College, Oxford, and the Inner Temple. London : Glaisher.

³⁴ "Religion in Schools : a Letter addressed to Sir Charles Reed, Chairman of the London School Board."

SCIENCE.

A LITTLE volume on the History of the Air, by M. Albert Levy, gives the most excellent popular account of the physical, chemical, and vital properties of the air, which has come under our notice.¹ Written in the most simple language, it gives a systematic account of all the great discoveries concerning the atmosphere, as well as a description of the instruments with which experiments may be repeated, and these explanations are greatly indebted for clearness to figures of physical and chemical apparatus, of which the author has freely availed himself. The first part, treating of the physical properties of the air, is divided into six chapters; forms nearly half the book, and discusses the weight, elasticity, temperature of air; the phenomena of heat, light, sound, and electricity; the form of the atmosphere, and the height to which it extends. The second part, on the chemical composition of air, consists of five chapters, which discuss oxygen and nitrogen, carbonic acid and aqueous vapour, nitrous compounds and ozone, atmospheric dust, and the formation of the atmosphere. The third part comprises three chapters, which relate to the action of air on men, animals and plants, and fermentation. There is a fourth part, entitled notes, which consists of interesting and valuable information for the student, usually of a more technical kind than that contained in the body of the work. The volume gives just that knowledge which every educated person should possess, in a form probably as attractive as could have been given to it, and it may be safely left to make its way on its merits.

Guillemin's astronomical treatises have attained so great a reputation in this country that his new book on the stars is sure to be received with interest.² It is a remarkably clear, simple, and instructive little volume, which may be confidently recommended as an excellent guide to a knowledge of the heavens. It extends to 254 octavo pages, and is divided into seven chapters, preceded by a short introduction. The first chapter treats of general questions concerning stars, such as their twinkling, apparent fixity of position, classification according to relative size, measurement of the intensity of their light, and observation of stars by means of the naked eye and by the telescope. The second chapter is devoted to constellations, and after a short account of their origin and history, treats of them with the help of excellent maps, as arranged in zones. Next succeed an explanation of the distances of stars and the modes in which star-distance is measured. The fourth chapter discusses the proper motions of stars, and the remaining chapters are devoted to double, multiple, and variable stars and to

¹ "Histoire de l'Air." Par Albert Lévy, ancien élève de l'École polytechnique, Physicien titulaire à l'Observatoire de Montsouris. Orné de 37 gravures. Paris: Germer, Baillière et Cie.

² "Petite Encyclopédie populaire." Par Amédée Guillemin. Les Étoiles; notions d'Astronomie sidérale. Ouvrage illustré de 63 figures gravés sur bois, d'une carte céleste et d'une planche colorée. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1879.

stellar light. The volume is well illustrated, and is calculated to meet the wants of that large reading class for whom a reliable account of the heavens in a popular form has become not only a pleasure but almost one of the necessities of life.

A work on Alpine plants, distinguished for the remarkable beauty and faithfulness of its coloured plates, has been produced by Joseph Seboth, aided by the late and present directors of the Botanic Garden at Gratz.³ The volume, carefully revised by Professor Kerner of Vienna, has been edited in English by Mr. A. W. Bennett. There is a short introduction, to which succeeds a brief account of those circumstances of Alpine plants which most arrest the traveller's attention. These observations are given under the heads of the native home of Alpine plants; their cultivation, pot-culture, window-gardening, and their propagation; concluding with a list of the species adapted for cultivation, with indications of the soil in which they grow best. The remainder of the text, from page 18 to 67, is occupied with short, clear descriptions of the plants, which are drawn in the several plates with a brief mention of their habit, flowering time, and distribution in the several chains of the Alpine system.

The present volume includes, among other types, many of the ranunculacæ, the Alpine poppy, violets, Alpine pink, Alpine rose, and other rosaceous plants; the saxifrages, valerians, aster, wormwood, arnica, species of Hieracum, campanulas, azalea, rhododendrons, gentians, primulas, daphne, and orchids. The frontispiece is an excellently coloured view of Mont Blanc. Whether, from the traveller or student, or lover of plants, or collector of beautiful books, this volume is certain of a hearty welcome, for nothing so beautiful and tasteful, and adapted for the wants of the general public by its brevity and literary excellence, has ever come under our notice.

The Report on the Meteorology of India in 1877 by Mr. Eliot⁴ extends to 173 pages, and contains three maps which show the chief meteorological phenomena of temperature, pressure, and wind direction for each of the months of the year. There are also two appendices, extending to 375 pages. The volume gives a history of atmospheric phenomena in the Indian region during a year of more than ordinary interest, for 1877 was characterised by prolonged high pressure over the Indian area, and the rains which are usually brought by the southwest monsoon almost entirely failed, so that famine threatened until copious rains in October somewhat counterbalanced the failure of the hot weather crops in Upper India. In Southern India, which suffered from prolonged drought and famine in 1876 and the beginning of 1877, copious rains, commencing in September and lasting through the cold weather, terminated the troubles. The positions of the dif-

³ "Alpine Plants, Painted from Nature." By Joseph Seboth. Edited by Alfred W. Bennett, M.A., B.Sc., F.L.S., Lecturer on Botany at St. Thomas's Hospital. With Introduction by F. Graf, of Gratz. Vol. I. containing 100 Plates. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen.

⁴ "Report on the Meteorology of India in 1877." By John Eliot, M.A., Officiating Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. Third Year. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. 1879.

ferent stations where observations are made are described, and the meteorology of the year is treated of under the usual headings of temperature of solar radiation, temperature of nocturnal radiation, air temperature, atmospheric pressure, anemometry, hygrometry, cloud proportion, and rainfall. To these discussions are added a few pages of general conclusions, chiefly devoted to showing the general regularity of the atmospheric phenomena, the influence of sun-spots, and a note from a paper by Mr. Lydder on the snowfall of the Western Himalayas. In the mountains of Cashmere the snow in 1877, at a height of 10,000 feet, fell to a thickness of thirty or forty feet. This unusual fall destroyed vast numbers of wild animals, and blocked the passes for months later than the period when they are usually open. It would be difficult to speak in too high terms of the admirable and scientific manner in which vast masses of detailed facts are here discussed and generalised.

An elaborate Report on the Madras Cyclone of May, 1877, made by Mr. Eliot, extends to 117 pages, to which are added 97 pages of appendices and 5 pages of plates.* As may be known, the Indian year consists of the rainy period, or season of the south-west monsoon, which lasts from May to October, and the dry season lasting from October to May. In the latter period the barometer is higher over the North of India than over the Bay of Bengal or Arabian Sea. Those waters are then belts of calms, not unlike the doldrums of the Atlantic. During the height of the north-east monsoon the winds in the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea are both from the north-east, except near the land. The change from one monsoon to the other implies a reversal of the barometric pressures and direction of the wind over a large part of Southern Asia. Consequently, the periods of change in the monsoons are periods when the barometric pressure is approximately uniform. The first transition lasts five or six weeks, and includes the month of April and the first half of May. The second transition period is shorter, and limited to the month of October. Cyclones are most common in the Bay of Bengal during these two periods; and the probability of their occurrence in the latter period, as compared with the former, is as three to two. In the April transition period the barometer stands constantly for weeks at about 29.9 inches, but the pressure diminishes rapidly to the north-west corner of the Bay of Bengal, and the mean temperature of the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea is 82° or 83° , with a daily range of only 8° . The westerly winds from the North-West Provinces, the south-west winds from the Bay of Bengal, and the easterly winds from Assam, all converge towards Bengal, producing a rotatory circulation of the air to the south-west of the great bend of the Ganges at Rajmehal. In the May cyclone the velocity of the wind was unusually small, owing to the weakness of the land and sea breezes, so that the usual condition of calm preceded the disturbance. The rainfall commenced in the

* "Report on the Madras Cyclone of May, 1877." By J. Eliot, Esq., M.A., Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal. Folio. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. 1879.

south and south-east of the Bay, and gradually extended over it. The anti-cyclonic motion of the lower atmosphere and high barometer were reversed, and the intensity of the cyclone was proportionate to the intensity of the rainfall. Day by day the author traces the development of changes in the atmospheric phenomena, and finds that the disappearance of the cyclone and cessation of rain were simultaneous. Twenty-two cyclones are recorded to have happened in different years in the month of May in the Bay of Bengal, and nearly the whole of these have advanced from the centre or south of the Bay towards the Madras coast, or the western coast of Bengal. Cyclones also happen in the month of June; they are relatively much less frequent, but advance towards the Bengal coast. Of the thirty-one cyclones which have happened in the month of October, fourteen struck the southern Coramandel coast, and eleven the north-west angle of the Bay of Bengal. An analysis of the recorded storms shows that severe cyclones occur at or near the period of a minimum development of sun-spots, so that no cyclone of any severity is expected on the Bengal coast during the next seven years. It is remarkable that the cyclones in the southern part of the Indian Ocean should be most intense at or near the maximum period of sun-spots. In the eighth chapter the author discusses the causes of cyclone generation, and especially differs from the views of Dr. Hann. Mr. Ley had already shown that in Western Europe the cyclonic disturbance follows the line of rainfall, the heaviest fall occurring some distance in front of the centre of the cyclone. And the author concludes that cyclones are formed in consequence of condensation of air and rain, which, producing a strong in-draft from the Indian Ocean at the entrance to the Bay, gives rise to strong winds and heavy rains on the coast of Ceylon. The path of the vortex of the cyclone is the line of least motion in the atmosphere, and over the sea is approximately straight. The intense motion is almost confined to the lower layers of the air. No cyclone from the Bay of Bengal has ever crossed a mountain range, and but one cyclone has ever crossed the peninsula of India, and that passed by the Palgaht Gap, and was traced to 60° E. long. in the Arabian Sea. It would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of this almost exhaustive memoir, which cannot but prove of the greatest value to meteorologists as well as to those practically interested in the variable atmospheric phenomena of the Bay of Bengal.

Mr. Mellard Reade has reprinted three Geological Papers⁶ in a little volume of sixty-one pages, in which he deals with the influence of rain in dissolving and carrying away the rock substances of the earth's surface, and attempts to estimate on these data the duration of past time, of which the known geological formations are evidence. In the first Paper, which was originally an Address to the Liverpool Geological Society, many interesting facts are recounted: thus, in the basin of the Thames, which has a rainfall of about twenty-seven inches, nineteen inches are absorbed by the porous rocks of the valley, and only

⁶ "Chemical Denudation in relation to Geological Time." By T. Mellard Reade, C.E., F.G.S., F.R.I.B.A., &c. London: David Bogue. 1879.

about eight inches drain directly off the land to the sea. In the regions of older and more compact rocks, such as Wales and Cumberland, where the rainfall is much heavier, only about ten inches are absorbed by the earth. Calculating the mean quantity of rain which falls in the several parts of the country, and the per-centage of solids contained in the water of each district, he arrives at the conclusion that 8,370,630 tons of soluble matter are carried every year to the sea from the surface of England and Wales. The mean rainfall is taken at thirty-two inches, of which 13·7 inches are evaporated, and 18·3 inches find their way to the coast. If this denudation took place uniformly over the whole surface of the country, nearly 13,000 years would be required to reduce its level one foot by the solvent chemical action of rain. Almost the same result had previously been arrived at for the basin of the Thames by Professor Prestwich. The author then turns to the Continent of Europe, and considering the area occupied by each of the groups of geological formations and the rainfall of the several countries, gives us the amount of soluble solids carried away by the principal rivers. And carrying his survey to some of the chief rivers of other parts of the world, points out the nature and amount of the chemical and mechanical denudation now going on. The second Paper, on the Geological Significance of the *Challenger* Discoveries, is more speculative and less interesting; but the third paper, "Limestone as an Index of Geological Time," follows out more fully the general question which the first essay treats of, with the result that six hundred millions of years must be allowed for the accumulation of the known geological formations. We cannot but think a subject of this magnitude requires for its successful treatment a far larger array of facts, as well as a more systematic discussion of them in detail, before conclusions such as this can be regarded as worth serious discussion. Nevertheless, the attempt made by the author is an interesting inroad into a little worked line of speculation, and the work will prove valuable to all who concern themselves with hypothetical questions of this kind.

The fossil corals, though often eagerly collected on account of their beautiful forms and the ease with which slices are cut and polished, have always been a more difficult subject of scientific study than most of the other groups of lower animal life. Nearly thirty years ago the celebrated French naturalists, Milne-Edwards and Haime, introduced order into this branch of palæontology, by describing the whole of the British fossil corals which were then known. Among the other groups into which the vast assemblage became divided by them was one in which the coral, when broken or cut, was seen to be divided by transverse horizontal partitions or tabulæ, and to this group they gave the name of Tabulata. For a long time the division appeared to be a convenient and not unnatural one, but certain living representatives of the type came to be studied, and then the structure of the Tabulata corals was found to be common, not only to other divisions of the coral order, but also to animals which were not corals at all, but were referable to the allied order named Hydrozoa. Thus, Professor Agassiz, as early as 1858, showed that the living Milli-

pora belong to the Hydrozoa, and it has since been proved by Mr. Moseley that other genera are allied to the living Alcyonaria, some of which are common on our coasts. These views, powerfully supported by the studies of Professor Martin Duncan and other naturalists, have gone far to destroy the Tabulata division of corals, and to render necessary a new study of their structure, with a view to placing them in their true systematic positions. 'Such a study, by the new method of making slices which would display the internal anatomy of the skeleton, and permit its often microscopic characters to be clearly defined, has been made by Professor Nicholson, and the results are given in a sumptuous volume of 342 pages, illustrated with forty-four excellent woodcuts, and fifteen carefully drawn plates.' Although a technical work, appealing especially to the scientific student, it is a volume which will place the study of this group of animals on a sound basis, and make it accessible and intelligible to all collectors. The author divides these corals into twelve groups or families, each of which is first defined and explained in the introductory chapter on classification. Then each of the fossil families is taken in succession. More than a hundred and fifty pages are devoted to the genera which are related to the massive hemispherical coral called Favosites, of which there are about twenty known types. A chapter is devoted to the structure, characteristics, and general history of each family, and then follows an account of the genera, with descriptions of one or more species in which the characters of the group are well shown. It is a work which reflects great credit on its author, not only for its laborious research and the systematic adoption of the comparatively new method of microscopic study, but also a contribution of permanent value to the literature of this branch of palæontology.

The new edition of Professor Nicholson's "Manual of Palæontology,"⁸ first published seven years ago when the author was in Toronto, has undergone no change of plan, but both text and illustrations have been largely augmented, so as now to form two substantial volumes, each running to more than five hundred pages. The discoveries of the last ten years have received a certain amount of notice, though the plan of the book has often precluded more than slight reference to each. Still, as the work stands, it is the only introduction to the study of fossils in our language which can be taken up with advantage by young students and readers of ordinary education. Indeed, it may be said to appeal far more to the general reader than to the scientific student, for the author has introduced a large amount of general natural history into the work, and many illustrations of

⁷ "On the Structure and Affinities of the 'Tabulata Corals' of the Palæozoic Period." With Critical Descriptions of Illustrative Species. By H. Alleyne Nicholson, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Professor of Natural History in the University of St. Andrews. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1879.

⁸ "A Manual of Palæontology, for the Use of Students, with a General Introduction on the Principles of Palæontology." By Henry Alleyne Nicholson, M.D., D.Sc., &c., Professor of Natural History in the University of St. Andrews. Second Edition, revised and greatly enlarged. In 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1879.

living animals and their structures, so as to enable readers to dispense with a preliminary knowledge of zoology, such as the scientific student would in the majority of cases be already acquainted with. But at the end of each chapter or section of the treatise, a list, generally well chosen, is given of the more important books and memoirs which students may refer to, who desire to add to their knowledge by consulting original materials. It will seem to be unfortunate that so many of the illustrations should be taken from foreign sources, when the knowledge conveyed by figures of British fossils would have been of incalculably greater use to the student. The conception of the work, as covering the whole field of palæontology is, perhaps, too ambitious for satisfactory treatment in the somewhat popular manner which the author has adopted, and yet there are frequent references to animals and genera which are not described, concerning which the reader learns nothing but the name, and perhaps the geological formation in which the type is found. Twenty years ago, a work so conceived would have been invaluable, but knowledge has not merely come to cover a wider field in these days, but has become more profound, and, as may be seen by reference to Examination Papers, set in the Natural Sciences, Tripos at Cambridge, or in the Higher Examinations of the Royal School of Mines, a better kind of knowledge is now required from advanced students than could be obtained from Professor Nicholson's Manual. One considerable defect of another kind lies in the author's deficiency in the critical faculty necessary in dealing with disputed questions, for though contending views are often stated, he rarely enunciates conclusions of his own, such as might be expected by students from a professor who has not merely consulted memoirs, but assimilated knowledge with a view to give the history of scientific results. Although the work has been revised and many blemishes removed, there are still a few oversights, such as retaining the genus *Ornithopterus* for *Pterodactyles*, supposed to have only two phalanges in the wing finger; but the most important defects of this kind are matters of omission of new knowledge, explained, perhaps, in part by the long time which has elapsed, as stated in the preface, since the work was written. The book is excellently printed, well and clearly arranged, and richly illustrated by, probably, more than a thousand figures. The first six chapters form a general introduction to the elements of palæontology, explaining in a simple way the chief questions which suggest themselves with regard to the occurrence and succession of fossils. Then, beginning with the lowest animal types, Foraminifera, Polycystina, and Sponges, which occupy chapters seven and eight; an account is given of corals in the next three chapters, and of Echinoderms in the succeeding four chapters. The sixteenth chapter treats of worms and worm-tracts, and then three chapters are given to crustaceans; while the twentieth chapter treats of fossil spiders, scorpions, centipedes, and insects. The remaining three chapters in the first volume are occupied with a general account of the Mollusca and the fossil Brachiopoda and Lamellibranchiate shells. The higher Mollusca occupy the first five chapters of the second volume, comprising the first hundred pages,

and then the greater part of the remainder of the work is given to the Vertebrata, while the last forty or fifty pages treat briefly of fossil plants. There is a useful glossary, giving definitions of technical terms, generally with their derivations; and there is also a full Index of the scientific names used in the body of the work. We cannot doubt that in its present form this Manual will be an easy and pleasant introduction for many to palæontological science, and that in future editions it will attain even nearer to perfection.

The mathematical theory of the motion of fluids is a difficult subject to make easily intelligible to the student. The treatise by Professor Lamb is certainly clearer and fuller than any existing accessible work.⁹ It introduces the results arrived at by recent investigators, especially those of the late Professor Clark Maxwell and Lord Rayleigh. The book is one which is sure to be appreciated by mathematical students, and if it has any shortcoming it is in the want of more exercises and worked-out examples. It is divided into eight chapters, which are entitled Equations of Motion; Integration of the Equations in special cases; Irrotational Motion; Motion of a Liquid in two dimensions; Motion of Solids through a Liquid; Vortex Motion; Waves in Liquids; Waves in Air; and Viscosity. To these chapters succeed five important notes; a list of the more important original memoirs and treatises which may be consulted upon the subject, and a few pages of exercises. It is excellently printed, and makes a valuable addition to the literature of Hydrostatics.

There is probably no phenomenon regarded with greater wonder and awe than an auroral display. The obscurity of its origin, the geographical distribution which has made it familiarly known as the "Northern Lights," its increased intensity northward, and the irregularity of its manifestation in the south, all stimulate a desire to learn all that can be told concerning it. Mr. Rand Capron, in a handsome volume, luxuriously printed, and excellently illustrated, endeavours to place the best knowledge attainable upon this interesting subject before us in an attractive way.¹⁰ No such complete discussion of auroral phenomena has ever been attempted. The wealth of ancient historic records, the descriptions of scientific travellers, the reports of the phenomena seen in our own islands, and the whole of the scientific results gathered from magnetic studies and examination with the spectroscope, are made available in the study of the true nature of these phenomena. But unfortunately, the results attained, in so far as they relate to the origin of the phenomena, are mostly negative, and at best tentative. At present, any statement concerning their true nature is almost entirely speculative. But if the author has

⁹ "A Treatise on the Mathematical Theory of the Motion of Fluids." By Horace Lamb, M.A., formerly Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Adelaide. 8vo. Cambridge: At the University Press. Deighton, Bell & Co., London: Cambridge Warehouse. 1879.

¹⁰ "Auroræ: their Characteristics and Spectra." By J. Rand Capron, F.R.A.S. 4to. London and New York: E. & F. N. Spon. 1879.

ailed to clear up the mystery, it is from no want of scientific investigation, but because science has not yet discovered the means of harmonising under laws the extraordinary phenomena which Auroras present. The volume is divided into three parts, to which are added five important appendices. The first part is essentially descriptive and analytical, but besides descriptions of many important Auroras and phenomena which simulate them, treats of their colour, height, duration, extent, noises which attend them, their relation to clouds, thunderstorms, meteoric dust, of the patches which simulate the Aurora on the partly eclipsed moon, and the supposed causes of the Aurora. Part II. is entirely devoted to the study of the Aurora by means of the spectroscope, and a description of the apparatus with which it is made, and the results obtained. All this is of a much more technical character than the first part of the book, but is fraught with interest. The third part is also more of the nature of an original memoir, and treats of magneto-electric experiments in relation to the Aurora. There are a few concluding remarks, but too brief to give any idea of the technical scientific interest of the latter parts of the volume. The first of the appendices gives a useful list of the more important works and memoirs which have been written upon Auroras. Though the first part of the book is well suited for general reading, the subsequent portions are better suited to the wants of scientific students, but they are not altogether sealed to the careful reader who has some knowledge of physics.



This work¹¹ represents the views of an important school of gynæcologists. It is somewhat too much the fashion at the present time to look upon the uterus as a viscus which is almost predestined to become diseased, and this not only on account of the preponderating influence of the reproductive system in the feminine organisation, but also from the anatomical relations of the parts which are such as to favour the development of abnormal conditions, and to render them very difficult of cure when once established. Dr. Martineau is entirely opposed to this doctrine. Whilst admitting that the cause of uterine trouble may occasionally be found in the diseased organ itself, he holds that this is not true in the great majority of cases. Properly speaking, uterine *diseases* do not exist; we have to deal only with *affections* of the womb; that is to say, with local manifestations of constitutional habits of body, or diatheses, and of these the most common are arthritism, scrofula, syphilis, chlorosis, and the herpetic diathesis. The recognition of this fact furnishes a key to the author's treatment. Instead of making the uterus responsible for all kinds of sympathetic visceral disturbances, and acting in accordance with such a supposition, Dr. Martineau uses topical applications as adjuvants only, and combats the particular

¹¹ "Traité Clinique des affections de l'Uterus et de ses annexes." Par le docteur. G. L. Martineau. Paris : 1879.

dyscrasia which exists in any given instance by the administration of specific, or alterative remedies. In most chronic cases he recommends, *intus et extra*, appropriate mineral waters; but these are formally contra-indicated where there is any inflammation or sub-inflammation, either of the uterus itself or of its appendages, and as a general rule they are to be forbidden in the form of baths during menstruation. This branch of therapeutics is treated at great length, and as the choice of a suitable water occupies more than a hundred and fifty pages of this treatise, it is impossible to indicate here more than the general principles bearing upon the question. In scrofulous temperaments the greatest benefit may be derived from such alteratives as chloride of sodium, iodine, and bromine; sea-bathing and salt-water drinking are recommended, especially during the winter; and as a complement to the treatment by mineral waters of a similar composition, such as are to be found at Balaruc, Bourbonne-les-Bains, and Salins. In some strumous cases, where sulphur is preferable, the patient may go to Saint-Sauveur, Luchon, or Aix. When there is a rheumatic or gouty taint (arthritism), Vichy, Royat, Plombières or any other station belonging to the alkaline group, may be counselled. Vichy is more especially indicated where dyspepsia exists as a prominent complication, although in cases of flatulence Pougues, from the calcium contained in its waters, might be more suitable. The muds of St. Amand, of Dax, and of Barbotan, are useful in the same class of cases, and particularly where there are generalised or articular rheumatic pains. A season at the waters frequently suffices to overcome the affection which is the cause of sterility: *sublata causa tollitur effectus*. The results thus obtained at Ems or at Royat are said to be sometimes little short of marvellous. Dr. Martineau seems to think that this fact is not sufficiently appreciated at the present time; but it was well known to some of the old writers. Pogge, for instance, who wrote on the baths of Baden, in the fifteenth century, says that "their efficacy is admirable, almost divine; there is no source in the whole world so favourable to fecundity." He remarks, however, that Baden was a *rendezvous* for all the idlers in Germany; and furthermore, that jealousy was unknown to Teutonic husbands of his time. "*O mores dissimiles nostris*," adds Pogge, regretfully. In the uterine manifestations of the herpetic diathesis, which yield with great difficulty to treatment, it is necessary to select an arsenical, or where there is debility, a ferro-arsenical spring, such as La Bourboule, Mont-Dore, Dominique (Vals), Lardy (Vichy), or Bussang. If there are also eruptions on the skin, or respiratory mucous membrane, it will often be advisable to take a sulphurous water, and Saint-Gervais or Saint-Sauveur are well spoken of. Dr. Martineau frequently resorts also to the different forms of hydrotherapy; but as his views on this subject are avowedly borrowed from other writers, it is unnecessary to notice them here. The second part of this work deals with special uterine pathology, and a large chapter is devoted to the study of the different forms of metritis. Here again the author insists upon the importance of recognising the influence of diathesis. If metritis is the despair of

gynæcologists, it is simply because they cannot see beyond the coarse lesion which meets the eye, and their whole attention is devoted to the cure of a local trouble, which would almost disappear of itself if constitutional alteratives were taken. The means of arresting uterine hæmorrhage, recommended in the section which treats of that subject, are mostly such as are usually employed in these cases; but Dr. Martineau perpetuates a serious mistake which occurs in Dr. Beni-Barde's work on hydrotherapy. In describing Dr. Chapman's spinal hot-water bag, he says that these should be filled with *boiling* water, and applied to the spine for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. Dr. Chapman's mode of procedure is quite different. The bags are filled with water at a temperature of from 45° to 50° Centigrade, and when applied, are allowed to remain *in situ* until they have cooled down to the temperature of the body, and this, as a rule, requires about three-quarters of an hour. The application of a bag filled with boiling water would not only be intolerable, but might increase the bleeding which it is intended to arrest; and if, as recommended by Dr. Martineau, it were to be removed whilst still at a much higher temperature than the body, there would be every probability of the recurrence of hæmorrhage from the reaction. We have pointed out this error, in the hope that it may be corrected in a future edition. It is of first importance that no mistake should be made in the treatment of uterine hæmorrhage. The remaining chapters of this work do not call for any special notice; it may be remarked, however, that in cases of mechanical displacement of the womb, the use of Faradism is mentioned with approval; and justly so, we think, although most practitioners would be found to condemn it. Generally speaking, Dr. Martineau bases his treatment upon the diathetic theory, which he is constantly seeking to inculcate; and if a few faults may be found to mar the perfection of his work, this attempt at generalisation presents a philosophical charm, which is greatly enhanced by his talent of exposition.

This is the reprint of a Paris graduation thesis for the degree of Doctor in Medicine, and the author has chosen an interesting but difficult subject.¹³ There is perhaps no harder problem in the whole study of medicine than the interpretation of functional disorders of the nervous system; and the greatest care must be taken, as a recent writer remarks, to distinguish between facts and inferences from facts. It has been found that the application of a certain metal to the skin in a case of hysterical paralysis, contracture, or anæsthesia, is followed by a temporary disappearance of the particular trouble. Is this phenomenon *post* or *propter* the application of the metal? This question has been engaging much attention since the publication of the Paris Biological Society's Report on Metallotherapy, or Burqism as it is sometimes called, after its most strenuous supporter, Dr. V. Burq. A series of experiments was made at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris, under the direction of several eminent physicians and biologists.

¹³ "Étude Clinique sur la Metalloscopie et de la Metallothérapie externe dans l'anesthésie." By Dr. Douglas Aigré.

and the conclusions arrived at were entirely favourable to Dr. Burg's views. Briefly these are the following :—Every individual has a particular metallic idiosyncrasy, that is to say, is susceptible to the influence of a particular metal. The application of bracelets, plates, or discs of the proper metal externally, together with the administration of its different salts internally, forms a system of treatment, which is designated by the word "metallotherapy." Metalloscopy is the determination of the individual idiosyncrasy, and consists in the application of different metals to the skin, until certain phenomena due to disturbed innervation indicate that the patient is susceptible to the metal under investigation. Since the first publication of the Biological Society's Report metallotherapy has been made to include magnets, solenoids, and infinitesimal galvanic currents on the supposition that the action of a metal depends upon the amount of electricity which its contact with the skin generates. These currents, which are a thousand times weaker than any hitherto used in therapeutics, have been found by some observers to have similar effects to their correlated metals. We cannot even enumerate here the results which have been obtained by this method, but the reader will find several interesting relations in this thesis. Dr. Aigre entertains no doubt whatever of the causal relation of metallotherapy to the phenomena he has witnessed, and the scepticism which exists on this side of the Channel inspires him with a feeling of pity. Hughes Bennett, Donkin, Carpenter, and Noble are quoted as representatives of the English school, before which Dr. Aigre "can only bow his head—and smile." But the most hardened sceptic of all, according to Dr. Aigre, is Dr. Oscar Jennings, "whose work may be considered to represent the ideas of the above-named school." "In skimming over his book," says our author, "we have fallen upon certain passages which we reproduce textually." We may remark that in skimming over Dr. Aigre's thesis we observe that he has reproduced, also textually, the historical part of the subject, from Dr. Oscar Jennings, and this without the slightest acknowledgment of its source. An omission of this nature suffices to throw a strong doubt upon the originality of the rest of the book.

This study forms the Report we have spoken of in the preceding paragraph.¹³ It contains the relation of a number of experiments performed at the Salpêtrière in Paris, by Drs. Charcot, Luys, and Dumontpallier, in order to test the action of metals in the treatment of nervous disease. The results obtained by these gentlemen are of extreme interest, but they do not appear to occur with sufficient regularity to possess any practical value in therapeutics. Unfortunately, too, metallotherapy seldom answers, except in hysterical women, and these are precisely the cases in which the method is least free from objection.

This is another Paris thesis.¹⁴ The author describes the anatomical

¹³ "Étude Expérimentale sur la Métalloscope et la Métallothérapie du Docteur Burg." Paris. 1879.

¹⁴ "Recherches sur les Lésions du Système Nerveux dans la Paralyse ascendante aigue." By J. Déjerine.

changes observed by him in the nervous centres in two cases of acute ascending paralysis, and believes that he has discovered a lesion, which will be found constantly in this disease. This is an alteration in the anterior roots of the spinal nerves, probably of inflammatory nature, and most likely secondary to a pathological condition of the grey part of the spinal cord. It is somewhat premature to generalise from two post-mortem examinations, but the cases have been well studied, and in other respects the subject has been carefully worked out.

M. Chereau makes an important contribution to the history of the discovery of the circulation of the blood, in the form of a critical examination of the claims of one of Harvey's predecessors, Michel Servet.¹⁵ A passage occurs in Servet's "*De Christianismi Restitutio*," which has often been quoted to show that the author was acquainted with the pulmonary circulation, and as no account of this can be found in the works of any contemporary anatomists prior to 1553, the date of the book in question, the merit of the discovery is awarded to Servet by Flourens and other writers. M. Chereau contends that this honour is undeserved, and he endeavours to show that it was Realdo Colombo who first described the passage of the blood from right to left heart, through the lungs. It is true that the "*De Christianismi Restitutio*" appeared in 1553, whilst Colombo's book "*De Re Anatomica*" was only published six years later. But the latter could not have copied from Servet, as the whole edition of his work was so carefully destroyed that only two volumes are known to have escaped. One of these is now in Vienna, and the other, the identical volume ordered to be burnt with its sacrilegious author, after passing through many vicissitudes, has found a resting-place in the Paris Bibliotheque Nationale. Colombo did not live to see his book published, and there is every reason to suppose that he had been engaged writing it for many years before his death. In a dedication to Paul IV., the reigning Pope, he expresses the joy he feels at completing, under his Holiness, a treatise *quod multos annos inchoaveram*; and in a preface, added by his sons, they speak of the work which was on the point of publication at the time of their father's death, and on which he had been engaged for many years (*superioribus annis*). With the exceptions of Haller and Baglivi, historians have been unanimous in awarding the priority of the discovery of the pulmonary circulation to Servet; and since William Wotton in his "*Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*," first revived the passage from the "*De Christianismi Restitutio*," in which it is mentioned, Colombo has always been considered guilty of plagiarism. According to M. Chereau, it is quite the reverse. Although Servet was the first to record the discovery in print, he must have learned it from Colombo, under whom he most probably studied anatomy about the year 1540, if indeed it was not communicated to him by some Italians

¹⁵ "*Histoire d'un Livre.*" Michel Servet. "*Et la circulation pulmonaire.*" By M. Achille Chereau.

in 1587, who are named on the register of the Faculty of Paris as having been sent by Servet to Tagault the Dean, in order to arrange a little trouble into which he had fallen through dabbling in judicial astrology. In the description of the pulmonary circulation which he reproduces from memory, Servet proves himself an unfaithful, clumsy, and mystical copyist, whose claims must be set aside in future in favour of Realdo Colombo, the true anatomist and physiologist—the Claude Bernard of the sixteenth century.

This, says Professor Verneuil, in the introductory chapter which he contributes, is a work of pure erudition.¹⁶ The bibliophile who has written it has never performed the operation of which he gives such a masterly description, nevertheless he will contribute as much to its future success as those who first devised and put it into execution. The author of this memoir has collected together all the instances in which an artificial opening has been made into the stomach, and a comparative study of these enables him to enunciate the mode of procedure which is most likely to be followed by a favourable result. The operation of gastro-stomy, or gastrotomy as it called in England, is usually practised for the purpose of introducing food directly into the stomach, in those cases where a narrowing of the œsophagus exists to such an extent that the sufferer is in danger of death from starvation. Sedillot was the first to perform it on man in 1849, but without success, and it was not until 1875 that Sydney Jones had the good fortune to save one of his patients by an operation which had hitherto been invariably fatal, and this on as many as twenty-eight occasions. Since then others have been equally successful, but the greatest percentage of recoveries (4 to 6) has occurred when the operative details observed by Professor Verneuil have been strictly followed. The description of the different stages of a surgical operation would be somewhat out of place in our pages, but the formal recommendation of the eminent Paris surgeon, to use the antiseptic method in all its rigour, is of general interest, and should not be neglected by future operators. M. Petit deserves our thanks for compiling this volume.

A brochure, by Dr. A. Petit,¹⁷ contains a number of observations which formed the subject of a communication to the Society of Practical Medicine of Paris. The virtues of the waters Royat are well known, and their efficacy is no doubt enhanced by the natural charms of the surrounding country. Dr. Petit gives an account of twenty-seven patients, treated hydrologically by him for a variety of complaints with very satisfactory results.

We have received several inaugural dissertations. One by Dr. Julliard, on the Spinal Localisations of Syphilis, gives a good *résumé* of the actual knowledge on that subject. A study on the different forms of Paralysis of the Larynx, by Dr. Le Marchant,¹⁸ is a fair sample of the Paris graduation thesis.

¹⁶ "Traité de la Gastrotomie." By Dr. H. Petit.

¹⁷ "Nouvelles observations de Maladies, chroniques Traitées avec Succès au eaux thermales de Royat."

¹⁸ "Étude sur les Paralysies du Larynx."

A monograph on digitalis, by Dr. Chappet,¹⁹ and another on arsenious acid, by Dr. Navault²⁰ of Vichy, may be consulted with profit by those who are interested in special therapeutics.

Lovers of the marvellous will do well to procure a book which is written by Father de Bonniot, S.J., entitled "*Le Miracle et les Sciences Médicales.*" The author is well versed in mediæval theology, and quotes the Fathers of the Church at great length in proof of the existence of demons and the reality of apparitions. In his chapter on Spirits he tells us that "angels are not without action on matter, but that matter is not a docile object of which an angel can dispose at will. The doctors of the Church are unanimous on this point. The angel is not above the laws of Nature; he can act on created beings only in accordance with the laws which govern their existence, and by putting in force physical agents; in this respect, between man and angel there is only a difference of degree." There is a section on the influence of charity on the nerves, and another on the influence of Christian piety on nervous diseases, but these are scarcely intelligible to ordinary readers. It would be well to pass through one or other of the six degrees of the ladder of mysticism, described by Saint Bonaventure, before entering upon their study. As an historian of the incredible, Father Bonniot may be complimented upon the pains which he has taken in searching the pages of obsolete volumes; but for any light which it throws upon medicine, this book might as well have never been written.

After passing two winters at San Remo for the benefit of his own health, Dr. Hassall has written a book on the Western Riviera, which may be read with profit by sufferers in search of a remedial climate.²¹ The first chapter is descriptive of the town of San Remo, its situation, water supply, sanitation, and drainage. In most respects, these are satisfactory, although, like a true Englishman, Dr. Hassall grumbles somewhat at the prevalence of "smells" caused by the carelessness of the inhabitants in the disposal of their house-refuse. The chapter which deals with the meteorology of the Riviera should be studied carefully, as it contains the data upon which the suitability of this climate in any particular case may be predicated. The prevailing winds of the country are northerly, but owing to the height of the mountains which form a semicircle around San Remo, these as a rule blow over the district, and strike out at sea. The most important part of Dr. Hassall's book is the fifth chapter, where he enumerates the different complaints for which he would recommend this climate. The majority of sufferers from phthisis, bronchitis, renal disease, scrofula, dyspepsia, gout, and rheumatism, should go to San Remo. Those who are affected with "chronic degenerative diseases" and "morbid deposits" should hasten there also, as well as the aged, the

¹⁹ "*Contribution à l'Étude de la Digitale.*"

²⁰ "*Observations Cliniques sur les Effets Physiologiques de l'acide arsénieux.*"

²¹ "*San Remo and the Western Riviera, climatically and medically considered.*" By Arthur Hill Hassall, M.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1879.

young, and those who have lived in tropical climates. We are afraid that Dr. Hassall is a little too enthusiastic in favour of a climate which has happened to suit his own individual case. His own statistics show that the mortality of San Remo is (excluding phthisis) considerably higher than that of London. The death-rate of the metropolis for 1877 was 21.9, or roughly 22, that of San Remo 21.18 per thousand. But twenty per cent of all the deaths which take place in London are caused by pulmonary consumption, which makes the percentage of deaths from all other causes much smaller, about 17.6 per thousand. Accepting Dr. Hassall's statement that only one death in sixty-five at San Remo is due to phthisis, the mortality from other causes, which is about 20.7, instead of being "comparatively low," is in reality for a health resort extremely high. It would be easy to point out many similar errors of judgment in Dr. Hassall's book. Isolated passages bearing testimony to the value of the climate of the Riviera, in certain cases, are quoted in succession from different writers, but the whole reads as if they had conjointly pronounced in favour of San Remo, as against Nice, Mentone, and other places. "Ogni medaglia ha il suo reverso," says the Italian proverb, and we are not quite sure that there is not more of the "*reverso*" than would appear from perusing this book.

One of the most useful medical works we have seen for some time comes to us from America.²² This is a manual of anæsthetics, by Dr. Turnbull. The author gives a brief account of the means used by the ancients to procure insensibility to pain, and at once enters upon the study of the anæsthetic agents now in use. The list given of these is very complete, and we are glad to see that the method of administering a mixture of nitrous oxide and oxygen gases under tension, recently invented by M. Paul Bert, and used so successfully by Paris surgeons, is already known to American practitioners. In the chapter which treats of the responsibility of medical men in respect to the administration of chloroform, the question is raised, whether a person can be narcotised by this means without his knowledge. Experiments by the late Professor Dolbeau show that this may occur, but the probability is small. Dr. Turnbull insists upon a point which cannot be too publicly known. The inhalation of anæsthetics often produces erotic delusions, especially in women, and under their influence the gravest charges are sometimes made against those who administer them. This subject is not fitted for discussion in our pages, but it should be known that the accusations we allude to may be made in the most perfect good faith, when there is not even the slightest foundation of truth in them. This book only professes to be a compilation on the subject, and we must not hold the author responsible for errors which occur in the authorities he cites. Mixed narcosis, for instance, by the use of chloroform and morphia, is said by the *Lancet* to have been discovered by Pro-

²² "The Advantage and Accidents of Artificial Anæsthesia. A Manual of Anæsthetic Agents and their Employment in the Treatment of Disease." By Lawrence Turnbull, M.D. London: H. K. Lewis. 1880.

fessor Nussbaum. It would be impossible, of course, for the compiler of a manual of this kind to verify every newspaper quotation; but we think Dr. Turnbull might have known more about Claude Bernard's experiments on this subject than the writer in the *Lancet*, who made such a strange mistake. The treatment of poisoning by an overdose of an anæsthetic is not given at sufficient length, and this is an omission which we hope will disappear in a future edition. There is no time for reflection when an accident of this kind occurs, and a few short practical rules for conduct in such a case would greatly enhance the value of this book.

This is, as the title states,²³ an abstract of a course of lectures, and it has probably been compiled with the view of condensing, in as short a space as possible all the physiology which a candidate is required to remember for the examinations at the University of London. Those who are acquainted with the nature of these examinations know that a *cram* book is almost indispensable in preparing them, and this volume would appear to belong to that class. It is written for the purpose of posting the reader for the requirements of certain examiners, rather than with the intention of grounding him in the science of physiology. Thus, we find the chemistry of the secretions treated at considerable length, which is quite in accordance with the official programme, and for the same reason the functions of the brain (or rather the functions which form the subjects of the catch questions which must be remembered) are disposed of in two pages and a half. Dr. Burdon Sanderson knows, no doubt, that his teaching is in some respects inadequate. Animal heat, for instance, is said to be the result of the chemical conversion of food into water, carbonic acid, urea, and other excreted products. This is only part of the truth. Experiment has shown that the fermentation of a molecule of sugar gives rise to about four times as much heat as its chemical decomposition, and the same thing holds good in the other kinds of zymosis. Recent researches make it almost certain that fermentation is one of the main sources of animal heat. The mean temperature of the body, too, is said to be remarkably constant. There is good reason to think that this is another mistake, and that the body temperatures of different races and individuals vary several degrees. Apart from a few similar inaccuracies, this syllabus is a useful publication. It is such as a diligent student would make for himself from his lecture notes.

It is only a year since these lectures appeared, and they have already been translated into Italian, Spanish, English, and German.²⁴ This is of itself sufficient proof of their merit. The science of ophthalmology is making such rapid progress that a work on this subject is sure to be antiquated in some respects by the time a translation appears, and we notice a few defects of this kind in the present volume. The author

²³ "Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Physiology." By J. Burdon Sanderson, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. London: H. K. Lewis.

²⁴ "Ocular Therapeutics." By L. de Wecker. Translated and edited by Litton Forbes, M.A., M.D., F.R.G.S. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1879.

mentions section of the optic and ciliary nerves only in the most cursory manner, and unhesitatingly recommends enucleation of the eyeball in cases of sympathetic ophthalmia. This advice will, no doubt, be modified in a future edition. Metallic applications are highly spoken of in cases of hysterical amblyopia and blepharospasm, and Dr. de Wecker is firmly persuaded of their curative effect. This belief is quite orthodox in Paris, but English practitioners have hitherto failed to obtain any good results from the method. Dr. Litton Forbes has done his work well. He modifies the original text here and there, but, without calling attention to the alterations. Where Dr. de Wecker, for instance, writes: "*Je crois avoir été le premier*," Dr. Litton changes the sentences to "I believe I was *one of the first* to take this view of glaucoma:" and this correction of the translator makes the statement more accurate. We observe on the title-page of the English edition of these lectures, that the author is styled "Professor of Clinical Ophthalmology; Paris." This is a slight flight of fancy. Dr. de Wecker has a Free Dispensary or *Clinique* in a populous quarter of the French capital, which is open to any who may take an interest in ophthalmology, and who may be willing to listen to an occasional lecture. Dr. de Wecker, it is true, is always ready to "profess" when an audience is at hand, but if this gives him a right to the title which his English publishers bestow upon him, every specialist in Paris is a clinical professor.

This is a model of a student's text-book.²⁵ The matter is arranged in a methodical style, and different kinds of type are used to facilitate study and reference. The few mistakes which occurred in the second edition have been corrected, and the present volume can be recommended to those who are preparing for the examinations of the Pharmaceutical Society.

Dr. Munro thinks that the establishment of Lying-in Institutions would greatly decrease the mortality of parturition.²⁶ This book consists of a mass of evidence on the subject, and is worth consulting by those who are interested in this question.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE period embraced by the Civil War, in spite of the history of Clarendon, the discoveries amid the State Papers, and the researches of recent writers, seems ever capable of further illustration.¹ A mine of wealth underlies the subject, and only requires to

²⁵ "A Key to Organic Materia Medica." By Dr. John Muter, M.A., F.C.S. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., and Ballière, Tindall & Cox. 1879.

²⁶ "Deaths in Childbed and our Lying-in Hospitals." By Æneas Munro, M.D. Smith, Elder & Co. 1879.

¹ "Memorials of the Civil War between Charles I. and the Parliament of England, as it affected Herefordshire and the Adjacent Counties." By the late Rev. John Webb. Edited and compiled by the Rev. J. W. Webb, Vicar of Hardwick, Herefordshire. 2 vols. Longmans.

be worked to bring forth ore abundantly. Now a new light is thrown upon the conduct of some distinguished Parliamentary general by the appearance of some letters or journals hidden away in the lumber-room of a country manor house; then we have a new reading of old events by the discovery of a worm-eaten diary drawn up from day to day by a cavalier squire who witnessed or heard of the deeds he describes; or, as in the work now before us, the struggle between Parliament and Prerogative is confined to one special district, and information purely local is made to add another chapter to the story of the Rebellion, and to fill up blanks that formerly existed. Mr. Webb deserves the thanks of all historical and antiquarian scholars for the labour he has spent over these two goodly volumes. Though Herefordshire did not play a more important part in the Civil War than certain other shires, yet if local historians would only do for their own counties what Mr. Webb and his father have done for Herefordshire there would be little touching the Great Rebellion which remained to be told. In this work the authors, though it is evident their prejudice runs in favour of the Royalist party, describe the events they have to relate with perfect impartiality; their style is pleasant, and the narrative filled in with capital bits of portraiture and description; and throughout it is plain that their knowledge of the period is as accurate as it is varied. Herefordshire, owing to the influences of its clergy and gentry, was eminently cavalier in its sympathies; and among its leaders, independent of the numerous Catholic squires, we find the names of Lord Scudamore, Sir William Croft, Sir Walter Pye, the Coningsbys, and the Rudhalls. Yet the county boasted one stern Roundhead in Sir Robert Harley, and in the pages of our authors we have an animated account of the defence of the castle of Brampton Ryan by Lady Brilliana Harley. On the breaking out of the war Herefordshire declared for the Royal cause, and after a few unimportant skirmishes had taken place on the borders of the county, Lord Stamford, the Parliamentarian general, marched west and occupied the city of Hereford without resistance. After a brief stay, and finding "no money, no credit, no bread, no provender," he evacuated the city and pushed on to Bristol. For the first four years Hereford was the shuttlecock between the two parties, now in the hand of the Roundhead leaders Massey and Waller, then in the possession of the Cavaliers Vavasour and Lingen. One by one the different castles and fortresses in Herefordshire, though gallantly defended by their owners, were forced to yield and often horrible butcheries ensued. In the various districts of the county frequent were the engagements that took place between the rival parties. Additional interest is imparted to the narrative of the Civil War contained in these volumes, from the excellent description of the various places where anything memorable occurred. Every spot in Herefordshire—city, castle, bridge, open meadow, and manor house—which became the scene of hostilities between Roundhead and Cavalier is minutely laid before us, and we read the dashing adventures of Fleming and Mynne, the storming of Brampton Ryan and Hopton.

Castles, the leap of Sir John Wintour and the other incidents during "that sanguinary period" with the same interest and excitement that we read some of the most stirring passages of Macaulay. These memorials deserve to be studied, and will no doubt appeal to a larger audience than the authors have anticipated.

Bishop Selwyn² was undoubtedly a representative man of the Church of England. Occupying a middle position between the High Church and the Low Church, he had none of the miserable effeminacy of the Ritualists or of the acrid intolerance of the Evangelicals. A man of sound sense, endowed with good natural gifts, of considerable tact, active, persevering, having the courage of his opinions, and never intimidated by opposition, he possessed in an eminent degree precisely those qualities social, intellectual, and physical, out of which all colonial bishops should be made. Unlike many of his brethren, who have not been inaptly nicknamed "returned empties," who accept a colonial appointment with the one object of freeing themselves from the responsibilities of their situation as soon as they decently can, and then with the mock title of right reverend, taking up their sojourn in England in the hope, not always vain, of being attached in some official capacity to a See, or of being transferred to an excellent living, Selwyn was a fine specimen of his order. "For myself," he says, "I can safely declare that no sense of imbecility or entire incompetence to the duties of my office would be so painful as the thought of returning to England to cease to be practically a bishop. If I cannot continue to walk over my diocese, I would rather crawl over it on all fours than retire into private life, and suffer the functions of my office to be cut short at once by my own act of resignation." Sprung from a good stock, the brother of two distinguished men, the one a Lord Justice of Appeal, the other a well-known professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Selwyn was born in 1809, was educated at Eton, then went up to Cambridge, where he took honours in classics, and was ordained in 1833. His abilities and energy, combined with the faculty he possessed of making himself popular with all who had dealings with him, soon brought him to the front, and in the year 1841, after a brief eight years of clerical work, he was offered and accepted the Bishopric of New Zealand. Here he rapidly won the hearts of the colonists and justified to the full the choice that had been arrived at by the authorities at home. His quick brain soon made him master the native language, so that he could preach to the Maories in their own tongue. He journeyed all over the island to inspect the different parishes. His first visitation occupied six months, during which 2277 miles were traversed, 762 on foot, 86 on horseback, 249 in canoes or boats, and 1180 by ship. Wherever he went his manly geniality and absence of cant caused him to be welcomed by all who crossed his path. He visited the poor as well as the rich, and spent much from his resources to relieve the wants

² "Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D., Bishop of New Zealand, and of Lichfield." By Rev. H. W. Tucker. 2 vols. Gardner.

of the sick and needy. He would sit up half the night by a pauper's bedside, cooking little delicacies with his own hand, and numbing the pain of suffering by pleasant chat and counsel. Whatever creed men hold, an exquisite humanity appeals to all, and it was Selwyn's winning unselfishness and sympathy that were at the bottom of all the missionary successes he achieved. During his rule in New Zealand he parted with more than half his income to further the endowment of new Sees or to assist in the erection of colleges. When he landed at Wellington he found the colony lacking spiritual supervision, schools, hospitals, and churches, but when he quitted the island he left behind him a large staff of active clergy, churches in every important town, hospitals not wanting for funds, and schools well attended by the children of the colonists. As Bishop of Lichfield he was regarded as a moderate High Churchman, and in his episcopal control he showed his customary toleration and good sense; he endeavoured to soften the antagonism of the Church Association and to calm the wild advocacy of the English Church Union; he took up a middle position between persecution and resistance. Still it will be as Bishop of New Zealand and not as Bishop of Lichfield that Selwyn will be remembered in the history of the Church. Mr. Tucker's biography does not impress us very favourably. It seems to have been compiled in great haste and with an insufficient knowledge of the subject. Letters and charges do not in themselves constitute sufficient material for the life of such a man as Selwyn. The biography should have been written by one who had been well acquainted with the Bishop during the years of his colonial episcopate—who knew the condition of New Zealand before the arrival of Selwyn, and who from statistics and practical experience was able to form some definite conclusions respecting the improvements that had occurred in the colony during the Bishop's supervision. This information Mr. Tucker does not possess, and consequently the value of his biography is much marred by those faults, and that want of completeness which generally accompany works written by those who have no independent knowledge of the matter of which they treat. No life, however, of Selwyn could be made dull, and the volumes before us, if to a certain extent unsatisfactory, are far from being unreadable.

A very different biographer is he who has undertaken this monograph of Burke.* From Mr. Morley we expect great accuracy, a sound logic, profundity of thought and statements which we may regard as true. Nor are these hopes disappointed by the little volume before us. It is no disparagement to the rest of the writers of this excellent series of English Men of Letters to say that this work of Mr. Morley's is the most able of the collection. Mr. Morley is essentially the biographer of Burke; he is perfectly familiar with the political history of the period, he is free from party prejudice, and he has a keen sympathy with the views of the man who has been called the "supreme genius of his age." Mr. Morley has made the life of the

* "English Men of Letters."—Burke. By John Morley. Macmillan & Co.

great Whig statesman a special study of his own; twelve years ago he wrote upon the subject, and the article "Burke" in the new edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" is also from his pen. Under these circumstances we find in this little volume precisely that information and grasp of treatment which only those who have carefully read and thought before they write are capable of displaying. There is all the difference in this biography between the work of a man who writes because he has read much and the work of a man who reads much because he has to write. Mr. Morley forms a just estimate of the character of Burke. The statesman was no more a reformer than he was a turncoat. Burke instinctively disliked change, and his voice was always given in favour of the established condition of things. It was this feeling that made him oppose the French Revolution and sever himself from Charles Fox. Like Pitt, he sympathised with the rising of the French people against the tyranny and injustice that had so long been their portion; but when he saw the excesses into which the revolutionary party were driven he denounced with all the force and passion of his invective the conduct of those who were laying France under the lawless reign of terrorism. He held the opinions of Montesquieu not of Robespierre. With regard to the exclusion of so able a man as Burke from the Cabinets of the Whigs, Mr. Morley accepts the only sound and sensible view. Burke was poor and unable to maintain the dignity of high office; his temper was ungoverned and his political zeal calculated to lead him into the wildest excesses; he was unpopular with the Whig grandes, and he preferred to follow no one's opinion but his own. The appointment of such a man, arrogant and intractable in spite of his splendid genius, would have led to discussions and internal feuds dangerous to the welfare of any Cabinet. The true reason of the exclusion of Burke from high office was not the jealousy of the great Whig houses of a parvenu but the bitter temper of the man himself. To those who wish to arrive at a correct estimate of the position which the author of the "Sublime and Beautiful" and of the "Reflections" occupies in the republic of letters, we refer them to Mr. Morley's critical chapter on the literary character of Burke. For the information of that omnivorous person, the general reader, who is somewhat shy of political history, we may tell him that in this little volume there is not a page he will care to skip.

The companion volume of this series is not quite so happy in its editor.⁴ Dean Church has had a more difficult task to perform than Mr. Morley, for the materials of a life of Spenser are very scanty, but he somewhat fails to exactly appreciate the great beauties of the poet. The "Faery Queen" is something else besides being quaint and stately and manly; it is the most dreamy, the most luxuriant in its imagery, the most picturesque in its description of scenery, of all the poetical works in the English language. Of its author we know but little beyond that he was born in 1553, educated at Merchant Taylors' School

⁴ "English Men of Letters."—Spenser. By R. W. Church. Macmillan & Co.

and at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and that he died, it is said, of want in 1559, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. With praiseworthy diligence Dean Church has obtained some little new matter touching the poet when secretary of Lord Grey of Wilton, by consulting the State Papers of Ireland now being calendared by Mr. Hans Hamilton, of the Record Office. Though the author has not been able to add much to our limited knowledge of the man, and he is not at his best when criticising the productions of the poet, he furnishes us with a most readable narrative of the times in which Spenser lived, of the revival of letters in England after the Wars of the Roses, and of the turbulent condition of Ireland under Elizabeth.

In reading the life of Sydney Dobell^{*} we are reminded of a remark of Sydney Smith, concerning the conclusions arrived at by a body of Dissenters, who had lately settled in one of our provincial towns, that until their coming the place had been wrapped in darkness, incapacity, and the Established Church. The author of "*Balder*" appears to have been possessed with no little of the conceit and egotism of these typical Nonconformists. He was one of those shining lights which talent, when united to somewhat humble social surroundings, and subject to the blind admiration of a coterie, so often sets on high to illuminate the world. Because Dobell was regarded by his little band of worshippers as a genius, he considered himself as one of the greatest geniuses of his age; because many things were new to him, he therefore considered they were also new to the rest of the world; hence it was his mission to dispel the darkness that was universal until his appearance upon the scene. That such a man should have been egotistic and conceited is to be expected; yet, when we come to study his life and the associations that environed him, it is a matter of surprise that he should have been endowed with anything approaching to humility and modesty. The son of a man engaged in commerce, he spent his youth in a religious atmosphere, which reads like a burlesque upon Christianity. His father professed a creed which had no dealings with other men; he and his little sect were the only True Church in whose happy fold were to be found faith, purity, and real holiness. Young Dobell seems to have taken kindly to this religion of exclusivism; he expounded at Sunday meetings, and led the devotions of the family; when his son had reached the mature age of five, Mr. Dobell, senior, anticipated that his child would be eminent "for a sacred understanding, correct ideas, useful talent, and good dispositions." The young lad was nursed on the food best calculated to turn him into a prig. He was not sent to a public school, his precocity was stimulated by the undue admiration of the home-circle, whilst the isolation in which he was kept tended to make his studies act injuriously upon his nervous system. He was always delicate, and this delicacy was no doubt increased by his injudicious early training. At the age of twenty he married, and in accordance with the religious teaching of his youth, both he and his wife held themselves aloof from their neighbours—considering that it

^{*} "*Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell.*" 2 vols. Smith, Elder & Co.

was forbidden by Scripture to associate with those whose creed and views of life they considered as erroneous. It strikes us that this amiable couple could not have been much of a loss to the neighbourhood. Dobell now engaged himself in the wine trade, and settled in a village near Gloucester. Here he wrote the two poems, the "Roman" and "Balder," by which he was best known, but which are now almost forgotten. He was the god of a little circle, and passed his days in writing letters, ballads, and the giving of advice. He resented with the lofty airs of the superior person all adverse criticism, and sincerely pitied the intellectual shallowness of all who failed to appreciate the beauties, the melody, and the exquisite imagery of his productions. There are many chapters in this biography which are not devoid of a certain interest, though our sympathies are seldom excited in favour of the object of the memoir. That two long volumes, however, should be devoted to a man who was, after all, only one of the mediocrities of the literature of his day, and whose works are now as if they had never been, is presuming somewhat too much upon the patience of the reader and the long-suffering of criticism.

There are few men who have more completely allowed their reputation to be ruined by the infirmities of their disposition than the author of the "Imaginary Conversations." Posterity has forgotten the errors of Byron, and the wild life of the man is now lost in the exquisite productions of the poet. With Landor it has been different. In spite of his genius, his powerful imagination, and the depth of his classical attainments, he was cordially disliked by his contemporaries on account of the combativeness of his temperament, and this personal antipathy has even, though unjustly, been extended to his works.⁶ It would be difficult to find a writer of the standing of Landor in English literature whose volumes are so little read, and whose name is so seldom mentioned by the educated. Yet the "Imaginary Conversations," "Gebir," and "Count Julian," are among the most remarkable works of the century. The style of Landor is pure and nervous; he abounds in wealth of illustration, his poetry, though inferior to his prose, is marked by the true inspiration of genius, and though acrid, critical, and always combative, he is never dull. The fact is that the man never loses his individuality, and in all his writings we come across the moody, splenetic, egotistic Landor; he irritates us, and we quit his pages for those of his inferiors with a sense of relief. He was, as Jeffrey well described him, a literary Jacobin—running amuck at all opinions, admitting neither equal nor superior, claiming a monopoly of all sense, wit, and wisdom, and hating whatever fell short of his favourite theories. He loved to take the unpopular side, and to uphold what was condemned and praise what was disliked. He justified Tiberius and Nero; he denied that Pitt had genius; he called Fox a charlatan; he said that Alfieri was the greatest man in Europe, and he carried his love of contradiction so far that, in the war between

⁶ "Life of Walter Savage Landor." By John Forster. New Edition. Chapman & Hall.

Turkey and Greece, he even recommended the Greeks to discard the use of firearms and to return to the ancient bow. A restless self-love was the key to all his faults. Whatever was doubtful and visionary in politics or philosophy he warmly accepted and as warmly advocated. As was to be expected from such a disposition, his life was spent in quarrels, lawsuits, and acrimonious opposition. To all who wish to be let into the secret of the character of Landor, to study an appreciative estimate of his literary genius, and to be made acquainted with the infirmities of the man and the excellences of the author, we recommend this interesting biography by the late Mr. Forster. It has reached a new edition, and fully justifies the reputation of the writer of the "Statesmen of the Commonwealth."

George Combe is an instance of a man who passes his life in the advocacy of certain theories which are subsequently adopted and fully carried out whilst their originator is completely forgotten. No one more strenuously preached national education, more insisted upon the distinction between "training" and "instruction," and more warmly espoused the cause of "godless," or, to use Lord Brougham's phrase, "priestless," education than Combe. We have followed the course he prescribed, we have established School Boards, and secular education is the basis on which we work, but how many are there who associate the name of George Combe with the principles of national education? Still it will be as an educationalist, and not as a phrenologist, that he will be remembered, should memory trouble herself to preserve his name. Phrenology can hardly be ranked amongst the exact sciences, for there are those who consider that the bumps on a man's cranium have no more connection with his intellectual and moral qualities than bunions on his feet. George Combe, however, was a most sincere believer in its teaching. It converted him from Calvinism, it taught him to regard mankind from a higher standpoint, and it solved some of the most abstruse mysteries of Creation. With phrenology as his guide, he felt that it was impossible for him to go astray. He judged all his friends and the celebrities he met according to the development, or the contrary, of their phrenological organs. He said that he "looked upon phrenology as the most important discovery that ever had been made since man was created." We have the following description of Charles Dickens:—"He is rather under the middle size, well made but not muscular. His head also is rather under the average in size, pretty fairly balanced, but the anterior lobe is not one of commanding dimensions, nor are his moral organs above an average in height. His superiority lies in his temperament, which is nervous bilious. He looks intense, but his natural language or expression partakes of the severity of the base of the brain, not sensual but hard. His head and manifestations gave me the impression of his being a clever, but not a great-minded man." These volumes, in spite of the apparent dryness of the subjects they discuss, are interesting, and introduce us to many of the celebrities of a past generation. To all who admire a

Rousseau-like candour we recommend the autobiography of George Combe, to be found in the last chapter of the second volume.

Anything relating to the past history of Canterbury cannot fail to excite our interest.⁹ During the earlier centuries the famous cathedral city was one of the most favourite of all places of pilgrimage; crowned heads, and the proudest nobles knelt before its shrines; whilst being within easy reach of Dover it was freely resorted to by those of foreign birth who had business to transact in England. Mr. Brent's book was first published in 1860, but in the Edition before us he has inserted so much additional matter that his volumes deserve to be called a new work, rather than a revised and enlarged edition. They constitute a complete handbook to the Roman, Saxon, and Ecclesiastical antiquities of Canterbury, and afford precisely the information which every intelligent visitor to the ancient city desires to possess. The book is well got up, but we regret to find errors both of carelessness and ignorance in its pages which should not have appeared. As a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Brent should have known that a charioteer does not drive an *auriga*, and that bear dogs were employed not for hunting bears, but for baiting such bears as were brought into England. Nor should he have blundered over this statement: "A mayor and his brethren were ordered each to make two whole or 'hole' cloths, each cloth being twenty-two yards and thus perfect or 'whole' in itself." Mr. Brent confuses himself over the spelling, and transforms "hole" cloths into holy cloths. The printer's mistakes are very numerous,—adjured for abjured, cormorant for commorant, conventional for conventual and the like, which show a haste and want of even common care in the revision of the proof-sheets which detract from the general excellence of the volumes. Mr. Brent is at his best when he discourses pleasantly and learnedly upon the various Guilds and Fraternities, which at one time were such important features in our commercial history.

This is one of those formidable-looking books which at first sight repel the reader, and make him instinctively put it on one side.⁹ Life is too short and leisure too valuable to be spent in studying pages replete with voluminous references, erudite foot-notes, and crabbed abbreviations. Should the reader, however, conquer his first impulses he will find this work on Teutonic Mythology neither dry nor tedious. It is excellently translated throughout, and proves that Mr. Stallybrass is a philologist of no mean repute. Jacob Grimm has been rightly called the father of philosophic folk-lore, and nothing more shows the wondrous ability of the man, and the depth and exactitude of his investigations, that without any knowledge of Sanskrit and the Semitic languages, and without the help of any of the text-books of Old, High, and Middle German, he should have produced a work so exhaustive and

⁹ "Canterbury in the Olden Time." By John Brent, F.S.A. Simpkin & Marshall. 2 vols.

⁹ "Teutonic Mythology." By Jacob Grimm. Translated from the Fourth Edition by James Steven Stallybrass. Vol. I. W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen.

correct as to serve as the basis of all future labours on the same subject. The modern philologist may add here and embellish there, but he will always have to build on the foundation of Grimm. In this work we have the first attempt at connecting the mythologies of different nations, and at proving that the Baal of the South-East, the Zeus of the Hellenes, the Jupiter of the Romans, the Isis of the Egyptians, and the Thor of the North, have a history in common, and are only links in the same chain. One objection we see common to all nations. Grimm tells us that the Germans having an aversion to take the name of God in vain say "~~potz~~-tausend," "potz-wetter," and the like, instead of Gottes. But this aversion is not peculiar to the Germans. Amongst the Jews the name Jehovah though written is seldom pronounced, the word Adonai being employed instead. Again, in France the word "morbleu," so frequently used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is only another form for mort de Dieu, whilst in England numerous phrases and contractions testify to this prejudice against pronouncing the direct name of the Deity. One of the great objections to Grimm's work in the original was the mass of notes and quotations in Old Norse, Slavic, and Old, High, and Middle German; these have now been translated by Mr. Stallybrass, and add much to the value of his work. When completed the labours of Mr. Stallybrass will extend to three volumes; the first has only now made its appearance, but we trust that the two others will rapidly follow. The task the translator has set before him is a most arduous one, but he will receive the thanks of all to whom the pages of Grimm have hitherto been either a sealed volume or studied with difficulty.

We congratulate Miss Yonge upon ceasing to add to the number of dull and silly novels, and turning her undoubted literary powers into the channel of education.¹⁰ There are several ways of writing history. There is the heavy style, full of debates, statutes, and tedious disquisitions; there is the philosophic style, dealing more with the results of events than with the events themselves; there is the compiler's style, replete with facts and nothing else, and there is the picturesque style. Miss Yonge's style is essentially picturesque. She occupies herself with one period at a time, makes herself mistress of the most important events that occurred, and then places them before the reader in a narrative full of incident, anecdote, and picturesque description. We know no better work on English history for the use of lads and young girls than these "Cameos" chiselled by the pen of the authoress of the "Heir of Redclyffe." As Miss Yonge is now entering upon the period when religious questions turned Europe into a battle-field, we must warn her not to allow her evident Anglican sympathies to interfere with the impartiality of the historian.

This little volume¹¹ is neither better nor worse than the general run of historical text-books which it seems to be the fashion of every publisher now to issue. It is hack-work carefully done, and, as far as

¹⁰ "Cameos of English History." Fourth Series. By C. D. Yonge. Macmillan & Co.

¹¹ "Life of the Duke of Marlborough." By Louisa Creighton. Rivingtons.

we have been able to judge, carefully compiled. Indeed, considering the abundant materials ready at hand which have been sifted, arranged, and valued, concerning the great commander, it would be almost as impossible for a biographer of Marlborough to go astray as it would be for him to give a new reading of the character and exploits of the Duke. The book, however, was not needed, for all that can be said of Marlborough, no matter which side be taken, has already been fully said; and as for the smaller biographies of the hero of Malplaquet, the man has been as much done to death as Martin Luther.

This is a book which is alike creditable to both author and publisher; for a work on art should in itself be also a work of art.¹² It is handsomely bound, it is distinctly printed, the paper is of the best, the engravings are excellent, and the letter-press is fully deserving of the frame in which it is set. In this handsome volume the authors have done for underground Rome what Mr. Augustus Hare has done for the Rome of the tourist and ordinary visitor. Openly founded on the labours of di Rossi, the greatest authority in Europe upon the subject of all that appertains to catacomb inscriptions and to early Christian art, we have in "*Roma Sotteranea*," a portable work which may be viewed as a guide-book for the antiquary and the archæologist, or as an agreeable history of the development of Christianity as interpreted by the rude powers of early art. The authors being divines under the obedience of the Holy See, every symbol and inscription to be found on the stones of the catacombs is made to be indicative of the acceptance by the original designers of some article of the Christian faith. To the unbelieving mind some of the inferences drawn by Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow may appear as hardly being warranted by the premisses. The book is, however, very readable and instructive, and no one, on making a comparison between it and the volumes of Mr. Parker, can doubt, for the purposes of illustration, the superiority of chromo-lithographs over photographs.

The fame of one of our greatest surgeons is justly preserved by the Hunterian Oration annually delivered at the College of Surgeons, and Dr. Humphry has done wisely in publishing the Address he delivered on the occasion.¹³ His object has been not simply to honour the memory of Hunter, but to inspire those who follow the profession of healing by reminding them of the salient points of the famous anatomist's character, "and to endeavour so to fan the fire of his example that it may burn more and more steadily and brightly, and may warm us and others to nobler and better work." Hunter possessed in a marked degree those qualities which give certainty and success to effort. The vast collection he gathered together is a proof, if it were needed, of his unwearied industry. "To have made such a museum is one of the greatest of human achievements," says Dr. Humphry; "to have thought carefully and well upon every specimen

¹² "*Roma Sotteranea*." By the Revs. J. Northcote, and W. Brownlow. 1 vol. Longmans.

¹³ "*The Hunterian Oration*." By G. M. Humphry, M.D., F.R.S. Macmillan & Co.

in it is far more; it is one of the greatest of human glories." Hunter was the keenest of observers, and his facts and his theories are always in due relation to one another. Few men made more experiments, few have thought more, and in fewer still has the balance between so large an amount of work and so large an amount of thought been through life so well maintained. His "*Principles of Surgery*" is the most comprehensive, the most philosophic, and the best exposition of the subject ever yet written; a work which more than any other carries anatomists and experimentalists above technical details into the region of principles and general laws. Those who wish to study the man and his work may safely be referred to this interesting treatise.

From prize essays we seldom expect very much.¹⁴ Facts will be diligently collected and stand in the place of ideas; opinions more obvious than profound will be freely indulged in; the grammar will be correct; the style will be a reflection of the youthful essayist's favourite authors; there will be a little grandiloquence and much information, which, if not new, will be well put together and digested. Those fond of this class of literature will find this Essay of Mr. Hume Williams neither better nor worse than its fellows, and an hour may be worse spent than in reading his pages.

This valuable work is in reality a history of civilisation as interpreted by the progress of jurisprudence.¹⁵ Savage nations are governed by savage laws, but as they become more and more under the influence of a higher morality and of a deeper intellectual cultivation, their progress is plainly visible by a study of their Statute Book. Capital punishment for the most trivial offences is abolished; confessions wrung by all the cruelties of an exquisite torture are terrors of the past; the laws of evidence are no longer at the mercy of the perjured and the infamous; important rights cease to be decided by the regulations of the judicial combat; the jurisdiction of purely ecclesiastical tribunals is carefully limited to those cases with which it should only specially deal; and the terrible chances and injustice contained in the system of ordeals make way for punishments decided only after impartial and searching investigation. The labours of the legislature not only embody the manners and customs of the time, but afford the surest outlines for a trustworthy picture of the past. In this careful volume Mr. Lea traces the progress of jurisprudence from its rudest days to the present time. By the light of his very interesting pages, we read the rise and fall of those peculiar judicial systems, the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal, and Torture, which at one time or another were in vogue throughout the world. Each of these systems is exhaustively treated, and much additional information is thrown upon the subject by the comparisons that are instituted between the systems adopted by the different countries in Europe and Asia. In "*Superstition and Force*" we have a philosophic survey of the long

¹⁴ "*Irish Parliaments, from 1782-1800. Cressingham Prize Essay.*" By W. Ellis Hume Williams. Cassell.

¹⁵ "*Superstition and Force.*" By H. C. Lea. Third Edition. Philadelphia: H. O. Lea. Trubner: London.

period intervening between primitive barbarity and civilised enlightenment. There is not a chapter in the work which should not be most carefully studied, and, however well-versed the reader may be in the science of jurisprudence, he will find much in Mr. Lea's volume of which he was previously ignorant. The book is a valuable addition to the literature of social science.

In this volume¹⁶ we have a collection of letters from Benjamin Constant, Goethe, Jacob Grimm, Guizot, Jacobi, Klopstock, Madame de Staël, and others of less note, to Professor Charles de Villiers, the exponent of the philosophy of Kant, and of the works of Luther. They do not appear to us of much interest. Letters, even though they be written by famous men, unless they contain information, wit, or profound remarks, are very much like ordinary letters, and scarcely worth the publishing. In wading through this correspondence we see little in these detached epistles of the great to Villiers that is of interest to the reader or of service to philosophy. Perhaps the best things in the volume are the letters of Madame de Staël criticising the work of Villiers on Kant, and those of Villiers upon "Delphine," the well-known novel of Madame de Staël. With this exception these "Briefe" are fragmentary and commonplace.

Mr. Heilprin is evidently a follower of Ewald and the Tübingen school of criticism, and in the first volume of his work upon the historical poetry of the Ancient Hebrews we have a well-digested summary of the examinations into the authenticity of certain chapters in the Old Testament with which most of us are familiar.¹⁷ Mr. Heilprin does not add much to our Biblical knowledge; he is more an exponent of the prevailing views upon theology than an original thinker. Every reader of the works of the great German school of criticism scarcely needs Mr. Heilprin to tell us that the authorship of the Psalms is disputed; that the laws in the Pentateuch, as laid down by Moses, date from a much later period; that when Napoleon occupied three days and nights in making his 230,000 men cross the Niemen by the aid of three bridges, and in close file, it is somewhat a demand upon our credulity to believe that three millions of Israelites, flying from their pursuers, forded the Red Sea in a single night; that we possess no evidence from Egyptian sources of Hebrew traditions; that there is a strong similarity between the exploits of Samson and Hercules; and that the character of David has been cruelly maligned. These are statements which have been as warmly brought forward as they have been as warmly defended or explained, and every schoolboy, to use a hackneyed phrase, is familiar with them. Still, if Mr. Heilprin does not teach us much that is new, he has a keen appreciation of the poetical beauties of the Old Testament, and the reader will thank him for the selections from Hebrew Psalmsody he has made, and for the critical comments he passes upon the different poets and their works.

¹⁶ "Briefe." Hamburg: Otto Meissner.

¹⁷ "Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews." By Michael Heilprin. Vol. I. New York: D. Appleton.

We are at an utter loss to know why this little volume¹⁸ should have reached the light. We took it up in the hope that, as Colonel Anderson had served in the war of American Independence, we should have been treated to those interesting details which only an eye-witness can give. We were soon disappointed, for a scantier account of a commonplace life was never written. The book is dull, is childish, is feeble. We can only conclude that it was presented to the world to show that, in these days of *parvenus*, Mr. Anderson had a grandfather. If so, his family pride is stronger than his skill in composition.

In the second volume of his well-known work Mr. Holyoake deals entirely with the constructive period of Co-operation.¹⁹ His history has appeared at an opportune moment. There can be little doubt that all commercial and agricultural principles will in the future be based upon co-operation. Isolation will merge into amalgamation, and the middle-man in all branches of trade will be as extinct as the dodo. In this exhaustive work we have a full account of the history of co-operation—of its rise, its progress, the nature of the principles it upholds, the difficulties it has to overcome, and the extensive future that lies before it. All interested in the grave questions at issue between labour and capital should make themselves master of these volumes.

These records of the famous gaol of the North have a melancholy interest of their own.²⁰ The authors have spared no pains by consulting the best authorities to make their work of value to the antiquary and the historian. Thanks to their pen, we have an interesting account, compiled from local sources, of the early history of York Castle, of the governors who held office, of the executions and deaths that took place in the Castle, and of the political prisoners who were confined within its cells. Such a book is to an extent gloomy reading, but it belongs to a class of literature which is a very important element in the study of history. Our prison records offer revelations invaluable to the historian of social life. From this volume we learn that 564 people were either hanged or beheaded at York between the years 1370 and 1879.

It is only right that the town once dignified by the title of the "Key of the North" should have its historian, and in this splendid work of Mr. Brown's, it has no reason to complain either of its chronicler or its publisher.²¹ A more finished work we have not had the pleasure of noticing for some time. When we remember how often fierce troops contended for the possession of Newark fortress, how King John ended his days within its walls, how loyally it held its own during the stormy years of the Civil War, how many eminent men have lived within the town, or visited it for literary or political purposes—David Hartley, Bishop Warburton, Byron, Wilde, Thesiger, and Gladstone—

¹⁸ "Soldier and Pioneer." A Biographical Sketch of Lieut.-Col. Richard O. Anderson. By E. L. Anderson. New York: Putnam.

¹⁹ "History of Co-operation." By George Jacob Holyoake. Vol. II. Trübner.

²⁰ "Records of York Castle." By A. W. Twyford and Major Griffiths. 1 vol. Griffith and Farran.

²¹ "The Annals of Newark-upon-Trent." By Cornelius Brown. H. Sotheran & Co., Piccadilly. 1879.

we may congratulate Mr. Brown upon his theme, and upon the able manner in which he has executed it. He has written not merely a historical or an antiquarian work, but a volume which appeals to that wide class which wishes to know all the past and the present of its chief towns put in an interesting form. The book is illustrated by numerous engravings and autographs, and by nine photographs by the Woodbury permanent process. These photographs are absolutely perfect in colour and sharpness of outline. We especially would draw attention to these three—"Newark Parish Church," "The Dawn of Death," and the "Original Grant of Arms."

These letters constitute a valuable complement to Mr. Forster's life of the great novelist.²² They give precisely the information about the man and his work which is in a marked degree conspicuous by its absence from the latter part of Mr. Forster's biography. Mr. Forster, in spite of the warm affection that existed between him and Charles Dickens, saw comparatively but little of his friend during the last years of his life. His marriage, his appointment as one of the Commissioners of Lunacy, and his constant official absences from London, naturally deprived Mr. Forster of much of that liberty and freedom of action that had formerly been permitted him, and the two friends were more severed than they had ever before been. Thus, in the second volume of his Biography we do not have the Charles Dickens we wish to see; we are treated more to his labours than to those little details of character which are always interesting in the famous. In these letters, collected by loving hands, we see the novelist as those who read his books would wish to see him—the warm friend, the charming correspondent, full of fun, geniality, wit, and great natural kindliness of feeling. These volumes are sure to be much read, for they supply a want which Mr. Forster's work, excellent though it was, did not exactly satisfy. The letters are smartly written, full of life, observation, and that "go" which was so essentially the characteristic of Dickens.

Mr. Baring-Gould has undertaken an important task in writing an exhaustive work on Germany.²³ The position which the once modest House of Brandenburg has suddenly assumed in the military, political, and intellectual history of Europe, cannot but make any work which enlightens us upon the real condition of the great Teutonic Empire welcome. We should have preferred Mr. Baring-Gould to have given us more of his own impressions of Germany and Germans than to have relied so much upon the views and opinions of "authorities." There is a great deal of information in these volumes touching the aristocracy and landed gentry, the forest laws, the military discipline, the social habits, the creed and culture of Germany; but the whole is so mixed up with what may be called "padding," that whilst we do not tire of Mr. Baring-Gould himself, we grow weary of those from whom he has compiled. Though the book is not free from errors, it is evident that the author has been

²² "The Letters of Charles Dickens." 2 vols. Chapman & Hall.

²³ "Germany: Past and Present." By S. Baring-Gould. 2 vols. Kegan Paul & Co.

a close observer of German life, and that he can depict and condemn with no incompetent hand what he has seen and what he has thought out for himself. We are glad to find that Mr. Baring-Gould does not approach his subject with the bitter prejudice of certain writers, which render their opinions and information valueless. He has painted the Germans as Cromwell wished his own face to be painted—with the warts; but unlike certain critics upon Teutonic life and manners he has not painted the face full of warts. "Germany: Past and Present" strikes us as a work which, from certain faults of construction and an evident hastiness in execution, has just missed being a good book.

This biography, which has now reached its fourth volume,²⁴ takes the reader from the end of the year 1809 to the end of the year 1811, and deals with the Legislative Sessions of 1809, 1810, and 1811; the seizure of Madame de Stael's works on Germany, the Continental blockade, the election of Bernadotte to the throne of Sweden, the war in the Iberian Peninsula, the warlike preparations against Russia, and the other well-known incidents of the period. We cannot but deplore the death of the author, for had he been spared to complete his work it would have stood out amongst the many biographies of the great Napoleon as not only the most interesting, but as historically the most accurate.

This is a most readable work upon a great but little known man.²⁵ It is a translation of the sketch of Erasmus Darwin, the author of the "Zoonomia" and "Botanic Garden," by Dr. Ernst Krause, which appeared in the German scientific journal, "Kosmos." The sketch is preceded by a preliminary notice drawn up by Charles Darwin from Erasmus Darwin's commonplace book, letters, notices, and other private sources. To those who may be deterred from taking up this little volume for fear of its too scientific nature, we hasten to assure them that their timidity is quite uncalled for. The book is amusing, full of curious and out-of-the-way information, and giving much useful knowledge of scientific subjects under cover of the most agreeable chit-chat.

A man who has knocked about the world for some fifty years, who has gone through various startling adventures, who has kept his eyes open so as to take note of what he sees, and who can describe the various incidents in his romantic life with no little power, is sure of an audience. This Captain Barry has done, and we have no work before us at the present time which we can more strongly recommend to the perusal of the young.²⁶ It is well illustrated.

It is strange that one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of patriotism and religious devotion should have remained so long without an historian worthy of the occasion. The war of La Vendée²⁷ was

²⁴ "History of Napoleon." By P. Lanfrey. Vol. IV. Macmillan & Co.

²⁵ "Erasmus Darwin." John Murray. 1879.

²⁶ "Up and Down; or, Fifty Years' Colonial Experiences." By Captain Barry. Sampson Low & Co.

²⁷ "Histoire de La Vendée." Par M. l'Abbé Deniau. 6 volumes. Angers: Lachèse et Dolbeau.

an inevitable event in the Revolution. Backed by the sea and the Loire, traversed by few roads, and covered with villages and hamlets, the country had maintained its ancient state of feudal existence. In La Vendée there was little education and civilisation, because there was no middle class; and there was no middle class, because there were no towns. The inhabitants content with their nobles, and taught by their priests, were devoted to the ancient order of things and understood nothing of a Revolution. The nobles and priests finding themselves a strong party in this quarter of the country did not emigrate, and there it was that in reality existed the partisans of the old *régime*. Thus, La Vendée and France were soon in a state of antagonism to each other; on the one side were those who believed in the divine right of kings and the sanctity of the priesthood, and those who believed in liberty and human reason. The order for the recruiting of the army became the signal of revolt. Under the leadership of Bonchamps, Lescure, La Roche Jaquelin, and others, the insurrection spread throughout the country, and the army of the Revolution was defeated. The Vendéans became masters of Châtillon, Bressuire, and Vihiers; they divided themselves into three bodies and held out manfully against their foes, until their annihilation at Savenay, Dec. 22, 1793. The final pacification of the province was effected by the Treaty of Luçon, Jan. 17, 1800, nearly a million victims having fallen in the struggle. The history of M. Deniau is brilliantly written and compiled from documents which until now have never seen the light. Written by a Catholic priest, and dedicated to the Bishop of Angers, the work, we need hardly say, is the product of an author whose prejudices are warmly on the side of those who fought for the maintenance of their faith and of the aristocratic principle. From such a work, and dealing with such a period, we cannot expect impartiality—we must content ourselves with reading new matter, listening to the writer's opinions, and judging for ourselves of the incidents and characters that are brought before us. From the Catholic point of view—and we should estimate our author's work from the aim he himself sets before him—M. Deniau has written a most able and interesting history of one of the most spirited events in French history.

The history of slavery constitutes an important element in every work which describes the social and political life of the ancients, but until the volumes of M. Wallon appeared no author has so made the subject his special study as to write exhaustively upon it.²⁸ We can best illustrate the nature of M. Wallon's volumes by stating what it is he lays before the reader. After an elaborate introduction on the origin of slavery, the author deals with the different nations that practised it and the course they pursued in relation to it. We have slavery as carried out by the Jews, the Egyptians, the Indians, the Assyrians, the Chinese, and by the Medes and Persians; the laws regulating it and the usages in vogue. We have slavery as practised in

²⁸ "Histoire de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité." By H. Wallon. 3 vols.. Paris: Hachette. 1879.

the days of ancient Greece ; its origin, its particular duties, its adoption by the colonies and by the conquered races, its relationship to free labour, the condition of the slaves, and the laws touching their emancipation. We have slavery as upheld by Imperial Rome ; the duties, employment, and price of the slaves ; the condition of the slaves in the State and in private families, the influence of slavery upon the servile and the free classes, the modification of slavery through the spread of Christianity and philosophical teaching, slavery in its relation to imperial and municipal administration, and the doctrine of the early Church upon the subject. This elaborate work of M. Wallon's is a valuable contribution to the social history of the past. Though a book more for the library than for the circulating library, it is written in a style far from heavy. The chapters entitled "*L'Eglise et l'Esclavage*," "*L'Eglise et la Liberté*," and "*L'Eglise et la Loi*," are as interesting as anything in Gibbon.

This little work, of which only two volumes have as yet appeared, is an attempt to write, in a popular style, the history of France.²⁰ The volumes are well illustrated, the stories of the events are graphically told, and from the one chapter relating to the English occupation of Normandy that we have tested, appear to be characterised by an accuracy not always to be found in histories that aim at popularity.

In this somewhat bulky book we have selections from the numerous speeches of the great American orator, introduced by an appreciative essay upon the style of Daniel Webster, by Mr. E. P. Whipple.²¹ To those who admire the old-fashioned style of eloquence and who can bring themselves to take an interest in the minor matters of the past, which at one time excited considerable attention across the Atlantic, this volume will be welcome. It calls attention anew to the genius and character of Daniel Webster as a lawyer, statesman, diplomatist, and patriot, and will undoubtedly revive public interest in the great body of his works. The oratory of Webster is a mixture of Burke and Chatham, full of passion, yet logical, argumentative, convincing. Considering the difficulty of selecting where all is so excellent, the editor has performed his task well ; the speeches "*On the Bunker Hill Monument*," the "*Character of Washington*," and the "*Revolution in Greece*," are very favourable specimens of the fusion of passion and logic which was eminently the main feature in the eloquence of the great American lawyer and statesman.

This brochure²² consists of a series of letters recently discovered by M. Muller in Holland, forming part of a correspondence that took place between the Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia and the Queen Christine with the celebrated philosopher Descartes. The answers of the two ladies to the letters of the philosopher upon such subjects as the union of the soul with the body, the passions, and the principles of mathematics, exhibit considerable culture and insight into character.

²⁰ "*Nouvelle Histoire de France*." By Edmond Py. Sougez. Toulouse.

²¹ "*Speeches and Orations of Daniel Webster*." Sampson Low & Co.

²² "*Descartes la Princesse Elisabeth et la Reine Christine d'après des lettres inédites par A. Foucher de Careil*." Paris : Germer-Baillière.

The most interesting portion of the pamphlet is, however, that which gives a sketch of the life and character of the fair correspondents.

Mr. Spenser St. John has performed the task entrusted to him with a tact and ability which fully justified the confidence reposed in him as a man of letters.³² The life of the late Sir James Brooke could not, from the very nature of his career, but be interesting; no one will say that Mr. St. John's book is deficient in this respect, but, in addition to the interesting details of the Rajah he has collected, he is, without being dull or didactic, extremely instructive, and his instruction is upon subjects little known to Englishmen. The different incidents in the career of the Rajah are told with much spirit, whilst the information we obtain into the inner life—social and political—of Borneo leaves nothing to be desired. Sir James Brooke was sprung from an ancient Somersetshire family, and early entered the Indian army, serving in the Burmese war. Being severely wounded at Rungpoor, he quitted the service, and for a time quietly enjoyed the ample fortune to which he had succeeded. In 1835 he became the captain of a yacht and an expert crew, and sailed for the East with the avowed intention of suppressing the Malay pirates. Landing at Sarawak, he assisted in quelling a rebellion of the Dyaks, and received the title of Rajah of Sarawak. Sir James now devoted all his attention to the extinction of piracy, in which he was very successful; but the Sultan of Borneo being jealous of English influence, caused several of our settlers to be massacred; the new Rajah avenged the murder of his countrymen by leading an expedition, with the assistance of Admiral Cochrane, against the capital, where he defeated the Sultan's army and obtained the cession to England of the island of Labuan. On his return to England, in 1847, Brooke was received with great honour, the decoration of the Bath was conferred on him, and he was appointed Governor of Labuan, with a salary of 2000*l.* a year. To those who wish to learn the further history of this pioneer of English civilisation and commerce in the Eastern seas—how he suppressed piracy, how ably he governed his Asiatic subjects, how he lost his property and had to fly for his life when England became involved in hostilities with China, how he checked the revolts that were constantly breaking out, and the like—we must refer them to the interesting pages of this exciting biography.

BELLES LETTRES.

PERHAPS the best of the novels this quarter is not only a reprint,¹ but not even written by an Englishman. What is the particular excellence of Mr. James's novels? This may be best answered by turning to the collection² of his shorter tales, which are really and truly

³² "Life of Sir James Brooke." By Spenser St. John. Blackwood & Sons.

¹ "The Americans." By Henry James, jun. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

² "The Madonna of the Future." And other Tales. By Henry James, jun. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

novels in miniature. The first thing which strikes us is the care which he takes to make everything quite plain for the reader. He fills up all details. He spares no pains to bring out his characters into full relief. There is nothing slovenly about his writing. Many of our ablest novelists, especially women, seem to write with a sort of sympathetic ink, which requires holding to some fire before the words become plain. Not so Mr. James. Take, for instance, "The Diary of a Man of Fifty." Nothing can be better than its opening. Mr. James takes for his text—"A man is as old as he feels, but a woman as old as she looks," and plays all round about it for nearly a couple of pages. We are at once put on friendly terms with the speaker, and begin his diary as naturally as we do our own on the first of the New Year. This is Mr. James's secret—he gets upon good terms with his reader. But to do this, as Thackeray did it, and Mr. James still does it, requires not only a great deal of humour, but also a great deal of art.

Mr. McCarthy³ is also one of the few novelists who respects himself, and therefore respects the reader. He, too, is also careful. He draws his characters both distinctly and consistently. Take, for instance, the following sketch:—"He was a tall, lean man, some fifty years of age, or thereabouts. . . . His thin hair and whiskers had that dusty grey on their edges which always suggests what Henry of Navarre called the wind of adversity blowing in the face. It showed curiously unlike the soft comfortable grey that speaks of life to the latest well enjoyed, and of dinners always sure to come at the right times." Now, this is just as good a portrait as Mr. James's of the man of fifty, who had "a fair fortune, a tidy conscience, and a complete exemption from embarrassing relatives, and therefore bound in delicacy to make himself happy." Both portraits, we repeat, are equally well done, and exactly bring out to a shadow the two different characters which are sought to be represented. We might go on to compare Mr. James's and Mr. McCarthy's styles of humour, but this would lead us too far afield. We must content ourselves, therefore, with saying that an admirable specimen of Mr. McCarthy's humour may be found near the end of the second volume, where Paulina Vanthorpe addresses the meeting.

Mrs. Lynn Linton's⁴ new novel has already created enough bitterness and ill-feeling in certain quarters. We are certainly not going to fan the flames of passion. We are no advocates of novels with a purpose. Their special fault is that they always heap the virtue all on one side. Yet if it is permissible to write political novels, we do not see why it is so dreadfully wrong to write ecclesiastical ones. If it is allowable for Mr. Mallock to write on one side and hold up living persons to scorn and ridicule, we do not see that it is so very wicked

³ "Donna Quixote." By Justin McCarthy, Author of "Dear Lady Disdain," "Miss Misanthrope," &c. &c. With Twelve Illustrations by Arthur Hopkins. London: Chatto & Windus. 1879.

⁴ "Under Which Lord." By E. Lynn Linton, Author of "The World Well Lost," "Patricia Kembell," &c. &c. With Twelve Illustrations by Arthur Hopkins. London: Chatto & Windus. 1879.

for Mrs. Linton to write on the other, especially when she gives us merely fictitious characters. Nor do we perceive that Mrs. Linton is guilty of any over-statement. Every one who lives in this country must know the state into which many parishes have been flung by the introduction of Ritualism. The attitude, too, of the Church, whether it be High or Low, towards Science, is in the country notoriously one of bitterest antagonism. We do not think that Mrs. Lynn Linton at all exaggerates that feeling when she makes the clergyman's sister say, "I hold all infidels to be possessed. They are the emissaries of the Evil One, and this so-called Modern Science is the means by which he works. But you will conquer in the end, Launcelot. The Church is stronger than the Pit" (vol. i. p. 73). Such speeches are common enough in country rectories and vicarages. It is, however, by far the best plan to take no notice of them, still less to make them the theme for a novel. Art has nothing to do with such things, either on one side or the other. The book, however, is sure to be widely read. As we said of Mr. Mallock's novels, so we say of Mrs. Linton's—it will do good in one direction, it will make people think for themselves, it will open their minds in new directions, it will show them that outside the Church there is a spirit of inquiry abroad which will not rest contented with the Church's explanations and the Church's doctrines.

Mr. Meredith⁵ is, perhaps, our most artistic novelist, and, for that very reason, by no means popular with mere subscribers to Mudie's. His audience is few, but fit. His style may be compared to inlaid work. No mosaic is so carefully pieced together as are his sentences. If we may say such a thing, he is over-fastidious. He is, in a word, what the world would vulgarly call too clever. Take, for instance, the following paragraph:—"Strange eclipse, when the hue of truth comes shadowing over our bright ideal planet. It will not seem the planet's fault, but truth's. Reality is the offender; delusion the treasure that we are robbed of. Then begins with us the time of wilful delusion, and its necessary accompaniment of the disgust of reality, exhausting heart much more than patient endurance of starvation" (vol. i. pp. 55, 56). Now, this is undeniably clever writing, but was it quite worth the while to wrap up such a simple, we might almost say commonplace, proposition in such mysterious terms? This is Mr. Meredith's great fault—he overdoes his cleverness. If he was more simple, he would be far more effective. Like all Mr. Meredith's novels, "The Egoist" is full of poetry, subtle observation, and sparkling epigrams.

Major Griffiths⁶ does not improve in style. He is still as vulgar as ever, for, as there is a vulgarity of dress, so there is a vulgarity of style. What we mean by vulgarity of style may be illustrated by the following sentence, which occurs in the beginning of his first volume:—

⁵ "The Egoist. A Comedy in Narrative." By George Meredith. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.

⁶ "A Wayward Woman." By Arthur Griffiths, Author of "Lola," &c. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1879.

"Men worship women in the first instance through their eyes—wealth of brain-power slowly asserts itself. It is heavily handicapped, and cannot easily compete with the reflection of winsome personal charms upon the male retina." Such a sentence as this at once proclaims to what school the author belongs. Other worse specimens might easily be selected. The general tone of the book is loud and noisy. There is abundance of horse-play which the writer mistakes for humour. The second volume is decidedly the best, and the best part of that is the account of the Zeuxis Club; but we hope the world will not accept the author's picture of artists and literary men as anything but a caricature.

The other novels of the quarter we must treat more briefly. Amongst the best of them we may place "Beating the Air,"⁷ and "David Leslie."⁸ The first of these two shows, perhaps, a greater knowledge of the world in certain matters, but they both curiously resemble one another in the way in which they represent Anglo-Indian society. Each throws a great deal of light upon the other. Mr. Burke, if we rightly remember, privately published, some three or four years since, a most interesting little volume on Spanish proverbs. His present work shows a great deal of literary power. Mr. Thorburn's book, too, is equally well written. After these two may be ranked "Sister,"⁹ "Grace Elwyn,"¹⁰ and "Children's Children."¹¹ In them the professional novel reader will find plenty of incident and plenty of love scenes.

As is usual we have received a number of translations of foreign novels. Perhaps the best of them is "From the Foam of the Sea."¹² The English, however, is at times hardly satisfactory. The following sentence, for instance, does not read quite so fluently as might be wished:—"There was a tile upon a roof; now it is there no longer, because it detached itself and fell. A man passed by at the moment, and received it upon his head. There is confusion; there is chance, you say; imagining that the tile was made on purpose to remain upon the roof." This, it should be added, occurs in an argument as to what is meant by chance. The book will have a special interest for artists. Another work, "Love Blinded,"¹³ by the same author, may also be recommended. "Herman"¹⁴ is decidedly one of the best of

⁷ "Beating the Air." By Ulick Ralph Burke. London: Chapman & Hall. 1879.

⁸ "David Leslie. A Story of the Afghan Frontier." By S. S. Thorburn (Bengal Civil Service). London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1879.

⁹ "Sister." London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1879.

¹⁰ "Grace Elwyn." By the Author of "The Château de Vésinet," &c. &c. London: Chapman & Hall. 1879.

¹¹ "Children's Children. A Story of Two Generations." By Alan Muir. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1879.

¹² "From the Foam of the Sea." By Salvatore Farina. Translated by Marcellina. London: Charing Cross Publishing Company. 1879.

¹³ "Love Blinded." By Salvatore Farina. Translated by Marcellina. London: Charing Cross Publishing Company. 1879.

¹⁴ "Herman." By E. Werner. Translated by Helen K. Brown. London: Remington & Co. 1879.

Werner's novels which we have seen, and appears to be fluently translated.

One of the most original volumes of poetry which we have seen for a long time is "The Village Life."¹⁵ There is much in it that reminds us, however, of "Hilda" and other poems, by Mr. Walter C. Smith, whose works are not nearly so well known as they should be. "The Village Life," however, we fear, wants the elements of popularity. There is a certain stiffness, which never rises into stateliness, about the whole poem,—an angularity of style, if we may venture on such a phrase. The village characters are very correctly drawn, but we can hardly call them living. There is a want of flesh and blood. They are, in a word, hard. Perhaps the best of the sketches is The Parson, simply because it most touches our feelings. The conclusion of the sketch is particularly good, and may fairly challenge comparison with any work of the kind produced in our day:—

"A painful, but a noble task
Was his,—the task to gently draw
Out of its coarse and hardened mask
The spiritually higher life,
And steady it to heaven's law ;
A task too great, for his own soul
But faintly felt the greater light
His Church's ancient creed eclipsed.
He saw the little glints that stole
Past broken edges of the rim,
And sweet their influence was to him,
And through the rents, that centuries
Of conflict hard had slowly worn
Some jagged beams of splendour bright
Into his inmost soul were borne.
But the divinest ray of all
That lit him on his narrow way
Was duty, work—that heavenly call
He sought to follow and obey" (pp. 82, 83).

Sometimes, however, the author tries to get effects which are at present beyond him. Thus, when in "The Old Professor" he endeavours to put into verse Epicharmus's saying *Noûs ôpâ kal nou's âkouêi. τ' ἀλλὰ κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά*, he attempts a task where failure is no disgrace. The same fault in a measure pervades the very clever sketch of the "Doctor." The author has put upon his Muse a burden too heavy for her to bear. We should be the last, however, to say that the victories of Science should not be sung. To do this is the mission of the coming poet. May the author of "Village Life" some day succeed. He possesses many qualifications.

The authoress of "The Crusaders"¹⁶ shows here and there a vein of poetry. At times, however, she is very confused. Here is a passage which requires a note of explanation:—

¹⁵ "The Village Life." Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1879.

¹⁶ "The Crusaders. A Romaunt and other Poems." By G. N. C. London: Newman & Co. 1879.

"The reaper and his sweltering team appear,
The meadow falls as men in battle slain,
But peace abounds, and busy is each swain,
Some rake the hay, some fork, and raise on high" (p. 95).

Who is the reaper? Hay is not generally reaped; the reader will say. The authoress in her enthusiasm to celebrate the progress in agricultural improvement evidently means the machine of that name. Her grammar, however, suffers by this explanation; but it is better that grammar should suffer than sense.

When we remember the fate of Sir Henry Taylor's plays—decidedly the finest written since Jonson's day—we take up any new dramatic poem with feelings of regret for the author. Taylor's plays are scarcely ever mentioned in literary society, and very rarely quoted in the magazines and reviews. The exquisite songs scattered throughout them have found no place in our collections of lyrical poems. Now and then some solitary voice, like that of Sir Coutts Lindsay's, is raised in their defence, but is soon drowned in the critical clamour which rages around. If Taylor could not make good his claim to be heard, what chance has any other writer? By this time Ross Neil¹⁷ ought to be well known to the public. He, or she, for we do not feel quite sure on this point, has already published three volumes of very remarkable plays. They have not, however, as far as we are aware, attracted any attention at Mudie's. One of them, "Elfinella," to which we called special attention in this Review for its grace and delicacy, was brought out at the Princess's Theatre. It met, however, with no success. The truth was that it was far above the heads of the audience, and was displaced by some sensational piece, which had a long run. In the face of all this it requires a bold reviewer to say that Ross Neil's plays are, after Taylor's, the finest which this generation has seen. They are essentially dramatic, we do not mean in mere situation, but, in what is far more difficult, in the portrayal of the characters, and in their touches of human nature. Plays lie under great disadvantage in being reviewed. A reviewer can make good his assertions in the case of a poem by quoting a few lines here and there. But a drama will not be served in this fashion. You must quote an entire scene to make good your words, to show the variety of the characters, the shades of feeling, the collision of human passion, and all in short which makes a drama. For this we have no room in this section. We can only, therefore, simply say that we think that Ross Neil has made a great advance in the present volume. There is a greater terseness in the language and the metaphors, a fuller mastery of the resources of blank verse, and, above all, a deeper knowledge of human character.

"Poems and Sonnets"¹⁸ are of the usual commonplace sort. Here are a couple of lines on a collision between two ships:—

¹⁷ "Arabella Stuart. The Heir of Linne. Tasso." Plays by Ross Neil. Author of "Lady Jane Grey," "Inez," "The Cid," "Elfinella," &c. &c. London: Ellis & White. 1879.

¹⁸ "Poems and Sonnets." By Harriett Stockall. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1879.

"No tongue can speak ; no vivid fancy dream,
No pen depict its awful, hopeless strife" (p. 151). .

If no tongue, and no fancy, and no pen can describe the scene, why does Miss Stockall attempt to do it? The real truth, however, is that the lines are a confession, not that the scene cannot be described, but that Miss Stockall cannot describe it, and that she does not possess the true gift of poetry.

"Original Readings"¹⁹ are a good deal above the mark of such performances. Both the poetry and the prose deserve a word of something more than mere recommendation. Those who are in search of pieces, which can be recited without the aid of scenery and other theatrical appliances, are sure to find something to suit them in this little volume.

"Sketches of Cambridge, in Verse,"²⁰ is evidently the production of a very young man or woman. It is a sort of "Murray" in rhyme. The writer is excessively enthusiastic upon a number of subjects. He, however, allows his zeal to get the better of his sense of beauty when he writes such a stanza as,—

"In every sect in Christendom,—
In England's worship or in Rome,
In Greek or Presbyterian,
In Luther, or in Wesleyan."

Only Brady and Tate can be permitted to write in this style. Such a line, however, as,

"There is a college in St. Andrew's Street,"

could not be permitted even to them.

"Fantasma"²¹ is a kind of gigantic fairy pantomime, put together with a great deal of cleverness and power. The most original character, perhaps, is a nigger, who, if he does not, like Bottom, fall in love with the fairies, falls into the hands of sprites and witches. The great fault of the piece is that the fairy characters want more individuality. Shakspeare distinguishes his fairies. Puck, Mab, and Ariel are all distinct. Here one fairy is nearly as good as another. There is a want of lightness, too, about many of their songs. Coming after Shakspeare, the author, perhaps, could not well escape his influence. The speech of Fantasma's, at page 121, should not, however, quite so closely have resembled a certain well-known speech of Titania's. Perhaps the play, with certain alterations, might be adapted to the stage. Some of the scenic effects would certainly look very well. The finest, perhaps, is to be found in the fifth part, in the dialogue between the Hermit and Fantasma. The following lines are certainly fine:—

¹⁹ "Original Readings, in Prose and Verse." Read in Public by Mrs. Stirling, Miss Cowen, Marlande Clarke, and others. By R. Henry. London: Newman & Co. 1879.

²⁰ "Sketches of Cambridge, in Verse." By Julian Horns. First Series. London: Newman & Co. 1879.

²¹ "Fantasma: and other Poems." Kansas City, MO. U.S.A.: Ramsey, Millet & Hudson. 1879.

"God's staves are beauty and bonds, but thou wouldst break
The first, and make the last an iron rod.
The best of men have made mistakes, but few
So deadly and so passing strange as this :
To drive out beauty from her Father's house,
So that she wanders homeless through the world."

We should have been glad, had we space, to have quoted some more passages. If the writer is young there is probably a future for him.

"The Storm, and Random Rhymes"²³ certainly do not hold out much promise. Here is a stanza from "To-Morrow":—

"It promises life new and dear,
But, with the joyous jingle
Of marriage bells, how oft we hear
Muffled memoriams mingle."

This is the kind of stonemason's poetry which we occasionally see in village churchyards.

Who will not welcome "Alice in Wonderland"²³ upon the stage? She has come out of her looking-glass, and makes her curtsy at the footlights in a very prettily got up book. Besides "Alice in Wonderland" there are some other excellent plays, especially the last, about a princess who invited her friends to a tea and a cry. How her tea and tears were so much more funny than most people's jokes, the reader must find out for himself. We must add a word of praise for the illustrations, many of which are excellent, full, like the book itself, of beauty and quiet fun.

Those who remember the article upon Milton by the Rector of Lincoln College, which appeared some years ago in *Macmillan's Magazine*, felt that he was pre-eminently the man to write his biography.²⁴ The three qualifications, which Aristotle says are necessary for the attainment of wisdom, are necessary for a biographer—nature, learning, and experience. We need not say that the Rector of Lincoln brings them all to his task. It would, however, be sheer impertinence on our part to praise his work. We will merely say that, if Milton himself could have had his choice of a biographer, he would, in the present day, probably have selected Mr. Pattison. We shall, instead of offering a mere barren tribute of praise, endeavour to look at the work from the standpoint of the German proverb, which says that a philosopher and a ploughman know more than a philosopher, especially when the ploughman confines himself to his own subject. What strikes us most in reading the book is the pains which Mr. Pattison takes to set the ordinary reader right. He spares no trouble to point out to him the exact meaning of Milton's studies, and the one passionate aim and desire of his life. Not only does Mr. Pattison do this, but he carefully

²³ "The Storm, and Random Rhymes." By John M'Laughlin. London : Newman & Co. 1879.

²³ "Alice, and other Fairy Plays for Children." By Kate Freiligrath-Kroecker. With eight original Plates and four Picture Initials. By Mary Sibbe. With original and adapted music. London : W. Swan Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

²⁴ "Milton." By Mark Pattison, B.D., Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. (English Men of Letters Series. Edited by John Morley.) London : Macmillan & Co. 1879.

explains how Milton's great epic came to be written, and how, in that day, no other subject was available, and then proceeds to pass in review the various criticisms which have been made, and to show how utterly untrue the majority of them are. Mr. Pattison has not, however, been at the same pains to dispose of the criticisms on "*L'Allegro*" and "*Il Penseroso*." He rightly points out, however, what we are all of us so apt to forget, that they with "*Comus*" hold a unique position in English literature. There was nothing like them before, and there has been nothing like them since. Yet they have not escaped the criticism of the Philistines. Mr. Pattison has given a short summary of these criticisms, but he has not thought fit to refute them. This is what we shall endeavour to do. First, however, let us give the passage in full:—

"The fidelity to Nature of the imagery of these poems ('*L'Allegro*' and '*Il Penseroso*') has been impugned by the critics.

'Then to come in spite of sorrow
And at my window bid good-morrow.'

The skylark never approaches human habitations in this way as the redbreast does. Mr. Masson replies that the subject of the verb 'to come' is not the skylark but '*L'Allegro*,' the joyous student. I cannot construe the lines as Mr. Masson does, even though the consequences were to convict Milton, a city-bred youth, of not knowing a skylark from a sparrow when he saw it. A close observer of things around us would not speak of the eglantine as twisted, of the cowslip as wan, of the violet as glowing, or of the reed as balmy. Lycidas's laureate hearse is to be strewn at once with primrose, woodbine, daffodil and jasmine. The pine is not rooted deep as high (P. R. 4416), but sends its roots along the surface. The elm, one of the thinnest-foliaged trees, is inappropriately named star-proof. Lightning does not singe the tops of trees of the forest, but either shivers them or cuts a groove down the stem. These and other such-like inaccuracies must be set down partly to conventional language used without meaning, the vice of Latin versification enforced as a task, but they are partly due to real defect of natural knowledge" (pp. 24, 25).

On the contrary, we hold that in the majority of these cases the defect is want of natural knowledge on the part of the critics. Let us take the first allegation about the skylark. To read the passage as Mr. Masson does is to kill the whole spirit of its poetry. It is the lark which bids good-morrow, as everybody knows who has lived in the country, not in an overgrown country-house, with its acres of shrubberies, but in a farmhouse or cottage placed in a grass field. Morning after morning in the spring have we heard the lark, as we lay in bed, both begin and end its song. No description can be so exquisitely true as Milton's. It is the very essence of Cockney criticism to find fault with the passage—the sort of criticism which proceeds from a man who has never heard good-morrow at his window, except from a Christmas wait, or seen a lark near a window, except in a bird-cage in the Seven Dials. We now come to the eglantine question. If the critics who object to the use of eglantine for honeysuckle will take the trouble to look into Dr. Prior's excellent work on the "*Popular Names of British Plants*" (1870), they will discover that the eglantine did not always mean the sweet-briar; and if they will take

the further trouble of looking into Britten's and Holland's "Dictionary of English Plant-Names" (1878), they will discover that *eglantine* is to this day the provincial name for the honeysuckle in the North of England, especially in parts of Yorkshire. We now come to the "cowslips wan" and the "glowing violet." Milton calls the cowslips "wan" with precisely the same reason and truth of observation that Shakspeare calls the oxlip "bold." Just as the oxlip holds up its single flowers erect, so has the cowslip a tendency to let its bells drop, especially after a certain period. Nothing can be more striking, when you enter a field full of oxlips and cowslips, than the extreme contrast between the two flowers. The "glowing violet" opens up a much wider question. Shakspeare calls the violet "dim." Shakspeare is thinking of the early sweet violet which comes in March, and for which you have to turn over the leaves before you can find it; but Milton means the later, unscented violet, which glows in the full May sun. No epithet could better describe it than "glowing." The Latins used the word "purple" as applied to a swan or even to snow, as best describing the glowing incandescence of whiteness. Milton has reversed the process, and translated purple by glowing. We feel ashamed to go on. We feel ashamed to be making these apologies for Milton. If we do not of ourselves spontaneously welcome a description, if an epithet does not at once come home to us, no amount of explanation will make us properly interpret either the one or the other. Those who cannot understand why Lycidas's hearse should be strewed with a variety of flowers are far enough away from the poet's land of imagination, which Goethe rightly says you must enter before you can understand the poet. Criticism, however, reaches the climax of Cockneyism when it declares that the elm is a thin-leaved tree. Such a critic's idea of an elm is evidently taken from the elms in Kensington Gardens, whose leaves begin to drop before they are grown. On the contrary, the elm, when in its favourite soil, a deep rich loam, is one of the thickest-leaved of our trees. So great is the weight of the leaves that the branches of the elm often break down in the summer under the burden. Further, in many parts of the country the leaf of the elm is collected as a manure on account of its valuable earthy constituents. Although we have not nearly finished what we had proposed to say, we are reluctantly compelled to stop. We should have liked to have said something about the reed and the pine, but this would have led us into a discussion on the province of the poet and the naturalist. We should have liked to have shown, too, how the poet's truth is in a certain sense higher than the truth of the naturalist. Somehow or another the idea has got spread that Milton saw Nature only by books, and every critic thinks he is entitled to find fault. It is quite true, as the Rector of Lincoln admits, that Milton did see Nature through books, and his criticism on Milton's description of the moon and Horace's "*errantem lunam*" is one of the very best of its kind in the book. But seeing Nature through books is a very different thing to seeing Nature only by and from books. Even Walton himself, if judged by the kind of criticism which is constantly applied to Milton,

fails, as he in a well-known passage uses "culverkeys" in an unusual sense. We should have much liked to have said something on Mr. Pattison's treatment of Milton's so-called plagiarisms, but must refrain. Milton has in our days been the subject of much vituperation from the High Church party. This was only to be expected. Milton must needs be both feared and hated by the party, which would reduce us all to mental slavery. We should not be surprised to hear that the Rector of Lincoln's work was excluded from all parish libraries, over which the High Church party have control.

"Those who educate children well, are more to be honoured than those who produce them," said Aristotle. Sir Coutts Lindsay,²⁵ however, not only produces pictures himself, but teaches others to produce them. Whether we are artists or sculptors or poets, or merely irresponsible reviewers, we are all of us in many ways indebted to his princely munificence. But it is the younger school of painters—those in whose pictures poetry plays so large a part—that school of which Burne Jones may be said to lead the van,—which owes the deepest debt to Sir Coutts Lindsay. Without the Grosvenor Gallery that school would never have been known to the general public. Sir Coutts Lindsay's address will therefore be read with the deepest interest by all who have any love for art. The main scope of the address, as its title indicates, is to show—to slightly alter the words of Socrates—"that to separate the beautiful from the honest, is imprudent, as if anything really were beautiful that is not honest." But the address does a good deal more than this. It sketches for us the rise and progress of the arts in our own day. Sir Coutts Lindsay is thoroughly impressed with the modern idea of a law of development which governs art no less than science. He plainly sees that each age produces its own art. Many of the younger artists will perhaps be apt to take offence at some of the opening sentences. Yet nothing can be truer than they are. As the Arabic proverb, quoted by Emerson, says, "the artist is more the child of his own day than of his own father." Each age translates and transmutes the past for itself and according to its own belief. There is no fear of the ancient myths dying out because we do not believe in them or treat them in the way which the ancients did. The story of the Sirens will last as long as men have passions. The tale of Venus and Adonis can never grow old whilst spring and summer and winter last. For those that have eyes Venus rises every day out of the sea. But the treatment of all these subjects must be our own—no copy, no echo. This, if we rightly understand Sir Coutts Lindsay, is the gist of his argument. Having taken this general survey of the position, Sir Coutts Lindsay proceeds to a brief review of the poetry of the day. For obvious reasons he is chary of names, as he is throughout the address. He also understands the wise maxim of neither praising nor blaming overmuch. Tennyson he, of course, singles out from the crowd, and with him joins Browning. (Of

²⁵ "Address on the Relation of Fine Art to Social Science." By Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart. (Delivered at the Social Science Congress at Manchester, October, 1879.) No Publisher's name given. London. 1879.

the younger poets generous mention is made of Rossetti, Swinburne and William Morris. Finally, Sir Coutts Lindsay does justice to one, whose merits have never yet been fully acknowledged, Taylor, the author of "Philip van Artevelde." From poetry Sir Coutts Lindsay passes on to music. It is the public here which is the master of the situation, and as long as the public demands "music-hall" music, so long will composers stoop to please the public. The criticism on Mr. Sullivan is thoroughly to the point. From music Sir Coutts Lindsay turns to architecture, "frozen music," as it has been well called, and here we may see how thoroughly wide and liberal his views are. He is not afraid of iron and steel and glass. "For my part," he says, "I see nothing to regret, but enough to fire our architects with a noble resolution to wield worthily the greater powers that the age has given into their hands. The Greeks met a new epoch with fresh invention; are we less capable of great efforts, is our courage less prompt than theirs?" These are bold words, but they are as wise as they are bold. We reluctantly pass by Sir Coutts Lindsay's remarks on sculpture, which are worthy of deep consideration, and hurry on to his criticisms on modern pictures. This portion of the address will probably form the battle-field between Sir Coutts Lindsay and his critics. For our own part, we think that the praise of Sir Edwin Landseer is out of all proportion. It is the sort of criticism which we might expect from a country squire if he possessed Sir Coutts Lindsay's gift of language. Again, we should as soon think of comparing Frith to Hogarth as the ribald vulgarity of *Town Talk* to the irony of Socrates. We pass on to pleasanter themes. Sir Coutts Lindsay's criticism on the pre-Raphaelites is thoroughly discriminating. Their mistake was that "they grasped Truth with the right hand, and put it aside with the left;" that is to say, in other words, they had not learnt, as Goethe puts it, "that Art is Art, precisely because it is not Nature." We should have been glad if Sir Coutts Lindsay had said somewhat more about Burne Jones. The public have yet to be educated as to why they should admire Burne Jones, and to be especially taught what there is in his pictures which makes them more "golden than gold." We should have been glad, too, if Sir Coutts Lindsay had mentioned some of the younger artists, more or less of the Burne Jones school—Crane, Armstrong, Stanhope, Strudwick, Miss Pickering, and others. The public here again has much to learn. Sir Coutts Lindsay's address, however, will do an immense deal of good. The opening of the Grosvenor Gallery formed an epoch in the history of English art. Sir Coutts Lindsay's name will be gratefully handed down to posterity as one of those few patrons of art who was himself both an artist and a critic.

"The Amateur Poacher" has far too much of "It's a fine day, let's go and kill something" spirit in it to be perfectly pleasant reading. No amount of fine writing, no amount of mere manual dexterity, as

seen in Landseer's pictures, can reconcile us to pictures of animals either dead or dying, killed for killing's sake. Poetry turns away from such themes. Condorcet and Sir Walter Scott have alone, as far as we know, expressed the right feeling on the subject. It is, however, but justice to say that the author of the "*Amateur Poacher*" expresses his abhorrence of the modern system of battues. An honourable feeling, too, of a love for beauty, which has made him more than once stay his otherwise murderous hand, peeps out in places. As for the book itself, it so thoroughly tells us the ins and outs and tricks of the poacher's craft, that it might be more truly called "*The Handbook of Poaching*" or "*The Poacher's Guide*." The author knows all those characters who are generally to be found in the village public-house when they have any money. The rabbit-catcher, the rat-catcher, the "*Moucher*," and the sporting landlord, are all very characteristically drawn. They would, however, become rather tiresome if the author had not relieved his pages with some descriptions of country scenery. These sketches form the real charm of the book. Here, for instance, is a pre-Raphaelite picture:—

"In the ditches, under the shade of the brambles, the hart's-tongue fern extended its long blade of dark glossy green. By the decaying stoles the hardy fern flourished, under the trees the lady fern will be found; and further up, nearer the wood, the tall brake almost supplanted the bushes. Oak and ash boughs reached across; in the ash the wood-pigeons lingered. Every now and then the bright colours of the green woodpeckers flashed to and fro their nests in a tree hard by. They would not have chosen it had not the place been nearly as quiet as the wood itself" (p. 156).

Here is another scene equally well done:—

"Just as in the early part of the year green buds and opening flowers welcome swallow and cuckoo, so the colours of the dying leaf prepare the way for the second feathered immigration in autumn. The maples are aglow with orange, the oaks one mass of buff, the limes bright gold, the elms a soft yellow. In the hawthorn thickets bronze spots abound; here and there a bramble leaf has turned a brilliant crimson" (p. 188).

We might quote many more passages equally true and equally beautiful, all testifying to the author's loving observation of the minutest changes at each season of the year. Our forefathers were happy in having Gilbert White, but the present writer promises to supply his place for the present generation. We should think that he might write a capital novel of village life, but he must take care not to trench too closely upon either Mr. Blackmore's or Mr. Hardy's ground. George Eliot's midlands do not come within the limits of either of these three writers. She is so far secure. But there seems some fear lest the west and south-west of England may not be drawn upon too much.

"If," says Mr. Pattison, in his "*Milton*," "there is any literary drudgery more mechanical than another, it is generally supposed to be that of making a dictionary." Scaliger's epigram, beginning "*Si quem dura manet sententia judicis olim*," is not forgotten. But the epigram is not true in these days, since etymology has assumed a

scientific form. Professor Skeat's²⁷ new dictionary is as interesting as a fairy tale. Every article in the work shows how language is "fossil poetry." To judge such a dictionary as it should be judged requires a specialist, and we shall not presume to pass our opinion on a work which has been the labour of nearly a lifetime. Professor Skeat requires no recommendation from us.

"The Encyclopædic Dictionary" fairly carries out its title.²⁸ It is a book meant for the masses, and is brought out at a cheap price. As far as we have tested it, the results have been satisfactory. As a dictionary of words it appears to be very full. All the Shakspearian phrases to which we have referred are thoroughly explained. Perhaps the articles referring to Art might be made somewhat fuller, and we certainly think that under Apollo some mention should have been made of the recent discovery of the true meaning of the figure, upon which Professor Colvin has written so well and so learnedly. With regard to etymology we should advise the editor simply to follow Professor Skeat's great work which we have just noticed. Under Shakspearian words some mention should be made of Schmidt's Dictionary. The illustrations would certainly bear improvement. For a book which is intended to be popular they should be far more numerous and of a more novel character.

Mr. Burnand's book²⁹ will be looked upon in very different ways by different readers. Those who regard the stage as Anathema will of course have nothing to do with it. His lightness of treatment will, too, only make the offence worse. Still, there are some serious things in it, and the suggestion that there should be a school of Dramatic Art is one of them. But this opens up such a very wide question as to the future of the drama in England, that we dare not enter upon it. For those who do not especially care about the stage, we can, however, recommend Mr. Burnand's book for its excellent jokes and admirable stories. The best of these refers to the late Dr. Donaldson's work on Jasher. One Sunday morning the walls of Cambridge were placarded with bills announcing that a certain clergyman would burn Donaldson's work in front of Trinity College. A mob soon collected. "Jasher! Donaldson! heresy!" were the cries. A town-and-gown row was imminent, when a quick-witted junior don appeared with an old Euclid in flames, and so the mob was appeased.

In no direction has so great an improvement taken place as in school-books. We may not have Bentleys and Porsons amongst us, but we have able, painstaking, conscientious scholars who devote their energies in a way which will be of the utmost consequence to the present and

²⁷ "An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. Arranged on an Historical Basis." By the Rev. Walter Skeat, M.A., Elmsington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge. (Part II. To be completed in four parts.) Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1879.

²⁸ "The Encyclopædic Dictionary. A New and Original Work of Reference to all the Words in the English Language." Edited by R. Hunter, M.A., F.G.S. Vol. I. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co. 1879.

²⁹ "The 'A. D. C.' Being Personal Reminiscences of the University Amateur Dramatic Club, Cambridge." By F.C. Burnand. London: Chapman & Hall. 1880.

all following generations. Amongst the best of the various series of school-books which are just now being published, may be mentioned "The Elementary Classics."³⁰ The notes are precisely the sort of notes which are required, which assist a boy without making him lazy. For boys somewhat more advanced "The Clarendon Press Series"³¹ may be recommended. Here again the notes are precisely what they should be, throwing light upon difficulties rather than making a mere display of the editor's knowledge. Lastly, for a still higher order of students, we have a series of "Classical Writers."³² These we cannot praise too much. Such essays as those of Professor Campbell's on "the poetic form" of Sophocles, and on "Virgil as a poet of Nature," by Professor Nettleship, are simply masterpieces.

Here we may take the opportunity of noticing General Schomberg's translation of the *Odyssey*,³³ which somehow or another has only just reached us. By the date of the preface it must have appeared just about the time that Messrs. Butcher's and Laing's excellent prose translation came out, which we noticed in the last April number of this REVIEW. General Schomberg speaks so very modestly of his own performance, acknowledges the enormous difficulties of his task, and recognises, what so few do, the art which is required to manage English blank verse, that we feel it very difficult to review him. All the observations which he makes in his preface, more especially as to faithfulness being the first requisite of a translator, we have often made, and are only too glad to find an ally in so able a scholar and critic as General Schomberg. Of his work we can only speak generally; as a translator he is always faithfully faithful both to the letter and the spirit, and as a writer of blank verse he shows a mastery over that most difficult of measures which is rarely attained. Yet we think that General Schomberg would himself allow that perfect success has not been reached; certainly, we may most truly add, through no fault of the translator's, but simply because success by such means is impossible.

Christmas gift-books are hardly so numerous or so good as usual. "Golden Threads from an Ancient Loom"³⁴ is more remarkable for its size and cheapness than for its artistic qualities. It is in reality passages from the *Nibelungenlied*, with illustrations by Schnorr.

³⁰ "Elementary Classics." I. Herodotus. The Second Persian War. By A. H. Cooke, B.A. II. Thucydides. The Capture of Sphacteria. By C. E. Graves, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

³¹ "Clarendon Press Series. Aristophanes. The Clouds." With Introduction and Notes. By W. W. Mervy, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. The Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1879.

³² "Classical Writers." Edited by John Richard Green. I. Sophocles. By Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. II. Virgil. By H. Nettleship. III. Livy. By W. W. Capes, M.A., Fellow of Hertford College, and Reader in Ancient History in the University of Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

³³ "The Odyssey of Homer. Rendered into English Verse." Books I. to XII. By G. A. Schomberg, C.B. London: John Murray. 1879.

³⁴ "Golden Threads from an Ancient Loom." Das *Nibelungenlied*, adapted to the Use of Young Readers. By Lydia Hinds. With fourteen Wood Engravings, by Julius Schnorr, of Carlsfeld. London: Griffith and Farran. 1880.

We cannot say very much either for the text or the woodcuts. The latter certainly show some force and power, but that is the highest praise which we can give. The most poetical of them is the frieze under the death of Siegfried. "The Favourite Picture Book"³⁵ is in reality a most sumptuous quarto A B C, with four hundred and fifty illustrations, for little children. When we remember that a perfect copy of Lye's "Spelling Book" (1684) now fetches many pounds, we are afraid to speculate what the present volume may be worth in two hundred years.

Of tale-books for boys and girls there is a large variety. For boys there are tales by land and tales by sea. Those who prefer the former should certainly try Mr. Henty's "Young Buglers."³⁶ We are carried back to the days of Dick Turpin. Here two boys not only save the mail coach and the passengers and the mails, but shoot one burglar dead and drive over another. For those who prefer adventures by sea, Mr. Kingston has written "Will Weatherhelm."³⁷ Here we have the fine old English tar as he was before steamboats were invented. For both girls and boys we can recommend "Corner Town Chronicles,"³⁸ "Stephen the Schoolmaster,"³⁹ "The Begum's Fortunes,"⁴⁰ and "Friends over the Water."⁴¹ Lastly, for all those who wish to keep a diary or make a commonplace book, there is "The Birthday Book of Quotations and Autograph Album,"⁴² which, with its blank leaves, may serve a variety of purposes.

Two or three French books call for notice. "Contes Gascons"⁴³ explains itself. The author writes fluently, and with a good deal of humour. The type of character which he paints has been too often done to admit of much novelty of treatment. "Récréations Physiques"⁴⁴ is one of the many attempts to make science popular. It is light and

³⁵ "The Favourite Picture Book, and Nursery Companion." Compiled anew, by Uncle Charlie. With Four Hundred and Fifty Illustrations by Absolon, Anelry, Bennett, Browne (Phiz), Sir John Gilbert, T. Landseer, Leech, Prout, Harrison Weir, and others. Fifteenth Edition. London: Griffith and Farran. 1880.

³⁶ "The Young Buglers. A Tale of the Peninsular War." By G. A. Henty, Author of "The March to Magdala," "The March to Coomassie," &c. &c. With Illustrations. Griffith & Farran. 1880.

³⁷ "Will Weatherhelm. The Yarn of an old Sailor about his Early Life and Adventures." By William H. G. Kingston. With Illustrations. London: Griffith & Farran. 1880.

³⁸ "Corner Town Chronicles." By Kathleen Knox. London: Griffith & Farran. 1880.

³⁹ "Stephen the Schoolmaster." By Mary E. Gellie. London: Griffith & Farran. 1880.

⁴⁰ "The Begum's Fortunes." By Jules Verne. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.

⁴¹ "Friends over the Water. A Series of Sketches of French Life." By M. Betham Edwards, author of "Doctor Jacob," "Kitty." Illustrated. London: Houlston & Sons. 1880.

⁴² "The Birthday Book of Quotations and Autograph Album." London: Griffith & Farran. 1880.

⁴³ "Contes Gascons." Gaillac, P. Dugoust. 1879.

⁴⁴ "Récréations Physiques." Par A. Castillon, Professeur au Collège Sainte-Barbe. Paris: Hachette. 1879.

lively. M. Schuré is already known to our readers as a poet, somewhat resembling our own Wordsworth in his treatment of Nature and natural scenery. He now appears as a novelist.⁴⁵ He possesses many of the qualifications which are required for character-drawing, and this, it should be remembered, is the aim of the novelist. By a few strokes M. Schuré is able to bring before us national characteristics. His portrait of the Scotch baronet, Sir Henry Gordon, who forms one of the principal characters, is extremely striking. His sketches, too, of the German philologist; of that remarkable Englishman, Mr. Middleton, who always reads one paper but has a variety of nods, with his no less remarkable wife, type of the female Philistine, are equally well done. But M. Schuré is a poet; and what gives the book its true character is the poetry, which is seen in every page. It reveals itself not only in the description of such a character as Fianetta, but in such descriptions as those of the famous grotto in Capri and of the statues 'Ἐρως-Ἐλπίς and 'Αντέρως-Θάνατος, which, if we do not mistake the meaning of the book, foreshadow its moral. But it is in the description of the sea that M. Schuré is strongest. It has been noticed that though Shakspeare often mentions the sea, yet he always dwells upon its force and its power rather than upon its beauty. M. Schuré does both. But it is when he paints its beauty, as at pp. 22, 58, 76, 90, 281, that he is at his best. We trust that we have said enough to direct the reader's attention to a work which differs very widely from the general run of French novels, and which is marked both by the originality of its characters and its observations on human life, no less than by its eloquence and poetry.

MISCELLANEA.

THE new volume of the "Encyclopædia Britannica"¹ is very strong in scientific articles: geodesy, geography, geology, and geometry are all treated of in exhaustive Articles calculated to place any one following the example of Robert Chambers, and educating himself upon the basis of the Encyclopædia Britannica, well up with the world of scientific study. Of the miscellaneous Articles, that of Mr. A. Stuart Murray on "Gems," the "Goths" of Mr. E. A. Freeman, the "German History and Literature" of Mr. Sime, and the "William Lloyd Garrison" of Mr. Oliver Johnson, taken from the American work by that author, are among the most interesting. The admirable Article on William Godwin, by Mr. C. Kegan Paul, the Gluck of Dr. Hueffer, and the fairly good but sketchy life of Goethe, by Mr. Oscar Browning, deserve special mention. Mr. Saintsbury contributes an Article on "Théophile Gautier," which is a curious specimen of the Gautier mania by which a small school of writers are at present afflicted. The reprinting of

⁴⁵ "Mélidona." Par Edouard Schuré. Paris: Lévy. 1879.

¹ "Encyclopædia Britannica." Vol. X. G—Got. A. & C. Black, Edinburgh. 1879.

Lord Macaulay's Essay on "Goldsmith" makes one wish that the publishers had more often drawn upon past writers for their Articles, though by the way Lord Macaulay's account of the state of the roads leading to Goldsmith's birthplace, if accurate when it was written, is ludicrously incorrect now, and ought to have been altered or omitted. Any one who has walked or driven over the admirable roads leading to Ballymahon—roads as good as any in the kingdom—will be compelled to smile at the superannuated statistics of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. We have noticed a few mistakes in the volume. Thus to speak of Garrick as "escaping from the chains of an unreturned passion" for Peg Woffington, hardly conveys a correct idea of the relations that existed between the great actor and actress, for which "unreturned passion" seems very inapplicable. Again, in Mr. Hayward's Article on "Gentz," Gentz is described as forming a bond of union with Metternich in 1840, though Gentz died in 1832. This is no doubt only a misprint, but it is a very important one. There are, indeed, a number of misprints in the volume, unimportant in themselves, but which would look bad enough in the columns of a daily paper. They look singularly ill in a work of such importance as a standard encyclopædia. The life of George Gilfillan, the Scotch poet, attaches too much importance to his position as an author.

We should be glad if all the essays in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* were as uniformly good as are those in a singularly delightful little volume of *Essays on Literary and Social Subjects* which comes from India.* Its author, Mr. N. J. Ratnagar, the editor of the late "*Hindu Reformer*," intends his booklet to be of use to Indian boys in the preparation of English studies for the matriculation examination. It ought to prove exceedingly valuable for this purpose, but it deserves at the same time a far more extended circle of readers. There are ninety-two Essays in the volume, but each is only a page long, in itself a novel feature of essay writing, and the purity and precision of the style are no less remarkable than the extent and variety of the author's culture. In English literature and English politics Mr. Ratnagar seems to be exceptionally well versed, and his command of the English language is, for a foreigner, most surprising. Indeed, it is only in the care and perfection of the writing and in the precision of phrase, qualities evidently based upon a careful study of the greatest masterpieces of English classic literature—it is, we repeat, only in the superiority of the style to that of ordinary English journalism that the hand of a foreigner is to be detected. We should be heartily glad to see this little work reprinted in England as a model reading-book for our schools. It could not but effect good. We notice one or two trifling inaccuracies which might be amended in a future edition. It is incorrect to say that Cobden and Bright knew no language but "their mother tongue English." Nor is it accurate to represent Mr. Gladstone as saying "that every day should begin for him with his old friend Homer," or in making Cobden declare that a copy of the

* "*Short Essays.*" By N. J. Ratnagar.

Times was worth more to the modern reader than the whole of Thucydides. Also we are sorry to see so good a scholar call Greek a dead language, "not spoken at all." The Greek of modern Athens is, as Professor Blackie truly observes, the same tongue as that which Paul spoke on Mars Hill, nay, more, it is practically the same as the speech in which Homer sang of the war round Troy. But these are slight blemishes in so thoroughly admirable a book.

From a Hindu's work on England it is interesting to turn to an Englishman's work on one of the great poets of the East. When Captain Wilberforce Clarke speaks of his translation of the *Bustan* of Sa' Di³ as translated for the first time into prose, we presume he means for the first time completely done into prose. The greater portion of the "Pleasure-garden" has been for some years familiar to English students of the Persian poets in one of a series of little volumes of translations in prose from their works, executed by a mysterious S.R., and published by Williams and Norgate. This, however, in no measure detracts from the great merit of Captain Clarke's work, which is a complete and literal line for line translation of inestimable value for any one wishing to obtain either the high proficiency, higher standard, or degree of honour in examinations in Persian in India, for each of which a knowledge of the *Bustan* as a whole or in part is necessary. But apart from its value to Persian schools, it will do good work in making English students of universal literature as well acquainted with one of the great masterpieces of Persian literature as is possible without a knowledge of Persian. Though the *Bustan* may not be so fascinating to English readers as the "Ghazels of Hafiz" or the strange love story of "Joseph and Zulaikha," into which Eastern art has transformed the tale of the son of Jacob and of Potiphar's wife, and can never take such a hold on our literature as has the "Rubaiyat" of Omar Khayyam, the greatest production of Persia, there are many passages in it of exceeding beauty, a familiarity with which cannot but be beneficial. For example, such couplets as—

"From every corner I found pleasure
From every harvest I obtained an ear of corn,"

with its resemblance to Savage Landor's simile of warming both hands before the fire of life; or the delightful appeal to critics—

"When one couplet out of a thousand is pleasing to thee,
In the name of manliness restrain thy hand from criticism;"

or this expression of the submission of a lover to his mistress—

"If she desires thy life, thou placest it on the palm of her hand,
And if she puts the sharp sword on thy head thou placest thy head
in submission;"

or the strange story suggestive of the extravagant passion found in the "Arabian Nights," of the one beggar-born who had affection for one king-born, and the sad straits to which his complete devotion brought

³ "The *Bustan* of Sa'di." Translated by Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1879.

him. Sententious wisdom is plentiful in the Bustan: witness this fable :—

A certain one had sugar-cane on a small plate,
A wanderer right and left for a purchaser.
In a corner of the village to a pious man he spoke,
Saying, Take, and pay when thou hast the means.
That wise man of adorned disposition uttered
An answer that should be written on the eye.
Perhaps to thee patience as to payment may not be exercised
towards me,
But to me patience is as to the sugar-cane.

The fatalistic equalisation of the East is evident in these two verses :—

If he be King, or if garment-stitcher,
When they sleep the night of both becomes day.
And if the torrent of death comes and takes both,
Whether the Sultan on the throne or the wanderer in the desert,
what difference ?

Captain Clarke might have prefixed a short account of the life of Sa' Di to the translation.

The study of Oriental literature in the Occident is not confined to what may be called modern writers. The literature of ancient Egypt will soon be as familiar to us as the songs of Persian poets, thanks to scholars like M. Maspero. M. Maspero, who is, perhaps, most widely known as the author of the best popular work on ancient Oriental history in existence, has rendered a valuable service to Egyptology by his work on the Harris Papyrus.⁴ Of this Papyrus, which is one of the chief glories among the Egyptian possessions of the British Museum, M. Maspero gives a fac-simile of the original Papyrus, a carefully copied out text in the elaborate hieroglyphics of the monuments, a translation, and a commentary. The history of the "Harris Papyrus" is a melancholy one to Egyptian scholars, for shortly after its discovery it was terribly mutilated by an explosion of powder at Alexandria—a calamity as great to the eyes of Egyptologists as seem to Elizabethan students the conflagrations of Mr. Warburton's cook. It is said that Mr. Harris made a careful copy of the manuscript before the explosion took place, but where this copy is at present is as uncertain as the whereabouts of the battledore made from a portion of the lost decades of Livy or the missing Menander of the Urbino library. The story of the predestined prince is very curious, and bears a family resemblance to the story of the son of Cræsus, and other tales of kings' sons fated from their birth, which are to be found in the fairy mythology of most countries. The loss of all but a fragment of a fantastic story is greatly to be regretted, as the fragment in existence promised well. M. Maspero is doubtless right in assuming its similarity with an Arabian story, of which he gives an outline. The book will commend itself to amateurs in Egyptology for the care of its get-up and the beauty of the printing of the Egyptian character.

⁴ "Études Égyptiennes. Romans et Poésies du Papyrus Harris, No. 500. Par G. Maspero. Paris; Imprimerie Nationale. 1879.

In old Roman days Mr. Heath would have been said to have deserved well of his country, and so indeed he has, for he has saved Burnham Beeches from the hands of the destroyer, an act for which every lover of English landscape and English poetry must for ever be grateful to him. His present volume,⁵ written in commemoration of the success of his appeal to the Corporation of London, a success which reflects infinite credit upon that body, is all about Burnham Beeches, and ought to be read by all who have ever strayed beneath their kindly shade or rested in the porch of that country church where Gray wrote his elegy, and where the remains of the poet lie buried. Nowhere in the environs of London is there more beautiful scenery to be found than in the neighbourhood of Stoke-Pogis, nowhere more delightful walks than can be taken beneath the Burnham Beeches, and if Mr. Heath's little volume only serves to make this fact better known to the dwellers in the City he will have done another great service to the worship of Nature.

Those who delight in volumes of correspondence will be gladdened by the publication of Mrs. Bray's Letters to the poet Southey,⁶ and the nature of their contents address themselves especially to the lovers of "meek Walton's heavenly memory," the followers of Thoreau, the disciples of White of Selborne, and the companions of the Gamekeeper at Home. They are a perfect storehouse of information about that portion of Devon which comes under the head of "The Borders of the Tamar and the Tavy," and should be carefully studied by all to whom the local history and antiquities of the English counties are of interest. The first idea of these letters was inspired by Southey in a letter written in 1831, in which he advised the authoress to fill up a want in English literature by writing a good specimen of local history, "not the antiquities only nor the natural history nor both together, nor the statistics, but everything about a parish that can be interesting—all of its history, traditions, and manners that can be saved from oblivion. The changes that have been and that are in progress, everything, in short, that belongs to the pursuits either of historian, biographer, naturalist, philosopher, or poet, and not omitting some of the short and simple annals of domestic life which should not be forgotten." How well Mrs. Bray fulfilled the comprehensive demands of the author of "Thalaba" can only be fitly appreciated by a careful study of these two fascinating volumes. Mrs. Bray's account of her husband's life and labour is especially interesting.

Mr. Wyke Bayliss writes books on art which have the great merit of containing thought and possessing the power of stimulating thought in others.⁷ Readers may disagree with much or most of what Mr. Bayliss says, but they will be compelled to feel that his utterances are

⁵ "Burnham Beeches." By F. G. Heath. Sampson Low & Co.

⁶ "The Borders of the Tamar and the Tavy." By Mrs. Bray. W. Kent & Co. 1879.

⁷ "The Higher Life in Art." By Wyke Bayliss. David Bogue. 1879.

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worth considering carefully, that in his writings they have something very different from what is generally known as art criticism, with its pettiness of praise and spitefulness of dispraise. He has something to say and he says it well, and these are in themselves qualities sufficiently peculiar to commend him to those who read for some other purpose than mere amusement or mere statistics, the too frequent division of readers in our day. Mr. Bayliss's love for art, for its sovereign beauty and its high nobility of purpose, are very delightful to read at a time when art-mongers and æsthetic disciples of higher culture make the very name of art hideous. There is a character in Charles Bernard's "Gerfaut" who is described as having art always in his mouth, because there was so little of it in his soul, and there are plenty like him to-day to whom Mr. Bayliss deals some trenchant blows in his chapter on "art for art." This absurd phrase, which has become the shibboleth of a noisy clique meets with the mockery it deserves. "Art for Art's sake is about as vain a cry as war for war's sake would be wicked. But it is not only a vain cry, it is a false cry. As surely as the soldier who is only a soldier is a butcher, so the artist who is only an artist is a failure as a man. 'Art for Art's sake' is only a new synonym for dilettanteism, but if dilettanteism stripped of its higher meaning, robbed of everything that made it respectable, or that bears the least seeming of life." Mr. Wyke Bayliss speaks truthfully and very much to the point.

Among those, however, who have a right to the title of art critic, and who really reflect honour on the name, Mr. Wedmore takes a prominent place.¹ If he had no other merit he would deserve praise for his literary style, which is so different from the slipshod verbosity which so many writers think it their duty to assume when they are writing about pictures. The language of the author of "Pastorals of France" is always pleasant to read for the purity and delicate precision of phrase which was the special charm of the sweet sad stories we have mentioned. But it is not only for his English that Mr. Wedmore deserves praise. He has a true appreciation of the beauty of artistic work, and a sincere delight in doing honour to all loyal art workers, which gives him a right to speak of and teach about them. All who care enough for art to like a little more knowledge than will enable them to introduce with affable ignorance the names of a few painters into their after-dinner gossip ought to read Mr. Wedmore's volume on the "Masters of Genre Painting." Even among the best-informed of artistic amateurs there will be few we fancy who do so without finding themselves possessed of a fuller and truer knowledge of the men Mr. Wedmore writes about, and a truer way of looking at the work he describes than even the youngest art student of them all believes himself to be possessed of. Whether dealing with Rembrandt or Jan Steen, with Ostade and Brekelenkamp, or the Petty

¹ "The Masters of Genre Painting." By Frederick Wedmore. C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.

Masters—who must not be confounded with the Little Masters—with Lancret and Pater, or Hogarth and Wilkie; Mr. Fred. Wedmore writes with the same keen critical appreciation, the same exquisite taste, and the same true power of balance. Of all the chapters that on Watteau deserves most especially the attention of the English art student who may learn there some truths on Watteau's appreciation of the nude by which he may benefit not a little.

Mr. Cutler has not done well in calling his book a "Grammar of Japanese Ornament and Design," for the term grammar can hardly be said to apply to his work or the way in which he has arranged his designs.⁹ But if we do not agree with him in his choice of a name there can be no difference of opinion as to the great, the very great, service he has rendered to the study of design by his publication. Nothing could do more to foster beauty of design among our English art workmen than these exquisite specimens of the art of Japan, and we feel that the more these and similar designs become popular with our decorators and designers the more truly will English decorative art grow and prosper. But it will not be by mere imitation of Japanese designs that this good may be done, for this would be opposed to the principles which lie at the bottom of the true Japanese art, and could only result in feeble and slavish reproduction. It is by obeying the teaching of Japanese design and going directly to Nature and the loving study of natural objects, and casting aside sham and habit and convention, that English design will flourish, and it is because beautiful designs like these tend to help the good work that we are glad to give them welcome.

With the recent revival of decoration evidenced by the increasing interest in and knowledge of all art methods, Japanese or other, there has been of late days a very distinct revival of the arts of printing and binding books, and many of our modern publishers pique themselves on producing volumes whose type would not disgrace a Stephanus or an Elzevir, and whose binding need not seem unworthy of the days of Grolier, of the Gascons and the Du Seuils. Messrs. Field and Tuer have endeavoured to outdo all that has been done in this direction in their "Luxurious Bathing,"¹⁰ which really ought to have been called luxurious printing, for it is little more than an elaborate advertisement of the admirable typography of the firm. All that exquisite printing, vellum binding, numerous etchings and head and tail adornments could do to make the book a fine one has been done, but the result is nevertheless a failure. First of all it is a pity to see so much care and workmanship wasted upon an ~~Essay~~ Essay to prove that soap and water form an excellent combination for the purposes of cleanliness. Most people know that already, and those who do not are little likely

⁹ "A Grammar of Japanese Ornament and Design." By Thomas W. Cutler. London: B. T. Batsford. 1879.

¹⁰ "Luxurious Bathing." By Andrew W. Tuer. With Etchings by Dutton Sharpe. London: Field & Tuer. 1879.

to have sight of Mr. Tuer's work. If Mr. Tuer was anxious to carry on a propaganda in favour of cleanliness a penny pamphlet of the Manchester Science Lecture order would have been far more likely to do good, and so much good type and vellum need not have been, as they now are, wasted. When we think how really valuable a work might have been produced with the care and labour and skill that have given to this silly production, we feel inclined to despair of art workmanship in England. Had any great work been taken, say, Shakspeare's Sonnets, or Wordsworth's, or the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, Messrs. Field and Tuer might have produced a work of almost imperishable value and loveliness. But the execution of the book, apart from its literary merit, is by no means deserving of very high praise. The execution is costly, but as a whole unartistic. The typography is perfect, and some of the head and tail pieces are a delight to look at; but Mr. Sharpe's etchings and initial letters are very feeble and amateurish productions, that ought to have been left in his portfolio. There they might have been of interest to him as examples of what his early work was like, and as healthy stimulants to work hard and do better things, but they are of no interest to the public, and should not have been offered to them. Mr. Sharpe succeeds best in an occasional effort to imitate Mr. Whistler, but he has much to learn and unlearn before he will do any etching work worthy of the name. The natural result of the gradual establishment of an English school of etchers is the attempt of a great many persons to become Seymour Haden or Whistlers, and while the taste is in its infancy we must look for a good deal of crude, unformed work, ill-thought out and worse executed. The cover of "Luxurious Bathing," which might have been very beautiful, is utterly spoilt by the barbarous admixture to the enduring vellum of a perishable etching, which is gummed or stuck in some way on to the cover, and is sure in course of time either to wear away or get rubbed and render the cover unsightly.

Under the title of "Elizabethan Demonology,"¹¹ Mr. Spalding, of the New Shakspeare Society has produced a work of very little value indeed. To the members of this Society, and to them alone we should fancy, the compilation may have attractions, but to the ordinary reader who prefers reading Shakespeare to reading the transactions of the Shakspeare Society, it is not likely to commend itself. Although a member of the great Society for explaining the poet to his readers, Mr. Spalding does not always seem to quite grasp the meaning of the dramatist, or, if he does grasp it, allows the fact of his having done so to remain skilfully sealed. He speaks of the shapes of an armed head, a bloody child, and a child crowned which the witches conjure up to Macbeth as their familiars, and compares them to the shapes favoured by Glendower which annoyed Hotspur, without seeming to be aware that they have any special bearing upon the play

¹¹ "Elizabethan Demonology." By T. A. Spalding. Chatto & Windus. 1880.

beyond being the assumed shapes of witches' familiars, which might just as well have taken any other shapes. Mr. Spalding introduces a comic Bowdlerisation into Puck's speech about his pranks. A humorous misprint—at least we suppose it is a misprint—makes Urban Grandier, the famous magician of "London" instead of "Loudun." Why Mr. Spalding should call him the famous magician it is not easy to see. He is famous for having been accused of sorcery, but he hardly ranks among the "necromancers" of the world. As a specimen of Mr. Spalding's philosophical powers the following passage deserves quotation:—"No body of great and good men can at any time credit and take comfort from a lie pure and simple; and if an extinct creed appears to lack that foundation of truth which makes creeds tolerable, it is safer to assume that it had a meaning and a truthfulness to those who held it than to condemn men wholesale as knaves and hypocrites." It is certainly very safe to assume that great and good men cannot take comfort from lies, else they would scarcely be great and good men.

One of the strongest proofs, if proof were needed, of the ever-increasing popularity of Mr. Carlyle's writings is afforded by the publication of a Birthday Book, compiled from his works.¹² Now that every young lady boasts a birthday book, and insists on all her friends inserting their autographs therein, the more sensible these tyrannical little volumes are made the better, and the "Carlyle Birthday Book" is one of the best of its class we have seen. The selections are all well chosen, and show a thorough acquaintance with the works of the "Sage of Chelsea," as his adorers delight to style the author of "Sartor Resartus" and the "French Revolution."

It is difficult to see any particular reason why this volume of the Literary and Artistic Remains of Lady Trevelyan should have been published.¹³ The Literary Remains chiefly consists of reviews of picture galleries and books for the *Scotsman*, which however well-suited they were for the columns of a newspaper are of very little interest when reprinted in book form. Some of the artistic sketches are, however, very good. In the review of Ruskin's Pre-Raphaelitism, taken from the *Scotsman* of January 3, 1851, Lady Trevelyan quoted a passage from the famous pamphlet containing this remarkable sentence: "The Pre-Raphaelites imitate no pictures; they paint from Nature only. But they have opposed themselves as a body to that kind of teaching above described which only began after Raphael's time; and they have opposed themselves as sternly to the entire feeling of the Renaissance Schools—a feeling compounded of indolence, infidelity, sensuality, and shallow pride." This is curious to read at a time when those who might have been expected to carry on the tra-

¹² "The Carlyle Birthday Book." Edited by Mrs. C. N. Williamson. London: Chapman & Hall. 1880.

¹³ "Lady Trevelyan's Literary and Artistic Remains." Longmans & Co. 1879.

ditions of Pre-Raphaelitism have given way to that very feeling of the Renaissance School which Mr. Ruskin so much deplores, and when the qualities he attributes to it are evident in the prevailing art-tastes of the day.

Mr. Austin Dobson, because he is a charming and true poet, seems no less qualified to excel in what would appear to be the dusty paths of book-compiling. The "Handbook of English Literature"¹⁴ which he has written for the use of candidates for examinations, and students generally, undoubtedly owes its great merit to the fact that it has been put together by a poet capable of appreciating and judging his Masters and peers, instead of being the work of the average book-maker, who muddles up borrowed criticisms and inaccurate dates into a weird and fearsome medley. The many lovers of Mr. Dobson will not be disappointed if attracted by the charm of his name they take up the "Handbook of English Literature." For size, completeness of information, delicacy of judgment and truth of criticism, it is about the best book of the kind going. We are sorry that Mr. Dobson, who is so great an authority on forms of verse, had not more space to enter upon the question of the sonnet, but as even he could hardly pack more into the volume than it at present contains we can hardly regret the fact.

Mr. M. C. Macmillan has put together a really useful little "First Latin Grammar,"¹⁵ distinctly better and more complete than its companion, the "First Greek Grammar" of Mr. Rutherford. It is just the kind of book to prove useful to beginners, and, indeed, to other than beginners, small of size, clear of print, sensible in arrangement—a great deal well given in a little compass, and very praiseworthy.

The Study of Words is a very delightful study, and Research into the Origin of Language is very fascinating to the philologist. But Mr. Leo Grindon has not done much to help the student of human speech by his volume on "Figurative Language."¹⁶ In the preface the author informs the public that, as he writes "not for the vulgar and superficial, but for the well-taught and aspiring," he has not hesitated "to print the Greek words required for illustration in their proper classical character." Would Mr. Leo Grindon have proposed to follow the example of the Western journal, told of in one of Bret Harte's stories, which published in one of its Articles a verse from Sappho, but having no fount of Greek type was compelled to print it in ordinary Roman letters, and had the pleasure of seeing a contemporary the following day describe the passage from the Lesbian singer as an interesting specimen of Choctaw. Mr. Leo Grindon adds that "to those who are unacquainted with the Greek letters, I have simply to recommend the learning—a matter of a few hours only." How a knowledge of the

¹⁴ "A Handbook of English Literature." By Austin Dobson. Crosby, Lockwood & Co. 1879.

¹⁵ "First Latin Grammar." By M. C. Macmillan. Macmillan & Co. 1879.

¹⁶ "Figurative Language." By Leo H. Grindon. London: James Spiera.

letters of the Greek alphabet would, if pursued no further, assist the understanding of Greek words, Mr. Grindon does not condescend to explain. Those who consider themselves on sufficiently friendly terms with the letters Cadmus gave, to proceed further in Mr. Grindon's book, will not find it by any means unprofitable or uninteresting reading, for it is studded with agreeable quotations agreeably introduced. Still, few are likely to think that there was any pressing need for Mr. Grindon to bring the work out of the condition of "printed for private circulation" in which, as the author in his preface states, it has existed for more than a quarter of a century.

We have had occasion before this to praise the series of Readers issued in Messrs. Blackie's Comprehensive School List,¹⁷ and the new addition to the List deserves equal praise with its predecessors. The series are well chosen and carefully adapted to foster the nobler elements of children's natures without being at all preachy. Such stories as Daniel Webster's First Case, in which the famous lawyer when a boy pleads for and saves the life of a captured Chipmunk, and the narrative of the daughter of the lighthouse-keeper, who, when her father was kept from his post by wreckers, succeeded in lighting the lamps herself and saving the threatened vessels, are well calculated to appeal to the elementary feelings of sympathy with animals and of courage. The volume opens with a short account of the difficulties attending travel in the last century. The author might have strengthened his case by pointing out that from the time of the Siege of Troy up to the first year of the present reign human beings travelled in exactly the same manner, their speed depending upon the number and merits of their horses.

Mr. Walton has written a book which will bring delight to a great many boys, if they are fortunate enough to become its possessor.¹⁸ To boys there are few pleasures in the world comparable to the making and sailing of miniature ships. Mr. Walton teaches them how to construct model yachts, and we have no doubt that his instructions will find plenty of students. They certainly should, in a race of islanders famous for the men they have sent down to the sea in ships.

In obedience to the recent revival in architecture a great many works on building have been put forth, all animated by a genuine desire to do more justice to the art than has been for long accorded to it. Amongst these Mr. Birch's book¹⁹ deserves a place, though it modestly treats not of great mansions, but only of the lodges at the gates. The designs are very good, and may be studied with advantage by those about to build.

The difficulty Englishmen studying French experience in attaining any degree of resemblance to the national articulation of the tongue

¹⁷ "Blackie's Fourth Reader." Blackie & Son. 1879.

¹⁸ "Model Yachts." By James Walton. Griffith & Farran. 1879.

¹⁹ "Picturesque Lodges." By John Birch. W. Blackwood & Sons. 1879.

has caused all sorts of people to attempt manuals by whose aid the desired pronunciation may be acquired. Most of them fail in their purpose, and the present attempt fails also.²⁰ What is the use of publishing a work on French pronunciation which informs its readers that for the "U" sound, the most difficult for our insular lips to utter, "there is no equivalent in English." This is poor consolation to the bewildered student who has hoped to get some help with this dreaded vowel from a work on pronunciation, and finds that he has put his reliance on a reed. The best book on French pronunciation that we know of is M. Gaillard's, in which true pronunciation is attained by the careful arrangement of the vocal organs into the natural position for the utterance of the French sounds, by which the difficulties of the "U" may, by practice, be overcome.

²⁰ "L'Abécédaire of French Pronunciation." By Gabriel Le Prevost. Griffith & Farran.

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ART. I.—THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties, and other Papers of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G., during his Government of India. Edited by S. J. OWEN, M.A. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1877.

MR. OWEN'S book ought to be a very great help to students of Anglo-Indian history. It brings into a reasonably small compass all the most valuable of the despatches which were before only to be found in the five volumes of Mr. Martin's edition, all the despatches, in fact, which any one but a professed historian can want to read. The map at the end of the book and the plans of battles and sieges give precisely that kind of assistance which is most often looked for in vain by the non-military reader of history, to whom a description of a battle unaccompanied by a plan is generally practically valueless. Further, Mr. Owen gives us, as Mr. Justin M'Carthy has done in his recent "History of Our Own Times," a short epigrammatic running analysis at the top of each page, and he has enriched his edition with one of those prefaces which, when well executed, throw such a flood of light upon a book of this kind, and which are one of the most important features of modern historical scholarship. And indeed the Marquess Wellesley was well worthy of all the pains which Mr. Owen has taken in helping us to understand his work and character. Fortunate as he was in having such an instrument as his brother to aid him in carrying

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out his plans, yet he was unfortunate in the fact that that brother's immense achievements so engrossed men's attention that they forgot to pay their debt of admiration to the statesman, whose wise policy and fostering care had made those achievements possible, and whose genius finally broke the power of the French in India, extended our own empire there, strengthened the basis upon which it stood, and made it more beneficial than it had ever been to the natives. Yet it is not rare to find educated persons who have never heard that there was such a man as the Marquess Wellesley, or even confound him with his brother. We may hope that Mr. Owen's book will make such ignorance impossible for the future, and help to make known the claims of one of England's greatest statesmen to the fame which he deserves.

There are men who recognise in Wellesley the saviour, and, in some sort, the second founder of the Anglo-Indian Empire, whose rule was as great a blessing to India as it was a glory to England; but others speak of him as a self-willed tyrant, who had no respect for the rights of native sovereigns, and no care for the prosperity of his employers. This great diversity of opinion is, we believe, due to the anomalous character of the political sphere in which he passed the best years of his life. The history of our connection with India is such a fruitful field for casuistical inquiries that, in judging the characters of the chief actors, there is even less approach to unanimity than we are accustomed to look for. And those writers who have dealt with the period of Wellesley's rule have either shrunk from fairly grappling with the important question of the morality of his administration, or have wanted the subtlety and intellectual delicacy which are specially needed by the historian who would do justice to the moral aspect of Anglo-Indian history.

The son of Garret, Viscount Wellesley, who belonged to an old Anglo-Irish family, the future Marquess Wellesley was born in Dublin, on the 20th June, 1760. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, which he left without taking his degree, on his father's death, in 1781, he spent the first three years of his public life in the Irish House of Lords. Want of space forbids us to do more than note the chief landmarks in the story of his early life, for the years that he spent in India have more historical interest than all the rest of his public career, and it is to them that we shall give prominence in this Paper. We feel the less inclined to chafe at the restriction, inasmuch as his boyhood and early manhood contain nothing like the striking situations and picturesque incidents which meet us in the corresponding period of the life of Warren Hastings, the Indian statesman whom he most resembles. Not that Wellesley's early life was

without interest or importance, but he pursued the even tenour of his way like a clever young aspirant to Parliamentary distinction, while the path which Hastings trod was suffused with a romantic glow, and presented at every turn those opportunities for graphic description which Macaulay turned to such good account.

The Earl of Mornington, as he now was, soon tired of the futile debates of a mock Parliament, and his ambition was stimulated by a political visit to London, in 1782, and a growing admiration for Pitt. In 1784 he was returned to the House of Commons as member for Beeralston, and soon his promotion seemed likely to be rapid enough, for in September, 1786, he was made a Lord of the Treasury, and, after giving up his seat, re-elected for Saltash in 1787. Unseated on a petition, he came in again the year after for Windsor, and in 1793 was made a member of the Privy Council, and a Commissioner for the affairs of India. But, though he was a warm friend and admirer of Pitt and a staunch supporter of his administration, and established his fame by a great speech which he delivered in 1794 on the French Revolution, his hopes of further promotion were long deferred. This delay was a sore trial to him, for he was consumed by ambition, and his restlessness revealed itself in a letter which he wrote to his friend Addington in July, 1794. He had more than three years longer to wait. It was not till the 4th of October, 1797, that he was appointed to the government of India.

The tide in his affairs had come, and, as we shall see, he knew how to take it at the flood; but if his public life had ended then, he would hardly be remembered now but as one of the few who, in those days, supported Catholic Emancipation and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and as one of the many who denounced the French Revolution. Still the part that he took in the discussion of these great questions deserves something more than a bare mention even in a brief review like this. He never swerved from his belief in the need for religious freedom, and he fought in its cause with the ardour and the persistency of one whose strength of will harmonised with the strength of his convictions. Wilberforce had no more generous and loyal supporter. Yet the love of freedom, and the love of justice, and the power of sympathy were not able to save Wellesley from losing his balance of mind when he spoke of the French Revolution. The great philippic which he uttered against it, in 1794, showed a want of power to appreciate its real meaning, to understand the causes in the past history of the country which had made it inevitable, and finally to separate the good which was of its essence from the evil which was incidental to it. The speaker breathes nothing

but indignation against the excesses of the Revolution, but his righteous indignation, his warm admiration for the Constitution of his own country, would have pleased us better if they had been tempered by some sympathy for the efforts of a people whose history had been so much less happy than our own. But that sympathetic discernment which could recognise all that was noble in the Revolution without being led astray by the enthusiasm which could see nothing in it to blame, was not given to the men of that time.

The mention of Catholic Emancipation will have naturally suggested the striking contrast between Wellesley's views and those of his great brother on this question. The truth is that there were more points of difference than of resemblance in the characters of this *par nobile fratrum*. Strength of will and clearness of vision they each had ; in certain intellectual qualities, in free play of mind and accessibility to new ideas, the elder brother had the superiority ; but he had not the grand simplicity which few men as great as Arthur Wellesley have had in so remarkable a degree. What we love and reverence in our Great Duke is not the genius which enabled him to drive the French out of the Peninsula and to win the Battle of Waterloo, but the massive grandeur of soul, and the unflinching devotion to duty which multiplied the force of his genius. His brother was a man of high principle and sincere patriotism, but his ambition was alloyed by egotism ; it was not that noble ambition of the man who aims at the highest culture of self, the fullest development of great gifts in fulfilment of the law of his being. In a word, there was much that was gaudy and even frivolous, though nothing mean, side by side with much that was noble in Wellesley's character. His egotism reveals itself most painfully in some of his despatches. Though he was much esteemed by those who served under him in India, his character would not strike the reader who knew nothing of the history of his private life as a very lovable one. He would suppose that the love that was felt for him by his subordinates was rather the love begotten of admiration and respect, aided by the imagination, than the love of familiar friends. But his private letters show that Wellesley was a man of warm and loving heart, and ever ready to give others their due. Even when his brother's fame was overshadowing his own, with what a tender and loving pride he spoke of his great deeds ! Yet he never forgot himself even then, never forgot that he was the elder brother, that it was he who had fostered the genius which was to liberate the enslaved nations. But with all his faults and with all his foibles, with the affectation which sometimes almost makes us forget the undoubted sincerity and massiveness of his character, there is some-

thing very fascinating in that union of a feminine tenderness and sensitiveness with a heroic strength of will which reveals itself in his features, no less than in his words and his actions.

Such was the man who had been thought worthy to rule British India. The work that lay before him was destined to develop a power of mind and a force of character the quality of which few suspected, for constitutional indolence had hitherto laid its spell upon them, and some great stimulus was needed to dissolve it.

Before we can attempt to review Lord Mornington's Indian administration, we must try to picture to ourselves the state of India when he arrived there. Within the last few years great political changes had taken place. The ever-varying relations of the native States to each other had complicated their relations with us. Our own power was not, as yet, by any means firmly established. The power of the Nizam, one of a line of princes who had once ruled the Deccan from Hyderabad as the Viceroys of the Mogul Emperors, and with whom our relations had been specially close, had fallen to a very low ebb. The direct cause of his humiliation had been a disastrous war with the Mahrattas, in 1795, and it was to the policy of non-intervention which Lord Mornington's predecessor, Sir John Shore, had then followed, that the Nizam's defeat had been mainly due. The latter, partly, no doubt, through pique, partly through the need that he felt of some protecting power, had superseded a body of English troops which he had subsidised, and which had just been obliged to forsake him in his hour of need, by another subsidiary corps, officered by Frenchmen, but M. Raymond, who had been the guiding spirit of this corps, was no longer alive at the time of Lord Mornington's arrival. Through their command of this force the French had been obtaining more and more influence with the Nizam, and, in fact, threatened to make him merely a tool in their hands. His position was a most embarrassing one : his own power virtually gone, the necessity of seeking some protector against his unfriendly neighbours forced him to choose between the French and ourselves. The French had the advantage of being in possession, and the Nizam was perhaps, if anything, less averse to them than to the English ; for although, at the best, his position was not a dignified one, he might still, by an effort of self-deception, flatter himself that the French corps was only a force in his service, whereas he confessed to his Minister, Azeem-ul-Omrah, his fear lest the recall of the English battalions might involve the virtual supremacy of the English power. While the French had these advantages, our strength lay in the friendship of the Minister, and in the abilities and resolution of the new Governor-General.

Turning from the Nizam to his old enemies the Mahrattas, we

find that here there was not so much want of power as of harmony. Every student of Anglo-Indian history knows that the successors of Sivajee had been supplanted by their Ministers the Peishwas; but the glory of the Peishwas too had departed, and at this time the foremost chief of the Mahratta Empire was Dowlut Rao Sindia. Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore adhering, rightly or wrongly, to the instructions of the Act of Parliament, which prescribed non-intervention and forbade all extension of territory, and all wars with the native princes except in self-defence, had allowed the power of the Sindias to grow to its present size. They had held on steadily in the path that had been marked out for them, without regarding the opportunities, which more than once presented themselves, of establishing the influence of England over the different Mahratta powers. Nana Furnavese, the Peishwa's Minister, in his dread of Mahadajee Sindia, Dowlut Rao's predecessor, had twice made proposals to Cornwallis for an alliance. Mahadajee Sindia himself had sought our friendship. But these offers had been rejected, and since they had been made Sindia's power had grown to an alarming size, while, on the other hand, that of the Peishwa had proportionally fallen. Sindia was now at Poona, busily engaged in strengthening his influence over the Peishwa. The power of Holkar, the chief whose name is so well known in connection with that of Sindia, had not yet reached its zenith.

Such were the internal relations of the Mahratta States; their attitude towards the English promised much trouble for the Governor-General. Sindia, like the Nizam, had a force, officered by Frenchmen, in his service. When we mention that this force, which had been organised by General de Boigne, and had passed on his return to Europe, in 1796, under the control of General Perron, amounted, in 1803, to 43,650 men, with 464 guns, it will be seen that, in the event of a war, Sindia was likely to be a dangerous enemy. His power was most formidable in the North, but, wherever he might happen to be, he was sure to be a source of trouble. When his absence from the North freed us from danger in that quarter, his presence at Poona was a sign that he meant to use the power of the Peishwa against us. Moreover, his absence from the North, if it was a relief in one way, was a source of danger in another, for it removed a fairly efficient barrier against the attacks of Zemaun Shah, the formidable ruler of Afghanistan. The Peishwa, though it might have seemed to be his interest to rid himself of the thraldom in which he was held by Sindia, was unwilling to ally himself to the English, partly perhaps from a feeling of patriotism which chose dependence on a Mahratta rather than on a foreign Power. And

if the nominal head of the Mahratta Empire was either afraid or unwilling to join us, if Sindia's designs were liable to suspicion, another chief, the Rajah of Berar, was a decided enemy to our Government.

But if not our strongest, at least our bitterest enemy was in the South. The name of Tippoo Sultaun is familiar to those who know least of Indian history. Tippoo's enmity to our power was an inherited enmity. Our armies had never met a mightier foe in India than his father, Hyder. and, if Tippoo's power had been lessened by Cornwallis, his hatred towards us had been many fold increased. He cannot be charged with any want of diligence in his efforts to gratify it. He had tried at different times to obtain the aid of Persia, of Zemaun Shah, of the Sultan of Turkey, of the Court of Poona, and of the French Government, both before and after the outbreak of the French Revolution. And while he had thus laboured to strengthen himself by foreign alliances, his own power was by no means a feeble one. At the outbreak of the war in 1799, he had an effective army of about 45,000 men, well furnished with artillery. Thus his own strength, impaired indeed, but still considerable, his friendship with the Mahrattas, his threatening attitude towards the Nizam, the possibility of an accession of French troops to his army, above all, his unquenchable hatred of the English made him an enemy against whom the Governor-General was bound to be on his guard.

Our allies, the Vizier of Oude and the Nabob of the Carnatic, were rather likely to be a source of weakness to the new Governor-General than to render him any efficient help. A dynastic revolution had lately taken place in Oude, and the troubles to which it had given rise were not yet abated. The new Vizier, Saadut Ally, was unable to govern the country over which Sir John Shore had made him ruler, and was continually asking for English aid. The Nabob of the Carnatic was in a yet worse plight. Fear of his counsellors had made him refuse his assent to the modification of a treaty concluded with him in 1792, which Lord Hobart had presented to him three years later, and the object of which had been to ensure by a cession of territory the payment of the sum agreed upon in 1792, for the support of an English subsidiary force. He had moreover been irritated by the efforts which Hobart had made to coerce him after persuasion had failed, and the usurers, who were virtually masters of his country, took care not to let his anger cool.

Such were the relations of the native States to each other, and towards the English at the time of which we have been speaking; but another important power still remains to be considered. The position of the French in India was of a most anomalous kind.

There was no regularly constituted French Government, but there was a very real French power. This power was in the hands of a few military adventurers, the most prominent of whom had established their influence with some of the native States by creating corps of trained infantry, mainly officered by men of their own nation. Their national gifts of manner had helped them greatly; far more popular with the natives than ourselves, they could afford to laugh at the attempts of English adventurers to rival them. At Hyderabad, Raymond, if he had lived, would no doubt have made it hard for the Governor-General to re-establish English influence over the Nizam; his death, followed as it was by quarrels among the inferior officers, had happened most opportunely for us. The corps in the North not only supported Sindia, but, holding a grant of land from that chief, was also practically a separate French power in dangerous proximity to our frontier. Thus, though the long-established position of the English in India, their definite government and firm connection with the mother-country gave them an advantage over the French, still the power of the latter was of a kind which, by a fortunate turn of events, might find itself supreme. A successful war waged by Sindia, with the aid of Perron's disciplined battalions or a reinforcement of Tippoo's army from France, a contingency which did not seem impossible, might reverse the relative positions of the European rivals.

How then, on the whole, did the English power in India stand in 1798? The short review that we have attempted will have shown that our Empire was in a critical state. With helpless allies, whose connection, as it then was, did it more harm than good, surrounded on all sides by enemies secret or avowed, and with its own resources not in the most efficient condition, the English Government in India needed a wise and strong ruler to direct its councils. Above all, it needed a man who was not afraid of responsibility, a man who, conscious of the rectitude of his intentions, and trusting in his own power, would be willing to abide by the results of his independent action.

Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, the men who had last guided the destinies of our Indian Empire, had perhaps obeyed the Act of Parliament too scrupulously. It was this scrupulousness which had led them to reject the advances of Nana Furnavese, and of Sindia, when the opposite course might have saved so much bloodshed in later years. Men of this temper would not have been fitted to rule the India of 1798. A man was needed of greater energy, greater foresight, greater power of forming grand political conceptions; less scrupulous, but by no means less high-principled. Such a man was the Earl of Mornington.

It is indeed hard to imagine a more thankless office than

that of a Governor-General of India, in the days when the fabric of our Empire had not yet been fully built up. Hampered by the instructions of Ministers at home who knew little of the Empire for which they were legislating, forced either to violate those instructions or to leave undone much that they felt it their duty to do, they had to make up their minds to be reproached either for severity or for feebleness. And the reproaches of Ministers and Directors have sometimes been echoed since by historians. More than one of these might have reconsidered his judgments, if he had fairly asked himself a question in which lies the root of the matter, and thought it over until he had found an answer. Let us try whether we can find one which will satisfy us. Were Englishmen to remain in India, or were they, one and all, to leave it, in order to guard against the possibility of doing injustice to the natives? The latter would have been a course which the staunchest member of the Peace Society would hardly venture to defend. Violently to break up the Company that had stood for nearly two hundred years, to destroy the prospects of every Englishman in India, to ruin the thousands whose means of living depended, directly or indirectly, upon the connection between England and India, would have been preposterous measures which no man whose moral sense was not utterly perverted could for a moment have thought of supporting. To argue the question at all is almost insulting to common sense. In Anglo-Indian history there had been much that was shameful mingled with much that was honourable to the English name. But to bring that history to a sudden close was quite out of the question. Under what conditions, then, was the Anglo-Indian power to remain? For the Company to quit their position as a ruling power would have been unjust to the States which had put themselves under their protection. Besides, even if they had abandoned their connection with their native allies, and imitated the native manner of observing treaties, their difficulties would not have been at an end. Either the native princes would have driven them into the sea, in order to rid themselves finally of neighbours who had shown themselves to be so mighty, or if they had been so bewildered at this strange caprice of self-sacrifice as to have remained passive spectators of it, the self-deposed Emperors would have probably found themselves regaining Empire in much the same way in which they had originally won it. Mere merchants they could not remain; they might be merchants if they would, but not without being Emperors too. For European settlers in India a stationary condition was impossible. It might be doubtful whether England or France would win the day, but one or other was sure to do so. The English would have been willing to live peaceably, if

the restless natives would have allowed them to do so, but peace at any price was not what they wanted, and, as they were fully determined to keep what they had already won, they ended by winning more, and finally by becoming the dominant power in India. The question then that has been asked above may now fairly be answered. We must decide that Englishmen were to surrender the Empire which they had founded, to forsake the native powers with whom they had allied themselves, to abandon the good work which they had begun, perhaps without much regarding it, the work of civilising a country which had never had more than a mock civilisation, or, for a middle course was impossible, we must decide that they were to go on and prosper. Can we hesitate to say that they were right in deciding to go on, or rather that they deserve no blame for not even having thought of going back?

Leaving England on the 7th of November, 1797, the Earl of Mornington arrived at the Cape in February, 1798. There he seized the opportunity of hearing about Indian affairs from Lord Hobart, and an experienced Indian officer, General Baird. From Major Kirkpatrick also, who had been Resident at the Court of Sindia, and more recently at that of the Nizam, he learnt much about the French corps at Hyderabad, and the correspondence that went on between it and the French officers in Tippoo's service. This news he communicated to Dundas, who was at that time President of the Board of Control, and added a sketch of the measures which he thought of adopting in order to keep Zemaun Shah at bay, to substitute English for French influence at the Nizam's Court, and to meet the wishes of the Mahrattas for an alliance with our power. This despatch, let us note, is the best answer to the charge of ignorance of Indian affairs which Mr. Mill has brought against the Governor-General. On the 26th of April, 1798, Madras was reached. It was during his stay there that, in obedience to the wishes of the Directors, Mornington made the attempt in which Hobart had failed, of trying to persuade the Nabob of the Carnatic to agree to a modification of the treaty of 1792. But he succeeded no better than the late Governor of Fort St. George had done; in a letter to Lord Clive, Hobart's successor, he describes the Nabob's mind as having been "in a state of great irritation and alarm." This letter deserves mention for another reason. It shows that Mornington, who has always been credited with the power of reading character and discerning able instruments, had already begun to take stock of the men who might be useful to the public service. Among the civil servants and officers whose character he sketches for Clive's benefit occurs the name of Malcolm.

On the 7th of May, he arrived at the seat of Government. We

may begin by noticing his interference with the Government of Tanjore, though this was not actually the first matter which claimed his attention, because the work had been left unfinished by his predecessor. The country of Tanjore, with its numerous streams, its valuable forests, its teeming herds of sheep and cattle, is situated almost in the extreme South of India on the southern side of the river Coleroon. In 1787, the claims of Serfojee, the adopted son of the late Rajah, Tuljajee, had been set aside by the Madras Government in favour of Tuljajee's half-brother, Ameer Sing, on the ground that Tuljajee had not been responsible for his acts at the time that he had adopted Serfojee. and, further, that legally the adoption could not stand. The new Rajah, who was also Serfojee's public guardian, treated him so cruelly that his private guardian, the famous Swartz, appealed to the English, who interfered to protect him. The result of their appeal probably gave confidence to Serfojee's friends, for they at once followed it up by praying for a reversal of the decision which had excluded Serfojee from the throne. Sir John Shore again listened favourably, and his successor, following the interpretation of the law given by some learned pundits, and also obeying the order of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, dethroned Ameer Sing, and set up Serfojee in his stead. Although it will involve a further slight departure from chronological order, it may be well here to notice the treaty which the Governor-General concluded with the new Rajah. This treaty provided for the entire transfer of the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice from the Government of Tanjore to that of the Company. Formerly the Rajahs of Tanjore had been in a state of external dependence upon the English, but they had had some authority, and had managed their affairs as badly as Indian princes usually did. Serfojee was to enjoy the personal dignity and the title of Rajah, and he was to have a sufficient income, but a ruler he was not to be. The Power which had raised him up was henceforth to govern his country. By the elevation of Serfojee the English repaired a wrong which they had unwittingly committed, and in his Minute the Governor-General spoke of the duty of making such a reparation. Many readers of history would, no doubt, laugh at the notion of attaching any weight to the professions of justice made by a statesman in a political paper. But while there is no need to put unlimited trust in the sincerity of the conventional tributes to morality which are so often scattered through such documents, it is, on the other hand, no proof of sagacity to deny that a Government is ever guided by any motives but those of unenlightened self-interest.

The matter which had first called forth the Governor-General's

attention was a most important one. Blindly trusting to the assurances of a French adventurer, Ripaud, Tippoo Sultaun had sent an embassy to the Isle of France to negotiate for the alliance of a disciplined French force with his own army. The ambassadors soon found that their master had been deceived, but instead of returning home at once, as they ought to have done, they foolishly published the object of their mission, and then proceeded to enlist a few worthless recruits, as the only substitute for the army by whose aid they had fondly hoped to overthrow the British power. But it was not enough that Tippoo had shown an utter want of judgment in sending the embassy, and that his ambassadors had done their best to make matters worse. It was only after their return that the amazing folly of the Sultaun was fully made manifest. Instead of disavowing the proclamation which General Malartic, the Governor of the Isle of France, had issued, and promptly dismissing the recruits, he took the latter into his service, allowed them to establish a Jacobin club, and did all he could to strengthen the suspicions of the Governor-General that he contemplated an alliance with France. No doubt much that these facts proved was well known before. If there had been any question of Tippoo's hatred of the English, his conduct would have set that question at rest. His hatred of the English, however, was notorious. Nor can it be truly said that his conduct showed that he would co-operate with the French, whenever he might get the chance. Nobody doubted that he would do so. The real importance of his policy, or rather impolicy, lay in the fact that he did not disavow the embassy, that he took the French recruits into his service, and that by so doing he gave the English Government a right to ask for an explanation of his conduct.

It was not, until November 8th, 1798, that this explanation was demanded. It is not, however, on that account to be supposed that Mornington had looked calmly on at Tippoo's proceedings; on the contrary, his first idea had been to attack him at once. He had made up his mind directly he had heard from Lord Macartney, the Governor of the Cape settlement, that General Malartic's proclamation was genuine. But as the unprepared state of the army on the Coromandel Coast forced him to give up this plan, he lost no time in giving orders for the speedy equipment of the troops. And in his resolution to leave nothing undone which might in any way tend to make success more certain, if war should become unavoidable, he determined to make the power of the Nizam, and if possible, that of the Mahrattas also, aid in the work of reducing Tippoo. What he proposed to do was to obtain the dismissal of the French force at Hyderabad, and to put an English subsidiary corps in its place.

The goodwill of Azeem-ul-Omrah, the Nizam's Minister, towards the English made it easy to gain this end, and a treaty negotiated with the Nizam, by Captain Kirkpatrick, provided for the Governor-General's object, and further bound the English Government to mediate between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, or, if the latter should refuse to accept English mediation, to guard the Nizam from their enmity.

But, unfortunately, the negotiation at Poona was not so successful. Dread of Sindia prevented the Peishwa from listening to his Minister, Nana Furnavese, who advised that a force under the famous Mahratta general, Pureshram Bhow, should be sent to co-operate with the English.

As circumstances had forced Mornington to give up his original design of attacking Tippoo at once, he would now have been content if the Sultaun had given some really trustworthy pledge of his willingness to keep the peace. In his despatch of 8th November he did no more than express his sorrow at hearing of the Sultaun's connection with the French, inform him of the military preparations which he had made as a matter of precaution, and propose to send an ambassador to communicate "a plan calculated to promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties." In his reply Tippoo took no notice of this proposal; he thought it enough to say that "his friendly heart is to the last degree bent on endeavouring to confirm and strengthen the foundations of harmony and union." Mornington was not likely to be satisfied with evasions of this sort; before he had received this letter, however, he had again written to Tippoo, asking for a speedy answer to his original proposal. In another letter Tippoo tried to explain away the fact of the embassy, and gave fresh assurances of his love of peace, but again evaded the proposal for sending an ambassador. Mornington, who received this letter at Madras, on the 31st of December, now began to lose patience, and peremptorily demanded an immediate reply. It was not till the 13th of February, 1799, that this reply, conveying Tippoo's tardy assent to Mornington's proposal, arrived. But it was too late. Believing from the Sultaun's delay that he had resolved not to listen to any suggestions for a peaceful arrangement, the Governor-General had already ordered the allied armies of the English and the Nizam to be set in motion. Yet he was willing even now to settle matters by negotiation, though it is not to be supposed that he would have granted the Sultaun the same terms that he would have been ready to offer when he first remonstrated with him. To reduce his power by force of arms had been, as we have seen, Mornington's first resolve. Afterwards he would have been contented if Tippoo had agreed to allow the presence of an English Resident at Seringapatam, and to cut

himself off from all connection with the French ; but when he had strengthened his own army, and when the French invasion of Egypt had suggested to him the possibility of further French assistance reaching Mysore, he made up his mind to require the cession of Canara,* a strip of territory to the north of the Malabar Coast, in order to prevent the landing of a French army in the Sultaun's dominions. After he had arrived at Madras, he would have required, in addition to his other demands, the payment of an indemnity to the English Government and their allies. It was Tippoo's faith in the constant assurances of French aid which he received from Chapuis and Dubuc, the commanders of the recruits from the Isle of France, which led him to turn a deaf ear to Mornington's proposals.

A short sketch of the events of the war which followed will suffice. Two armies from the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, the former under General Stuart, the latter under Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, were to advance against Seringapatam. On the morning of the 6th of March, Stuart's right brigade under Colonel Montresor was attacked at Seedasere by the flower of Tippoo's army, which, favoured by the woody country and a hazy atmosphere, had advanced unperceived, and attacked the rear and front of Montresor's men almost simultaneously. But these sepoys, although surrounded and greatly outnumbered, defended themselves so gallantly that the enemy could make no impression upon them, and, on being attacked by Stuart himself, who had speedily advanced to the rescue, retreated in all directions. After this reverse Tippoo marched by way of Periapatam and Seringapatam to encounter Harris, who on the 27th of March completely defeated him at Malvelly, some distance east of the capital of Mysore. The English leader now executed a skilful manœuvre. Instead of marching along the north side of the Cavery, as Tippoo had certainly expected that he would do, he crossed the river on the south, made a short halt at the village of Sosilly, and, after an unopposed march of five days, encamped about two miles south-west of Seringapatam. On the night of his arrival an attempt to take possession of the large tope and village of Sultanpetta was, partly owing to the darkness of the night, repulsed with loss, but a fresh attack on the morrow succeeded. Major-General Floyd was now sent to effect a junction with Stuart, with whom he returned, after a few days, to the capital. On the 30th of April the batteries began to batter in breach, and the work of destruction went on so rapidly, that on the morning of the 4th of May, a chosen body of men was

* In exchange for "an equal extent of territory in some other quarter," says Malcolm ("Political History," vol. i., p. 227).

stationed in the trenches under Major-General Baird, who was to lead them forth in the heat of the day to assault the stupendous works with which Hyder and Tippoo had fenced their capital. How successfully the attack was made, how gallantly Colonel Sherbrooke led the assault on the southern side, how the Sultaun was slain and his palace occupied, we learn from Baird's report ; but though the General did not forget to record the heroism of the men who fought under him, we feel, as we read his words, an unavailing regret that there was no Napier to tell of the impetuous valour and the faithful long-suffering of our men on that awful day, when the British soldier and the Bombay sepoy fought side by side, in generous rivalry, until the downfall of the mighty fortresses of Seringapatam proclaimed the ruin of Hyder's empire.

The conduct of the campaign and of the policy which had led up to it reflected credit on all concerned. The promptitude with which Wellesley had acted from the first, the zeal and ability with which he had remedied the deficiencies of the southern army, the wise confidence which had led him to delegate the amplest powers to General Harris, the judicious strategy of the commanders, the courage of the troops, and the forbearance with which they had used their victory, combined to make the conquest of Mysore one of the worthiest achievements of the British in India.

The subjugation of Tippoo was perhaps the one of his political achievements on which the Governor-General looked back most fondly, and, if any one of a series of acts which were closely linked together can be said to be more important than the rest, this preference was justifiable. The conquest and settlement of Mysore initiated a system of policy, the special characteristics of which were its unity and consistency. These qualities make it far easier than it would otherwise have been to estimate the value of Mornington's statesmanship. Let us try to apply the test. First of all, the series of measures which culminated in the treaty of Seringapatam formed the keystone of the defensive alliance system. From an interesting paragraph in Mornington's Minute of the 12th of August, 1798, it appears that even at this early period of his administration he had sketched the plan of that system in his mind. The conquest of Mysore put it in motion. The first treaty of Hyderabad, which secured the aid of the Nizam against Tippoo, was, as will presently appear, the forerunner of the treaty of Bassein ; the policy which brought about the destruction of the Sultaun led to the English relations with the Peishwa. And, besides relieving us from the fear of a powerful and implacable foe, besides ameliorating the condition of the millions whom he had oppressed, the conquest of Mysore

gave a blow to the hopes of the French and the various Eastern Powers which had sympathised with Tippoo's aims, stimulated commerce, set free a large portion of the British army for other services, and, occurring as it did, early in Mornington's administration, gave a valuable prestige to his name and to the British power.

But this is not the view of all. The historian who has distinguished himself by the most bitter criticism on the Governor-General's policy has not spared him here. Mr. Mill's argument is that if Mornington was right in going to war with Tippoo, Cornwallis was wrong in making peace with him, since the English were stronger relatively to Tippoo in 1799 than they had been in 1792, and since they could place just as much dependence upon their allies at the later as at the earlier time. But these facts, which the historian relies upon so confidently for proving that the war was needless, are substantially the same as those which Mornington used to prove that it was advisable. They were not, of course, the grounds for war with Tippoo, but they were the circumstances which made it wise to attack him, if there were other reasons for doing so. If an enemy is troublesome and does something equivalent to a declaration of war, if he refuses to listen to proposals for a friendly adjustment of difficulties, if to guard continually against the consequences of his implacable temper is far more trying than a war which would silence him for ever, and perhaps as expensive, then to say that he is weak is surely no argument against attacking him. Mornington was not displeased, perhaps, that by his virtual declaration of war Tippoo had given the English Government an opportunity for imposing some new and more effectual conditions upon him. The treaty of 1792 had kept the hands of the English tied; Tippoo by his own act set them free. Nor was it true, as Mr. Mill maintains, that there was no more likelihood in 1798 that the French would invade India than there had been at any time since the outbreak of war between them and the English. The expedition to Egypt pointed to the possibility, at least, of a later expedition to India; such an expedition would have been quite in keeping with what we know of Napoleon's love of far-reaching schemes, and a letter which he wrote to Tippoo shows that he contemplated it. But Mr. Mill is also virtuously indignant at what he regards as the unrighteous dealing of Mornington. He charges him with having broken a law of his country in going to war with Tippoo, on the ground that the war could not be called a defensive one. Certainly it could not, strictly speaking, be so called; but, on the other hand, as much blood was likely to be shed in the long run by avoiding it as by entering upon it. The fact is that the

man who violates a law or disobeys his instructions in the belief that he will be best serving his country by doing so, ought to feel very confident in himself, and ought to make up his mind to abide by the results of his independent action. If he succeeds he will be rewarded; if he fails he must not think himself aggrieved—though morally his conduct will have been the same in either case—if he is punished or superseded. Thus, few people would take Nelson to task for disobeying Sir Hyde Parker's orders at Copenhagen, for his disobedience led to victory.

After the death of Tippoo, the next step was to deal with the conquered country. Mornington, foreseeing that the usurper's sons must always chafe under the conditions which he would have to impose upon them, wisely resolved to restore the old Hindoo dynasty, while doing what he could to soften the lot of the deposed family. His plan was to form part of the conquered country into the new kingdom of Mysore, and to divide the greater portion of the rest into equal shares, for the English and their ally, the Nizam; while, as a measure of policy, the Mahrattas were to be conciliated with a third smaller share, if they would agree, like the Nizam, to receive an English subsidiary force. Their refusal to do this left the whole of the conquered country not included in the new kingdom to be divided between the allies. Mornington made this division on the principle of strengthening the English frontier against every possible attack both from without and within, and of guarding the kingdom of Mysore against invasions from the lawless troops of the Mahrattas and of the Nizam. The settlement was confirmed by two treaties, one of which fixed the amount of territory which was to belong to each State, while the other, between the new Rajah, on the one hand, and the English alone, on the other, settled the relations between the kingdom of Mysore, and the Power which had called it into being. It is quite true that the new kingdom was to be altogether dependent upon the English Government, but that does not justify Mr. Mill's question, "What, then, it may be asked, was the use of setting up the shadow of a Rajah?"* The uses of doing so were manifold. The restoration of a Rajah of their own race was sure to please

* It is rather a gratuitous charge against the Governor-General to say, as Mill does, that "this Rajah was a species of screen put up to hide, at once from Indian and from European eyes, the extent of aggrandisement which the British territory had received." If this was so, Mornington must have tried to blind his critics in one eye while he did all he could to open the other; for surely the subsidiary treaty of Seringapatam furnished evidence enough as to the nature of the relations between the new Rajah, and the English Government.

the Hindoos far better than the annexation of the country by the English would have done;* to have directly governed the country through the agency of English officials would no doubt have offered some advantages, but these would have been balanced by disadvantages. Mornington's plan was to combine native rule with English supervision: in Poornea, the late Sultaun's chief Minister, was found a fitting adviser for the new Rajah, while in Lieutenant-Colonel Close, who was to be Resident at the new Court, the Governor-General saw "a man, whose eminent talents, extensive experience, and conciliatory manners, enabled him to guide the new Minister without permitting him to feel the existence of control." The system which Mornington adopted deserves all praise as having been the first attempt to fit the natives for self-government. Necessarily it was a system which needed caution; the natives could not be left to govern themselves without supervision; but that supervision was to be exercised as delicately as might be. Anyhow the plan bore good fruit, if any faith is to be put in the Governor-General's own account of its working.

Thus Tippoo had fallen by a just retribution. The man who had repeatedly tortured and slain his English prisoners, had expiated his sins by the ignominious death which he had met with in his own capital at the hands of a nameless English soldier. The power which Hyder, the son of a Mahometan killidar, and at once the most far-seeing statesman and the greatest captain that had ever arisen among the natives of India, had created, which had passed after his death into the weaker hands of Tippoo, and which Cornwallis had mutilated, was now annihilated by Mornington. The people who had long groaned under the cruelty and intolerance of a tyrant, alien in blood and religion, now passed under the milder sway of a Rajah of their own race and a Minister of tried talents, for whose efficiency the benevolent supervision of the English offered the surest pledge.

We have seen how Mornington provided for the maintenance of an English force at Hyderabad; but security for the payment of these troops was wanting. This was obtained by the treaty of the 12th of October, 1800, which bound the Nizam to a cession of the territory which he had acquired by the treaties of Seringapatam and of Mysore.

Closely connected with this treaty were the negotiations which the Marquess Wellesley, for so we must now call him, entered into with the Peishwa: these negotiations and the war which arose out of them lasted beyond some of the other political measures of

* Wilks, in his "History of Mysore," bears testimony to the pleasure of the Hindoos at the restoration.

this administration, which we have not yet noticed, but they were so intimately bound up with the policy which the Governor-General had pursued at Hyderabad and in Mysore, that this seems the right place to discuss them. It needs no ordinary effort of the imagination to picture to oneself even faintly the ruin which the Mahrattas had wrought for generations in India. Like a swarm of locusts, they devoured up the produce of the most fertile regions of the peninsula. But this comparison only brings one element of their destructiveness before the mind. Their lawless exercise of power had hindered the really beneficial working of the Mogul administration. The extent of sea-coast which they commanded offered a tempting opportunity for French invaders. Had they only been able to act harmoniously, they might, long before Wellesley's time, have become the foremost power in the country. To keep them in check had sorely tried even the genius of Hastings. It seemed as if no reverse could make any impression upon their inexhaustible numbers. But to describe their organised raids and the unfailing perseverance with which they made and enforced their demands would be to tell a thrice-told tale.

The aim of Wellesley was to obtain "the complete establishment of the interests of the British Power in the Mahratta Empire," and to guard the Nizam, as the late treaties bound him to do, from the ever-present danger of Mahratta attack. In April, 1800, he had tried again to establish a connection with the Peishwa on the basis of the treaty which he had concluded with the Nizam, but he succeeded no better this time than he had done before. Late in the following year, however, the Peishwa voluntarily proposed an alliance, but his offer was rejected by the Governor-General, as, naturally enough, his only object was to strengthen himself and avoid dependence on the English Government, and to gain this end he made it a condition of the proposed treaty that the force which he was to subsidise should be stationed within the Company's dominions. As, however, he was still anxious to obtain the help of an English force, he renewed his offer in June, 1802, "under circumstances of more apparent sincerity than had marked his conduct at any former occasion." But his terms were still inadmissible. It was not until his own army and that of Sindia had been defeated in the battle of Poona by Jeswunt Rao Holkar that he gave way. Then, at last, when he saw no other way of regaining his authority, he agreed in the treaty of Bassein to the terms of the English. He was to have a subsidiary force; certain claims which he had on Surat and Guzerat were to be adjusted; and he agreed to allow the English Government to settle his disputes with the Nizam. Wellesley had hoped that the other Mahratta chiefs

would be too careful of their own interests to oppose this treaty by force; he had even believed that he might be able to persuade them to join the Peishwa in his alliance with the English; but the advance of Sindia and the Rajah of Berar towards the Nizam's frontier seemed to point to a different result. These Mahratta chiefs, indeed, had some reason to be dissatisfied with a treaty, which, though it did not in any way interfere with their rights, yet shut them out from all hopes of gaining the objects they had most at heart. It withdrew the Peishwa from Sindia's influence, while it deprived the Rajah of Berar of all prospect of becoming chief Minister, as he hoped, and on grounds of birth had a right to become. Sindia allowed, indeed, that the treaty "did not contain any stipulation prejudicial to the rights of the Maharage," but it was plain enough notwithstanding that he was by no means pleased with it, and in the course of the wearisome negotiations which followed between him and the Resident at his Court, it became more and more clear that he meant to oppose it by force. When the Governor-General saw this, he entrusted his brother, who was then Major-General Wellesley, with full powers, both political and military, and directed him, if war should become inevitable, "not to stop until the power of the opposing chief shall have been completely destroyed." Moreover, Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, who was at the head of the army in Hindostan, was "to occupy the Doab, and take possession of Delhi, Agra, and a chain of posts on the western and southern banks of the Jumna, and the possession of both banks of that river." Nor did Wellesley forget to provide against French ambition. "I wish you to understand, my dear sir," he says in a letter to Lake, "that I consider the reduction of Scindiah's power on the north-west frontier of Hindostan to be an important object in proportion to the probability of a war with France." M. Du Boigne (Scindiah's late general) is now the chief confidant of Bonaparte; he is constantly at St. Cloud. I leave you to judge why and wherefore."

But all hope of avoiding war had not yet been given up; it was not until the 3rd of August that the Resident, who had tried in vain for more than two months to induce Sindia to withdraw from his threatening position, left the camp. In the war that followed both the English generals were brilliantly successful. The battles of Delhi and Laswaree, in the north, and of Assye and Argaum in the Deccan, and the capture of a number of strong forts, gave a blow to the Mahratta power such as it had never before felt, while the conquest of Cuttack completed the reduction of the Rajah of Berar. Within the year treaties were concluded with the two chiefs. That with the Rajah provided for the cession of certain territories to the Nizam, whose frontier was

thus materially strengthened, while Sindia was engaged to resign his claims upon his feudatories in alliance with the English Government.* This provision clearly had a tranquillising tendency. Finally, the dread which Sindia, in the now weakened state of his power, felt of Holkar, led him to conclude another treaty on the 27th of February, 1804, by which he was to receive a subsidiary force. Thus, step by step, Wellesley added some new support to his great system of defensive alliances.

The war with Holkar calls for some notice here. In violation of a treaty into which he had entered with Sindia, this adventurer had kept aloof during the greater part of the late war, but before its close he had advanced towards the frontier of the Rajah of Jypore, a prince who was under our protection. On the 29th of January, 1804, Lake, acting on Wellesley's instructions, wrote to Holkar, requesting him to retire behind his own frontier. Holkar's answer proved that he was bent upon war, and, if there could still be any doubt of this, his attempts to stir up our dependents in Hindostan to revolt, and the quaintly-worded threats in a letter which he had written some months previously to General Wellesley† would have been enough to remove it. Holkar began the war by plundering the territories of the Rajah of Jypore. After a long struggle, rendered memorable by the disastrous retreat of Monson, and the blundering attempts of the gallant old Lake, who knew more of hard fighting than of refined generalship, to rush into Bhurtpore without a regular siege, he was subdued, but not until after the close of Wellesley's administration.

The conduct of Wellesley in dealing with the Mahrattas has been severely criticised. It was animadverted upon at the time by Castlereagh, and again, in less courteous terms, by Mill, writing some time after the event.‡ Castlereagh was alarmed at

* There were some modifications to this requirement. See Article 9 of the Treaty, on p. 421 of Mr. Owen's edition.

† He threatened that "countries of many hundred coss should be overrun and plundered and burnt. That he (the Commander-in-Chief) should not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and that calamities would fall on lacs of human beings in continued war by the attacks of his army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea."

‡ There is a very characteristic argument in Vol VI., p. 314, of Mill's History. "If we should allow," he says, "that the British Government would make a better use of new power than a native one, as it would be disgraceful to think it would not, the reason would go further than the Governor-General would wish; for upon this reason, not one Native Government should be left existing in India."

To substitute English for Indian government was, let us hope, a good thing; but to have violently and systematically suppressed all Native Governments, however benevolent the object might have been, would have been a policy worthy of some half-crazed doctrine. What would the authorities at home have said to such a policy of virtuous propagandism?

the bold and far-reaching schemes of Wellesley. He thought that, since the conquest of Mysore, all pressing necessity for an alliance with the Mahrattas had disappeared, and that the danger from French ambition which might be guarded against by such an alliance was too remote to justify a step which might lead to an expensive war, and which, at all events, must involve the English in the troublesome intestine disputes of the Mahratta Powers. The Mahrattas themselves, he argued, were averse to the treaty, and if war, as seemed likely, were to result from it, such a war would not only be expensive, but would inevitably lead to what the English legislature specially forbade, namely, a further extension of the English dominions in India. It would have been much better, Castlereagh maintained, to have formed a connection with the Mahrattas on a broader basis, such a connection as would have pleased all the Powers of the Empire, and which might have been established by offering a friendly mediation to the contending chiefs. An army of observation too, maintained upon the frontier, would have answered the purpose of defending our own territories and those of the Nizam without exciting the alarm and suspicion of the Mahrattas, as the maintenance of a subsidised force within their dominions would be sure to do. But Castlereagh had not grasped the import of the circumstances which had led to the treaty of Bassein. That measure had originated in the pressing necessity of defending the Nizam against the Mahrattas, who were certain to attack him and to force him to concede their unjust claims of *choute*, if they were not prevented from doing so, and in the necessity of repressing French ambition, which had already asserted itself through the medium of Sindia. The treaty of Bassein was but the logical result of the subsidiary treaty with the Nizam; but Castlereagh, failing to perceive this, approved the one and condemned the other. Moreover, while dreading the expense which he feared the treaty of Bassein would involve, he had overlooked the fact that an army of observation on the frontier would be just as expensive, and not nearly so useful as an army subsidised by the Peishwa. General Wellesley pointed this out in a valuable review of Castlereagh's observations. "I cannot exactly discern," said he, "the object of assembling the army upon the frontier, if it was to do nothing. The most expensive article in India is an army in the field, and the most useless is one destined to act upon the defensive." These words are worth pondering over. It is not enough to say that the Mahrattas were not likely in their distracted condition to be very formidable enemies. Refusing the alternative of being always under arms to resist attack, with all the trouble and anxiety which such watchfulness would have

brought with it, the English had to strike one sharp, decisive blow, and when Wellesley concluded the treaty, it did not seem likely to him that even this one blow would be needed. The cost of the blow that was struck was indeed great; but it is not fair, in judging of the merits of a policy, to take account of immediate results only. The true justification of the treaty of Bassein lay in the fact that it, in common with the other measures of the same kind which Wellesley carried out, paved the way for the future peace of India. Whatever may have been the faults of his policy, it has one great claim to our praise in its decisiveness. He saw that endless disturbances must be looked for until the English became paramount. It is his merit that he acted upon this view, and that, having once resolved upon the defensive alliance system and begun to carry it into effect, he did not stop short or adopt the half-measures which would have pleased his masters, but boldly and uncompromisingly carried out his views to their logical conclusion. We do not mean to argue that his policy towards the Mahrattas was above criticism, but what there is to condemn is chiefly matter of detail. His too sanguine temperament led him to over-rate the good that was to flow from his policy, and he was rashly confident in expecting to be able to carry it through without a war.

In estimating Wellesley's policy it is important, as we have already urged, to bear in mind that his various measures were not isolated acts, but cohering and inter-dependent parts of one great whole. This was the well-known subsidiary alliance system, which has been already referred to in the course of this Paper, and deserves something more than an incidental notice. By it Wellesley intended to group the powers of India in alliance round the central power of the British Government, which was to defend them at their own cost, and in some cases to administer their civil affairs, or those of a part of their territories as well, in others merely to reserve the right of interference. Wellesley did not invent this system, but he found it in a rudimentary and imperfect state, saw its capabilities, developed it, and would have perfected it, if he had had time. When he arrived in India, he found a number of States in a condition of dependence, more or less close, upon England, subsidiary treaties existed in some cases, but there were no adequate guarantees for the payment of the subsidies, and these were, as might have been expected, often in arrear. The native powers were in a condition of constant turmoil, there was much oppression and extortion practised by native rulers; in a word, our Empire was in a critical state. Wellesley did much to remedy this state of things: his policy opened to the natives the way towards real civilisation, which they never could have entered, if left to them-

selves. True, there is another side to the question. It might be, and has been, contended that in most cases the States included in the subsidiary alliance system would probably fail to perform their obligations, that this consideration would ultimately lead to their complete annexation, that in any case the system would tend to break the spirit of the natives, to destroy their independence of character, to encourage their princes in a natural tendency to luxurious indolence, and to keep them on the throne against the will of their subjects in cases where, but for the protection of the British Government, a revolution would have overthrown them. But these arguments, even if true, do not prove that the system was not, on the whole, the best that could have been adopted. In fact, we are again confronted with the old question. It may, or may not have been for the good of India that it should pass under the British dominion. But at all events, if the English power was to continue, the subsidiary alliance system was the one which would enable it to maintain itself in the highest state of efficiency, to do the maximum of good to its subjects, and to guard most effectually against attacks from without. The careful reader of Wellesley's despatches will gather from them that he did not contemplate the possibility of ever granting real self-government to the natives of India. His opinion was not the result of any want of liberality or breadth of view, but of the conviction that the people among whom he had tried to introduce the blessings of peace and civilisation could only be preserved from the anarchy and oppression which their fathers had passed through for centuries, by the benevolent despotism of a British Government. He strove more wisely to apply in India the ideas of Government which Strafford, with well-intentioned, but mistaken zeal, had tried to introduce at home. But, without yielding to any in our admiration for the wisdom and the foresight of the statesmen, the skill and ardour of the captains, the courage and endurance of the soldiers, who won for us our Indian Empire, we may yet believe that there will be no more glorious day in the history of the mother of nations than that, however distant it may be, on which her adopted Eastern child, having learnt wisdom and self-control in years of education and discipline, shall enter upon a new and independent career, and win for herself a fame more true and lasting than the fame of Hyder or of Aurungzebe.

In 1798 an attack by Zemaun Shah had been dreaded by the Governor-General. Among the means of defence which he had contemplated had been a defensive alliance with Sindia, but this he had not been able to bring about. Domestic troubles had, however, recalled the Shah, but he had not given up his designs. In order to counteract them the Governor-General sent a certain

Mehidi Ali Khan, who had expressed his confidence of being able to induce the Persian Government to effect a diversion, on an embassy for that purpose. This was in 1799. Later on Malcolm was sent on a similar mission, and concluded a treaty with the King of Persia, which provided that the latter should "lay waste and desolate" the Afghan dominions in case the Shah invaded India; while, on the other hand, it bound the English Government to "send as many cannon and warlike stores as possible, with necessary apparatus, attendants, and inspectors" to the aid of the King, if he should ever find himself at war with the French or Afghans. This treaty went far to diminish the danger of an Afghan invasion.

Wellesley's treatment of the difficult problem which the condition of Oude presented, was a very important and a hotly-debated part of his policy. The Vizier's army, an undisciplined rabble, was not only useless as a defence against the constantly impending danger of invasion from the North-West, but had also been only prevented from rising in mutiny against its master by the timely interference of the British Resident. Thus, as Oude lay on the path of an invading army marching from the North-West towards Bengal, the duty of self-preservation, as well as the duty of providing for the security and the well-being of a dependent State called for the interference of the Governor-General. As early as December, 1798, he had told the Resident at Lucknow that he intended to persuade the Nabob to disband the whole of his army, except the small part of it that might be necessary "for the purposes of State, or of the collection of the revenue." The Vizier had at first agreed to the Governor-General's proposal, but, on the pretext that he would sink in the estimation of his people by doing so, he had afterwards changed his mind. But Wellesley was not to be thus baffled, and in a letter to the Vizier in which he spoke of the provision made by Sir John Shore's treaty for the occasional augmentation of the subsidiary force, he argued not only that the terms of the treaty empowered the Company to decide what augmentation might be needed, but also that, as in view of a sudden attack they might be unable to make the requisite augmentation, they were justified in making a permanent addition to the amount of the force. Now began a new act in the drama. In November the Vizier told the English Resident that he had long resolved to resign the government on account of the mutual aversion which subsisted between himself and his subjects. In the paper which Wellesley wrote on hearing of this he pointed out to the Vizier that he would have to leave his successor provided for, and pay his debts, and that he could not, therefore, be allowed, while giving up his throne, to keep all his treasure, as he had wished to do: Wellesley's idea

was that the Vizier should, without formally abdicating, irrevocably hand over the administration of his country to the Company's government. The result was, as might have been expected, that the Vizier gave up his intention. But he was by no means inclined to allow his troops to be disbanded. Wellesley, however, though he would have been glad to have the Vizier's consent to his plans, was resolved to carry them out at all hazards, and accordingly he took measures for the increase of the subsidiary force, and for the dissolution of the native corps. The Vizier remonstrated against this treatment in an acute and, from his own point of view, well-reasoned letter to Wellesley, who replied in a despatch, the exceeding sternness of which was provoked by the evasiveness and double-dealing of the Vizier, and was needed in order to teach him that he must bow to the righteous power of the English Government. At last he gave way, and it is agreeable to notice that the work of disbanding his troops was made as little unpleasant to him as it could be. Wellesley's hand was strong, but it could be gentle as well.

To meet the difficulty, which the Vizier had strongly urged, of paying the English troops, Wellesley made the further demand of a cession of territory, so as to set the question at rest for ever. The Vizier opposed this measure also with all his might, but Mr. Henry Wellesley, the Governor-General's brother, whom he had sent to assist in the work of negotiation, at last obtained his consent to a treaty which provided for the requisite cession, and also secured the right of interference in the reserved districts to the English Government, which in its turn undertook to "defend the territories which will remain to his Excellency the Vizier against all foreign and domestic enemies."

There can be no doubt that in the interests of the people of Odde, as well as of the English, the provisions which this treaty secured were desirable. But the means by which it was obtained have not been allowed to pass without question. Wellesley himself, as we have seen, defended the justice of his proceedings by an appeal to Sir John Shore's treaty. But although, perhaps, in writing to the Vizier it was expedient for him to take this line of argument, it is not upon such a basis as this that his defence must now be rested. Let us first look at the matter from the Vizier's point of view. "Towards the latter end of the 17th Article," he had said, referring to Sir John Shore's treaty, "it is stipulated that the Nawab shall possess full authority over his household affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, and his subjects. Should the management of the army be taken from under my jurisdiction, I ask where is my authority over my household affairs, hereditary dominions, over my troops, and over my subjects." To meet

this objection fairly was obviously impossible. It will be well then to admit at once that Wellesley broke an article of a treaty, and that he used force as soon as he found that he had no chance of gaining his end by persuasion. But it is needful to remember that the Vizier of Oude did not stand towards the English Government in India in the same relation that a European Power would stand towards the English Government at home. When Wellesley came to India he found the Vizier dependent upon the English Power; an English Governor-General had raised him to his throne, and the Marquess was quite right in saying that "the authority of the Nawaub of Oude was sustained exclusively by his connection with the Company's Government." Professor Wilson, too, is no less right in saying that "it was too late to inquire by what means the kind of connection which had been formed with the princes of this country had grown up." Would Wellesley then have been justified in shrinking from taking a step, so full of advantages for his own nation and for the people of Oude, from any dread of forcing the will of a single man? The question of the breach of the article in Sir John Shore's treaty is another matter. It is one of those questions of casuistry which are always appearing to perplex the student of Indian history. It would be very dangerous to advance the doctrine that treaties might be violated without wrong-doing, on utilitarian grounds, without the utmost caution. But if ever there was a case where a treaty might lawfully be broken, this was one:

On the 4th of June, 1802, Henry Wellesley, who had already settled the administration of the ceded districts of Oude, concluded a treaty with the Nabob of Furruckabad, a State which had for some time been under English protection, by which it was ceded and an income of one lac and 8000 rupees reserved to the Vizier.

Two other States came under the Company's Government during Wellesley's administration. Since 1759 the English had been closely connected with the Nabob of Surat, whose castle and fort they had then undertaken to keep up in consideration of a yearly subsidy of two lacs of rupees; but as they had now fairly established their influence in Surat, and as the portion of the subsidy which had been paid had never been sufficient to meet the expenses with which they had burdened themselves, they resolved to insist upon the payment of an adequate sum as the price of their consent to the succession of a new Nabob. Every means was taken to induce the heir to agree to these terms, but as he refused to pay more than one lac of rupees, the Governor-General ordered him to be deposed, and insisted upon the transfer of the whole administration and revenues of the city into the

hands of the Company as the condition of the appointment of another Nabob, Nusser-ud-Deen. In a despatch to the Hon. Jonathan Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, he justified this measure on the broad ground that it was the duty of the British Government to provide for the defence and good government of Surat. A treaty was accordingly concluded on the 18th of May, 1800, which provided for the fulfilment of Wellesley's plans.

We have seen that almost the first act of his administration was an attempt to induce the Nabob of Arcot to agree to some modification of the treaty of 1792. He afterwards found an opportunity of gaining his end by force. Papers had been found in Seringapatam, after its capture, which seemed to show that Wallajah, and his son Omdut-ul-Omrah, the two Nabobs of the Carnatic, had broken the treaty by a treacherous correspondence with Tippoo. There is no need to follow the details of the examination which Wellesley caused to be made in consequence of this discovery; it is enough to say that, though there was perhaps no clear proof of actual treachery, yet the inquiry showed that the Nabobs bore no very friendly feelings towards the English. But the question of the guilt or innocence of the Nabobs has very little to do with the question of the justice or injustice of Wellesley's treatment of them. He chose, indeed, to rest the defence of his cause on the breach of the law of nations with which he charged the Nabobs, but the true justification, as he had himself pointed out in the case of Surat, rested upon broader grounds. The peace of India and the stability of the Company's rule in the South could only be secured, as more than one disastrous war had proved, by the practical annexation of the Carnatic, and no ill-timed scruples could be suffered to hinder the reformation of the Government of that miserable country. When, therefore, after the death of Omdut-ul-Omrah, on the 15th of July, 1801, his reputed son, Ali Hussein, refused to agree to the English terms, which provided for the transfer of the Government to the Company, Azim-ul-Dowlah, the son of Ameer-ul-Omrah, who was the younger brother of Omdut-ul-Omrah, accepted the title and signed the treaty which was dictated to him.

To provide for the permanent safety of the Empire which he had extended and strengthened was Wellesley's constant aim. His eye detected every flaw in the buttresses of the fabric; his ingenuity and forethought suggested every means of repair. In one despatch he pointed out how necessary it was for the public safety that the Governor-General, who was responsible for the well-being of the Empire, should possess absolute control over its Government, and insisted upon the obedience which the subordinate presidencies owed to the central administration. In

another he combated the erroneous policy which had withdrawn Ceylon, the bulwark of the Empire, from the control of the Bengal Government, and dwelt upon the fatal consequences which might arise from the jealousies and the want of harmony which such an unnatural separation would be likely to produce. In another he pleaded with Dundas for an enlargement of the European force in India, and though the Minister was right in pointing out certain errors in his correspondent's calculation, and in checking the reckless disregard of expense which accompanied his impetuous zeal for the welfare of the Empire, yet that zeal was in itself honourable. In another, the Governor-General showed how impossible it would be to choose competent public servants if the Directors and the Board of Control continued to assume the patronage of India. Finally, he pointed out in a tone at once respectful and firm the injurious results of the Prince of Wales's correspondence with the Nabob of Arcot, showing that such conduct increased the confusion created in the native mind by the existence of the rival powers of King and Company, and had a dangerous tendency to diminish the dignity of the latter.

But the actual work of ruling India was not in itself enough for a man of such boundless energy. He found time to take a part in external politics as well, and in doing so he was animated by the same care for the safety of the Indian Empire, as well as by the desire of making it helpful to the greater Empire of which it formed a part. Towards the end of 1800 he resolved to send an expedition against the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, which formed a centre for the operations of the French privateers, and a depôt for their plunder, and which might also be made the starting-point of a future expedition against India. He had already thought of sending a force against Batavia, but had given up the idea, as he told his brother Arthur, "in consequence of the state of the war in Europe, and of the strength of the French force in Egypt." For his present purpose he had ordered a force to assemble at Trincomalee, which was either to go up the Red Sea in order to co-operate with the British force which might be employed in Egypt, or to proceed to any point which the French might threaten in India, especially on its western side. The expedition was to be under the command of Arthur Wellesley, but the Governor-General's plans were frustrated by the scrupulous temper of Admiral Rainier, who refused to co-operate until he should have received orders from home. Foiled in his purpose Wellesley resolved to direct the force against Batavia instead, but it was ultimately sent, in obedience to instructions from England, to join in the work of expelling the French from Egypt. No army of Asiatics had ever been seen

so far westward. It is true that this army won no definite successes, but only a superficial reasoner would deny the moral effect of a measure which showed that, under the strong guidance of Wellesley, India had not only guarded herself from the dangers with which the ambition of Napoleon had threatened her, but could spare something of her own strength to aid Europe in opposing him. It is said that General Baird, after he had heard rumours of the projected expedition to Batavia, "felt it his duty to press his own claims as a Major-General on the staff appointed from home, in preference to that of a regimental officer of inferior rank" (Colonel Wellesley). The result was that Baird received the appointment. The colonel was a good deal disappointed at being passed over, and wrote rather a bitter letter on the subject to his brother Henry. It is only fair, however, to the Governor-General to say that this was the only occasion on which, through fear of public opinion, he shrunk from giving the public the benefit of his brother's services. It is hardly necessary now to defend Wellesley from the charge of favouritism, but, if a defence were needed, it would be enough to say that a man who knew so well how to choose his instruments, would not, from a regard for his own reputation, if from no worthier motive, have entrusted any one with the execution of important plans, unless he had believed him to be fully competent. Yet he knew that he would be charged with jobbery, for, in a letter to his brother respecting the intended expedition to the Isle of France, he says, "Great dissatisfaction will arise among the officers in consequence of my employing you ; but I employ you because I can rely on your good sense, discretion, activity, and spirit, and I cannot find all these qualities united in any other officer in India, who could take such a command." But with such a brother, the Governor-General had to choose between the ordeal of facing a charge like this, and depriving his country of the services of an incomparable officer. All honour to him that he resolved to incur a charge rather than to deserve one.

Lord Wellesley's civil administration still remains to be noticed. We have seen how strongly his general policy was influenced by his benevolent anxiety to ameliorate the condition of the natives of India. Yet there is no doubt that he was more fond of dwelling upon the blessings of the English Government than careful to make it better. The administration of the English was good compared to that of the native princes, but there was much in it that needed amendment. Cornwallis's judicial reforms, though they had been well meant, had not been adequate to the purpose of securing cheap and speedy justice. That purpose, indeed, was not easy of attainment in a country

so thickly peopled as India, and where so many extraordinary obstacles were thrown in the judge's path. In a despatch to the President of the Board of Control, dated the 5th of March, 1800, after praising Cornwallis's system, he went on to say that, from various causes, it had not yet had fair play, and explained his own plan for removing the defects which he complained of. He proposed, he said, to institute a Court of Sudder Dewannee and Nizamut Adawlut, distinct from the Council. This new Court was to be the Supreme Court of Appeal from all the Company's possessions, to superintend the general administration of justice and the general state of police, and to offer such suggestions for additional legislation as might seem necessary. Perhaps Wellesley did not recollect that the Court ~~was~~ sure to have far more work thrown upon it than it could properly, or even improperly, get through, and that this circumstance would go far to neutralise the advantages which he expected from it. The English courts of justice in India were far too few in number, and justice was therefore necessarily delayed; still it must be borne in mind that all the blame of allowing this insufficiency to exist could not fairly rest upon the Governor-General, for the authorities at home would never have suffered him to introduce any expensive reform. On the other hand, he was wise in taking all judicial work out of the hands of the supreme Government; he knew that not only would it be physically impossible for it to perform this in addition to its other duties, but also that the native pleaders would not dare to contest the Governor-General's opinions, if he were to sit as a judge. He also showed a spirit of true economy in raising the inadequate salaries of the civil servants, and thought it wiser to remove incompetent officials and pension them, than to effect an apparent saving by retaining them in their posts. The lavish expenditure of Wellesley's administration displeased the Directors, but though his ardour for improvement often made him forget to count the cost of his measures, yet no amount of care could have made his policy a cheap one. If Sir John Shore had been succeeded by a Governor-General of his own kind money might indeed have been saved for the time being, but the temporarily expensive work of strengthening the Government would only have been put off until a ruler of Wellesley's stamp had appeared.

Early in life Wellesley had spoken in favour of free trade as enthusiastically as any young disciple of Cobden, and he now had an opportunity of carrying out his views which he used in a way that displeased his selfish and short-sighted masters. He took upon himself the responsibility of making a change in certain orders of the Directors, the object of which had been to lessen the difficulty of finding ships to carry the goods of private

merchants to Europe. His reform lay in "leaving the proprietors of ships and the merchants at liberty to settle the terms of freight," and its aim was to provide against the expense and loss of time caused by the orders of the Directors; but what he specially insisted upon was the need for giving every encouragement to private trade as the best means of guarding the interests of the Company, no less than of the private traders, against the competition of foreigners. Of the advantages of this policy to the general interests of the Empire, whatever might be said of its probable effects on the Company's trade, there could not be a doubt. But, although Wellesley properly attended to the commercial part of his duties, yet he clearly regarded them as of minor importance. He looked upon the Company as emperors rather than as traders, and he strove to impress this view upon the Ministers at home. Discerning the impossibility of ever deriving any considerable resource from the surplus revenues of India, though he was confident that the Government would be self-supporting, he applied himself with a lofty disregard of expense which frightened the thrifty Dundas, to make the Empire worthy of its name.

But although he had remained true to the doctrines of free trade, his Indian experience would not suffer him to apply his early views on the freedom of the press. The appearance in the *Asiatic Mirror*, the *Telegraph*, and the *Post*, of paragraphs "tending to magnify the character and the power of the French and to expose every existing or possible weakness in our situation," as well as others equally objectionable, led him to put a strict censorship in force. He even went so far as to send the editor of the *Mirror* to Europe, for publishing "a dissertation on the causes, nature, and extent of a conspiracy discovered in Bengal." The circumstances, however, of Indian society rendered a censorship far less oppressive than it would seem to those accustomed only to the conditions of English life. Some kind of restriction seemed necessary to the most liberal observers at that period of Indian history, particularly while the war with Tippoo lasted. Three cases of journalists being punished had already occurred under the government of Sir John Shore, and Major Kirkpatrick, in his answer to Wellesley's questions at the Cape, had dwelt upon the need for a censorship of the press.*

* The following is worth quoting:—"A representative Government and a free press are naturally co-existing political circumstances; the freedom of the press prevents the representative system from degenerating into a mere form; it is the element without which political vivacity could not survive; but in a Government where every authority centres in the executive the freedom of the press is an antagonist principle, always tending to the dissolution of the administrative conformation. *Sic volo, sic jubeo*, when once the Government

And now we have to give an account of a measure with which our narrative of Wellesley's Indian administration may fitly close, a measure which its author designed to execute with characteristic thoroughness and magnificence, and which may warrant us in saying that he too, like Hastings, "patronised learning with the judicious liberality of a Cosmo." This was the establishment of Fort William College, which, owing as it did its birth and not merely its development to Wellesley, was perhaps the work of all others which he had most at heart. In one of the most interesting of his despatches he explains the motives which had led him to found the College. After noticing the marvellous revolution which had raised a Company of merchants to the position of Emperors, he goes on to prove that the change had brought with it new duties: clerks and writers were now called upon to do the work of statesmen or of judges. Then, after pointing out that a special training was needed to fit those who were to be the servants of the Company for the special duties which they would have to fulfil, he shows how inadequate in every way was the training which they had hitherto received, how they had been obliged to leave Europe at an age when their general education was not yet complete, without the hope of being able to continue it in India, and without any definite preparation for their duties. To remedy those evils he had determined, he said, to found a College at Fort William, where the young civilians of all three Presidencies were to spend the three first years of their life in India. Provision was also to be made for admitting a certain number of the junior military officers from all the Presidencies. Then Wellesley summarily stated his own ideas as to the kind of training needed. "Their education," he said, "must be of a mixed nature, its foundation must be judiciously laid in England, and the superstructure systematically completed in India." Seeing that an education purely special was not what was wanted, he insisted upon the importance of a liberal culture. But besides the direct educational benefits of the College, he looked for further advantages from it, the removal, namely, of the temptations which had hitherto beset the "younger members of the service, the extinction of all local jealousies and prejudices among the several Presidencies," and the formation of a bulwark against all danger from the principles of the French Revolution.

have adopted a measure, must be the maxim of all despotism; discussion and implicit obedience are incompatible, and the only quarter from whence a control, consistent with the duration of our Empire, can be exerted over public functionaries in India is England.—(Extract from "A letter to Sir Charles Faber, Bart., M.P., on the Administration of Indian Affairs" (p. 41). Quoted in vol. xxxv., pp. 64, 65 of *The Quarterly Review*).

It will not be denied that, in the main, the foundation of Fort William College was a very noble conception. To the natives it was likely to be a source of unmixed good ; both Europeans and natives would be the better for knowing more of each other, and when the rulers had a more thorough acquaintance with the language, the literature, and the customs of their subjects, they might be expected to use their authority to better purpose. Yet in this instance the benevolent ardour of the Governor-General carried him too far. He did not reflect upon the impossibility of properly continuing a course of European studies in India. The real solution of the problem was to keep the future civil servants at home until they were at least of age, instead of sending them out as mere boys. The Directors were so alarmed at the probable cost of the institution that they at once ordered it to be abolished, but Wellesley resolved to suspend the execution of this order in the hope that he might be enabled to induce his masters to revoke it by pointing to good results actually achieved by his creation. His hopes were not wholly disappointed, for, yielding to the persuasions of the Governor-General and the Board of Control, the Directors ultimately agreed to allow the continuance of a college in Bengal for the instruction of the civilians of that Presidency in its languages, while they made some smaller provision for the education of their servants at the other two Presidencies. A college too was, as every one knows, afterwards founded in England for the education of intending civil servants.

On August 20th, 1805, Wellesley left India for England : he had already more than once offered to resign, owing to the opposition of the Directors to some of his measures, and the suspicion with which they regarded him. As far back as January 10th, 1802, in a letter to Addington, he had stated his grounds of complaint, one of the strongest being the imputation cast upon his character by the reduction of his brother's allowances. Besides this, he could not bear to be thwarted in carrying out the measures which he believed to be right. If he had had to endure the greater troubles of Warren Hastings, the work of writing despatches to point out his grievances would hardly have left him time for the duties of government. Though he was a strong man, he lacked the perfect calmness which had enabled Hastings to bear "the most cruel vexations" with a patience that "resembled the patience of stupidity." But if personal reasons had tempted him to resign, his better nature had asserted itself, and he had resolved to remain at his post until his work should be done. He might reasonably feel, when he left India, that he had done his work well. Ably as he had been served, the ability and the zeal of his subordinates would have availed

little if he himself had been weak or incompetent. But he knew how to make the best use of his instruments, and he had the rare power of infusing his own spirit into others, and calling forth their utmost exertions. The despatches in which he explains to his generals, or to his political agents, his plans for the execution of some great measure, or thanks them for their past services, or points out to the Home Government with generous admiration the magnitude of those services, reveal the secret of his success. If his energy and ability roused the admiration of his subordinates, his trustfulness and his gratitude must have touched their hearts.

We may perhaps say that the years of Wellesley's rule formed the fifth great period of Anglo-Indian history. For more than a century our dealings with and in India had been mainly commercial. Then the genius of Clive had roughly hewn the first blocks of the Imperial fabric; he was its architect, so far as it could be said to have an architect, and its first builder. A few years later Warren Hastings entered upon the great work, which, in itself, fills a complete act in the drama. With a patience that could bear every burden, a resolution that could overcome every opposition, and a power of rapid decision that was not weakened by the most sudden emergencies, he had saved the Empire in the most terrible crisis through which it had ever passed. But, as a result of the offence which his measures had given in England, the fourth epoch witnessed a reactionary policy. To Lord Cornwallis, and after him to Sir John Shore, was confided the work of establishing a reign of peace. Yet, by a too scrupulous, though a well-intentioned, respect for the Act of Parliament, they missed opportunities of benefiting their masters and their masters' subjects alike. The work of building up the Imperial fabric was clearly far from completion. Cornwallis was a reformer and legislator as well as a conqueror; but there was much imperfection in his reforms and his legislation. Lord Wellesley, following the main lines of Warren Hastings's policy, developed and went far to perfect the subsidiary system, subdued the enemies of England with a strong hand, and made her power unmistakably the leading and the central power of India. The period of his rule was perhaps the most brilliant, though not the most glorious period of Indian history. But a policy like his was sure not to be generally appreciated at once; its costliness displeased the Directors, its seeming aggressiveness and injustice shocked public opinion. A reaction again set in. What a contrast there was between the all-pervading vigour of Lord Wellesley and the obstinate feebleness of Sir George Barlow!

But, dazzling as were his achievements, Wellesley was not the

greatest man that had yet set forth to guide the destinies of British India. His fame must ever rest below that of Warren Hastings. It is enough to compare the portraits of the two men. In the great proconsul's face the sympathetic eye will discern a rare union of strength and tenderness, of intellectual power and moral elevation, of passionate enthusiasm and a serenity which no troubles could disturb, but which could only have been acquired by years of self-discipline, of the resolution which could inflict suffering where it was necessary, and a deep compassion for the sufferer. Such a character as this is not revealed by the features of Wellesley, striking and commanding though they are. But, if in comparing him with those who had gone before, we must say that he was not so great a man as Hastings, we may yet pronounce that he was an able, upright, and high-minded ruler, unscrupulous, not in the sense that no fear of doing wrong could keep him from pressing towards his end, but because he did not feel the stumbling-blocks which might have stood in the way of weaker men.

Yet his fame has not risen high. The greatness of Hastings is admitted by those who deny his goodness. His fame is only limited by the strange fate which makes Englishmen so indifferent to one of the most romantic and the most solidly instructive branches of their national history. But, allowing for this indifference, Wellesley's fame is less than it ought to be. Men who take the trouble to learn something of Anglo-Indian history wonder that they have hardly heard of a man who turns out to be one of the greatest of English statesmen. How is this freak of fortune to be accounted for? One cause is, no doubt, that which we have already spoken of, namely, the overshadowing fame of the Marquess's great brother. But we shall probably discover another reason when we compare the different situations of Hastings and Wellesley. Without regarding the circumstances which helped to invest the life of the former with a special interest, the romantic events connected with his personal history, the difficulties which those who ought to have helped him threw in his way, the seven years' trial with which his services were rewarded, there can be no doubt that he had to steer his way through far greater dangers than any which tried the powers of Wellesley. It is, of course, open to the admirers of the latter to say that, had he found himself in Hastings's position, he would have acquitted himself as well as Hastings did. But since, as a matter of fact, the one achieved a greater work than the other, his fame is proportionately higher. And not only was the work which lay before Wellesley when he came to India a less arduous one than that which Hastings had accomplished, but also the means which the former

had at his disposal were far greater. Every one knows the passage in which Macaulay has pointed out the manifold difficulties which beset Hastings as a statesman. In the few years which elapsed between the close of his administration and the beginning of Wellesley's, those difficulties were greatly lessened. The constitutional change which gave the Governor-General a power commensurate with his responsibility, and which Hastings had so earnestly desired and recommended, had been carried into effect.

In the course of our review of Wellesley's life we have noticed the opportunities for casuistical discussion which the study of Indian history presents. Rather it might be said that the historian who is not prepared to ignore the moral side of that history altogether, must make up his mind to encounter in its study problems far more complex and delicate than any he may have met with before. The difficulty is one which must strike every serious inquirer. Let us see how Mill and Macaulay have dealt with it. The former in a long series of tedious disquisitions tries the measures of the chief actors in detail by the touchstone of the Benthamite code of ethics, and almost always holds them guilty, while he generally dismisses them with a summary review, in which, though professing merely to consider extenuating circumstances, he practically acquits them on the charges which he has himself brought forward. In fact, he begins by playing the part of a Crown prosecutor, who presses his charges with a reckless severity for which he ought to be hissed out of court, and ends by assuming the rôle of judge, with a strong leaning to the side of the prisoner. Macaulay, unbiased by Benthamite prejudices, with far more natural fairness, and far greater real knowledge of human nature than Mill, has yet failed to do justice, from that want of mental delicacy which was one source of the weakness which in some points he showed as a historian. Whenever the moral aspects of an action are obvious, Macaulay's strength is indisputable; but the weakness of his blunt and downright criticism betrays itself when he has to deal with a character about which men have not yet made up their minds. He makes us feel the baseness of Sunderland as we never felt it before; but his picture of Hastings, though up to a certain point it is warmly appreciative, is yet incomplete and untrue. In fact, what is needed in order to treat the ethical side of Indian history adequately is that fine intellectual subtlety which is sometimes, though very rarely, found in alliance with a healthy and vigorous moral sense. The student must learn to disengage his mind from the fetters of a conventional standard of morality, for Indian history often presents a set of circumstances quite unlike those which gave rise to the

ordinarily accepted code of political ethics. At first sight the case against the men who founded, preserved, and extended the English Empire in India unquestionably looks very strong. Nothing is easier than to draw a highly-coloured picture of their injustice, and the historian who does this will always have a strong following among those who, ignoring the difference between the political conditions of Europe and of India, start with the idea that forcible interference in the affairs of another State must always be unjust. With those who will seriously maintain this opinion nothing that can be said on behalf of Wellesley and those statesmen who thought like him can have any weight ; but at least we have a right to complain when thinkers of this school shrink from pushing their opinions to their legitimate conclusion. We have already ventured to say that the solution of the moral problem presented by the English relations with India appears to be involved in the answer that is to be given to the question whether the Anglo-Indian Empire was to be suffered to continue or not. Those, then, who insist upon the immorality of the policy of Hastings and Wellesley, the two typical Anglo-Indian rulers, ought, as their policy could alone have saved our Eastern Empire, to regard that Empire as a fabric which could not have been reared except upon a basis of wrong-doing. But they are not all prepared to do this. Macaulay is especially inconsistent. He would not allow that Hastings's "misdirected and ill-regulated public spirit," as it appeared to him, was any justification for his acts according to what he believed "to be identical with morality, namely, far-sighted policy." But he did not see the corollary that must be drawn from his arguments, namely, that as Hastings's policy, and this he practically admits, could alone have saved the Empire, the preservation of the Empire was inconsistent with far-sighted policy. That it was so he would never have allowed.

Though any elaborate discussion on the morality of Wellesley's statesmanship would be out of place here, yet we may be allowed to suggest one or two considerations. First, though the view that our Indian conquests were generally forced upon us is one which plain men are apt to receive with suspicion, we not only believe that it is true, but we know that those who doubt it most generally end by accepting it as their knowledge of Indian history increases. One very striking example will suffice. When Mr. Mill was examined before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, he said : "All our wars cannot perhaps be with propriety considered wars of necessity, but most of those by which the territories we possess have been acquired, and out of which our subsidiary alliances have grown, have been wars, I think, of necessity, and not of choice. For example, the wars with Tippoo

and the Mahrattas." It is needless to point out how strong a support is lent to the opinion which justifies Wellesley by this decisive change of judgment in the historian's maturer years. Secondly, let us try to conceive the situation of the Governor-General, when, after his arrival on the scene of action, he felt within himself a growing conviction that the views of the Home Government, which had not the same means of forming a just opinion as he had, against all extension of dominion, were wrong, that he must discard all ideas of a *Via Media*, and firmly establish and develop the Empire, interfering boldly, where it might be necessary, in the affairs of the native States. If he had then forsaken the helm in obedience to the suggestion of a scrupulous conscience, returned home, and said to his employers, "I foresaw that, if your Empire was to be placed upon a firm foundation, I should have to do things which might shock our notions of political morality and I dared not so strain my conscience," what would the verdict of posterity upon his conduct have been? He would have been justly despised for the cowardice which, trying to shelter itself from blame by alleging scruples the delusiveness of which would have been exposed by the instincts of a healthier moral sense, had led him to fail his country in her hour of need.

Thirdly, we would suggest that the true justification of Wellesley's policy is to be found in the fact that it was, in the largest view, for the best interests of mankind that India should pass beneath the sway of England. Many and grave as have been the shortcomings of Anglo-Indian Governments, perplexing as are the questions which have still to be met by Anglo-Indian politicians, yet Wellesley's policy has been roughly justified by results. And he who has striven conscientiously and humbly to learn the lessons which the magnificent drama of the history of British India presents, he who has watched the steadfast honesty of purpose with which successive great rulers, while resolved to assert the supremacy of their nation, sought to use its supremacy righteously, will not believe that the unfinished drama is only one long tragedy, but will trust in the unfailing justice of the Trial by Battle, which has resulted in favour of his own country.

The rectitude of a policy is no sure proof of the righteousness of the politician. On the contrary, the statesman whose intentions are pure, and who honestly tries to carry them out, must be pronounced blameless, whatever judgment may be passed upon the intrinsic morality of his actions. But, having said so much, we need not waste words by justifying Wellesley on this score. Nothing will convince the reader who, after studying the history of his life, and reading his despatches, is not satisfied that he believed in the justice of his aims, and that he strove to fulfil them with all his might.

It might have been better for Wellesley's fame if he had not survived his friend Pitt, who died very soon after his return from India. But, though Nature had fitted him for the part of an absolute ruler, rather than for that of a constitutional statesman, it was his lot to hold some political office from time to time during the next thirty years. We must pass rapidly over this part of his life. In the spring of 1809 he was made Ambassador Extraordinary to the Supreme Junta of Spain, and before the close of the same year he became Foreign Secretary. He was thus enabled to support his brother in his great struggle in Spain, and the support was indeed sorely needed. Public opinion condemned the conduct of the English General, and there was strong opposition in Parliament to the continuance of the war; but Wellesley's firm faith in his brother and his belief in the vital importance of success inspired him to appeal again and again for help. The value of his services has been attested by the historian of the Peninsular War. "His brother," says Napier, "had opened to him those great views for the defence of Portugal which were afterwards so gloriously realised, but which could never have been undertaken with confidence by the general, unless secure of some powerful friend in the Administration, endued with the same sentiments, bound by a common interest, and resolute to support him when the crisis of danger arrived." But there was no sympathy between the Secretary and his colleagues. The narrow temper of Perceval, the head of the Government, his inability to appreciate the greatness of the crisis in Spain, and his bigoted opposition to Catholic Emancipation disgusted Wellesley, who, feeling himself in a false position, would have resigned long before he did, had he not been persuaded to retain his post for fear of weakening the Administration. But his patience was not inexhaustible, and in February, 1812, he retired. Personal reasons, however, had too much to do with his determination. It seems indeed to have been one of the faults of his character that he could not bear to be thwarted, or to have his opinions questioned. The temper which dictated the letter in which, with a due mixture of firm self-assertion and desire for friendly advice and sympathy, he had pointed out to Lord Clive, who was at the time Governor of Madras, the absolute supremacy of the Bengal Government, was well suited to the Governor-General of India, but mis-became the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. After what we have already said of the consistency with which Wellesley supported the Catholic claims, we need not dwell on the share which he took in the famous debates of 1812. Let us rather return with him to the scene of his entry into public life.

In 1821 he was appointed to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland.

At that time there was a special need for a fair and impartial ruler. The country was in a state of complete anarchy. Even now, after the lapse of sixty years, the antipathy between Catholic and Protestant in Ireland is such as few Englishmen are able to conceive. But when Wellesley went to govern a country the majority of whose inhabitants had long been smarting under a fierce Protestant ascendancy, this antipathy was far more intense. Wellesley's firmness and his freedom from religious bigotry marked him out as the man who was best fitted to restore order, but this impartiality prevented him from wholly pleasing every party. All that could be done was to prepare the way for religious freedom, and to abstain from exalting either party at the expense of the other, and this Wellesley did. While he discouraged the Orange Society, he did not favour the Ribbonmen, he corrected the evil of a partial administration of justice, alleviated the hard lot of the peasantry at least for a time, and put down insurrection with a strong hand. Yet his failure to devise any real remedy for the religious difficulty shows that although the *Via Media* was no doubt the safest path to tread, yet it was one which it was impossible for any man to tread firmly without absolute power. One might almost say that the ruler that Ireland needed in 1821 was a benevolent despot—a milder and more judicious, but a not less firm Strafford. Wellesley held his office until the appointment of his brother as Prime Minister in 1828. In 1830, he was Lord Steward of the Household, and in 1833 he was again called upon to govern Ireland, but he resigned his office on the dismissal of the Whig Ministry by William IV. The last appointment he held was that of Lord Chamberlain, which he accepted on his party coming into power again in April, 1835, but in the following month he sent in his resignation.

Even if space had permitted us to tell the story of Wellesley's later career in detail, we could not have entered upon the task as a labour of love, for the student who has watched a statesman vested with absolute dominion over a great country, unfolding with calm confidence and successfully executing the details of a policy which aimed at the exaltation of an Empire, and the well-being of millions of men, cannot see him return home to wrangle with his brother Ministers and to hold offices which afforded no scope for his genius without a feeling of melancholy which not even the knowledge that a sense of public duty was still the motive of the hero's conduct can wholly remove.

It is more interesting to see how, after a public career which had lasted more than half a century, the old man chose to return in the last years of his life to the literary work in which he had won his first successes. In 1840, he printed for

private circulation the "*Primitiæ et Reliquiæ*," a collection of the verses of his boyhood and his old age. They are interesting in themselves and also as showing how clear and fresh the author's mind was. Wellesley was certainly not a poet, but, like Warren Hastings, he could write neat verses. The fine massive lines that he wrote at the age of eighty-one on the civic statue of the Duke of Wellington are worth quoting :

"Conservata tuis Asia atque Europa triumphis
Invictum bello Te coluere ducem, *
Nunc umbrata geris Civili tempora Quercu,
Ut desit famæ gloria nulla Tuæ."

His despatches, admirable as their lucidity and arrangement are, do not deserve unqualified praise. They are marred by undue length, a fault not uncommon in the official writings of Indian statesmen. No compositions with which we are acquainted furnish a better example of the well-known saying, "*Le style c'est l'homme*." The writer's self-consciousness, his dignity, alloyed by an excessive solemnity, sometimes almost by pomposity, are mirrored in these papers. But, on the other hand, they reflect no less clearly the liberality and the comprehensiveness of his mind, his patient care for details, his far-sightedness, his benevolence, his generous confidence in those who served him, his enthusiastic gratitude and admiration for their services. His "*Minute in the Secret Department*" on his intended Mysore policy shows how persuasively he could state a case, and how clearly he could explain and vindicate his own measures. The reader who wishes for an example of the talent which could depict the results of a conquest in the most glowing colours will turn to Mr. Owen's extract from the *Minute* on the advantages resulting from the war with Sindia and the Rajah of Berar. While the letter to Admiral Rainier will prove that Wellesley knew how to administer a severe and dignified rebuke without forgetting to allow for the motives of the man whose offences he visited.

In the evening of his days Wellesley had the satisfaction of seeing his merits at last publicly recognised by the Company to whose service he had devoted the best years of his life. They relieved his poverty by a grant of 20,000*l.*, they showed their approval of his statesmanship by putting copies of his despatches into the hands of their servants, and they did him honour by placing his statue in the India House.

The well-earned tribute came just in time. The end was not far off. On the 20th of September, 1842, after a few months more of serene and dignified old age, which he spent in the society of loving friends, solacing himself to the last with the intellectual

pleasures which his unclouded mind could still enjoy, the Marquess Wellesley died. Those who deem him worthy to be reckoned amongst the heroes of our history might wish that the brothers, who in life had taken part together in so many great deeds, had been laid together in death beneath the glorious Minster which hallows the graves of England's greatest men. Lord Wellesley had surely earned the right of such a burial. But he had chosen for himself a lowlier resting-place, the chapel of the school where he had been brought up, and which he had never ceased to love.

ART II.—ARTISTIC COPYRIGHT.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Copyright.* 1878.
2. *Memorial of the Royal Academy to the Government on the Subject of Copyright.* Published in *The Times*, 10th Feb. 1879.

THE attention of the public has been directed to the subject of Artistic Copyright, not only by the Report of the Royal Commission, and the Bill which was introduced into Parliament at the close of the Session, 1879, but by a Memorial of the Royal Academy which was laid before Government with the view of influencing possible legislation. Of course, besides these conspicuous documents there has been a good deal of subsidiary literary discussion: there have been letters and leading articles in the morning papers; and there have been more pretentious essays in less frequent publications. The Bill of last Session, which disheartened Artists, was not passed into law, and believing that, even thus late, the Government might be induced to change its mind as to the policy of copyright legislation, they have quite recently returned to the text, and again preached the somewhat familiar sermon from it. There is still an opportunity to say some words upon this, by no means unimportant matter; and those words may not be the less weighty because they are written after the somewhat full expression of the views and opinions on either side of the controversy which has already taken place.

It is worth while, as a preliminary, to consider the meaning of copyright, and to ascertain the purpose for which it was created. It is scarcely necessary to say that the public is supremely interested in having books and pictures, that the nation should have the valuable teaching of the study and the

studio, as well as the lessons of the school and the church. Any one who overlooked the great and ennobling influence of works of art on civilisation—which is the education of the race—would be but a paltry historian. It may be true that great books and great pictures are fair-weather teachers, and that while they adorn and beautify the lives of the high and noble, they are too much of simple palliatives to affect the haggard existence of the low and wicked, whose squalor makes so large a feature in our national life. Still, even admitting the necessity of a drastic morality, as well as of a soothing culture, the admission of the necessity of the one is not a condemnation of the other. And we may say distinctly that as years go on the importance of the printing press and the painting brush must be enormously increased, while the importance of fine and imprisonment will be enormously diminished. This is not too sanguine a view, for it is founded upon a process of appreciation and depreciation which is going on.

But if to secure the production of works of art be a paramount need, it is not unimportant to consider how such a production can be best secured. And first, the producers must be remunerated. True, no money payment can make a man write a great book—the wealth of the Indies cannot command one great idea; but the writers of great books, the thinkers of great thoughts must live, weekly bills will come in even to a genius. And no man can devote himself to the arduous profession of literature or of art unless the labour bestowed upon the work of his life is to be remunerated. Were there no means of securing an adequate reward for such high labours, men must, unless they happen to be the heirs of wealthy ancestors as well as of the ages, cease to devote anything but hard-earned leisure to the work of literature or of art. Were such a thing to happen, were a man of real capacity to cease to write books—which might sow that better seed which will bring harvests of good deeds and high thoughts—and take to ploughing the land with a view to the next autumn's yield, one need scarcely say that the loss to mankind would be utterly incommensurable with the few bushels which he might thresh from the corn on the sounding-floor after harvest.

But the question of how the writer is to be remunerated is a very difficult one. If a man has written a book and had it printed, sells one copy, the purchaser of that copy, unless there were some law to the contrary, might reproduce and sell copies of his copy at a much lower rate than the author. The author would have to make each copy he sold bear a proportionate part of the cost he was at to produce the manuscript as well as the cost of the publication, while the purchaser of the one copy could

sell copies which only bore the proportionate part of the proportionate part of that initial cost. No one would purchase the author's copies. Mere freedom of sale would not, therefore, be a means to the adequate remuneration of workers in literature or art. There are, however, two methods by means of which such workers might be paid.—1. State patronage ; and 2. Copyright. The former has not been tried, and the latter has been adopted. By the latter, the right to copy from a book is limited. A right which the purchaser of a book undoubtedly had is taken away from him for the benefit of the author ; for the reason that, but for some such endowment of the author he would not continue to write, and the public would suffer by reason of his reticence.

We know, of course, that there are some men who attempt to put the doctrine of copyright upon a far higher level than this. They argue with a vigour of rhetoric which is often accompanied by a painful debility of reason that men have an "indefeasible right to their own ideas ;" and while men keep their own ideas to themselves the proposition is not likely to be seriously disputed. But when a man with that peculiar modesty which characterises the possessors of ideas has told his thought to me, it seems that I have an equally indefeasible right to his idea since it has become mine. That he has got it first-hand from Nature ; while I have received it second-hand from him, can make no difference. There is nothing more difficult to trace than the genealogy of an idea, and it would be impossible in any instance to determine that any man was the very first to think any thought. It is, therefore, no argument to say that I have no right to the idea because I did not originate it ; it is mine if it is in me just as it was his because it was in him. If, carrying the matter further, I buy a book, apart from the law, have I not got an indefeasible right to read it, have I not an indefeasible right to burn it or to sell it for waste paper ? Does the writer's right to his own ideas, apart from law, prevent me making them mine if I am so minded ; does it prevent me from conveying them to others, or does it prevent me copying extracts into my polite correspondence ? No ! this claim on behalf of genius—by people who believe that they are preferring a claim on behalf of themselves, seems to us a very foolish claim. We can understand the law stepping in, and saying, "To get books we must pay the authors ; to pay the authors we must enable them to charge sufficient royalty on copies of their books to remunerate them for the trouble of authorship, and to enable them to do so, with success, we must prohibit every other person from producing copies of their works except those who are authorised by them." This, then, it seems to us, is the real foundation of copyright in literary productions, and it is more easily, in the first

instance, understood in relation to these than in relation to works of art, because in a book the ideas are the principal element of value, while in works of art there may be, in most cases there are, elements of value, which are incapable of being copied. So much so is this the case, that it was thought by one of the Commissioners that as pictures had an intrinsic value it was unnecessary to protect them by copyright.

But the reason for the protection of works of art seems to us exactly similar to that which can be urged for copyright in literary productions. Although, no doubt, the hand of the artist contributes much to a picture, the mind of an artist contributes more. The mental part of the work can be taken, the design borrowed, and copies made by others which may, and in most cases would, take from the value of the original picture.

Let us suppose that an artist has painted a picture, and that before it is sold, it is seen by some pilferer of thoughts, and that owing to the lightness of fingers of that pick-brain, another picture is in the market as soon as the original from which the design has been stolen. Would not such a piracy take from the value of the real work of art? and would not such a possibility be a deterrent to any man showing his works to others, perhaps to his devoting himself to art at all? But the law has protected him from that contingency, and has given him a valuable property in his picture, to which he has no inherent right. It has endowed him with a kind of monopoly by way of public payment for his great benefactions to mankind. He has been bribed to go on painting. But suppose the artist sells the work of art, what becomes of the copyright? It is evident that great artists are not in the habit of repeating their works. No man with ideas will repeat a thought which has once been adequately expressed. A great man would hold it as criminal to plagiarise from himself as from another. Imagine a poet writing *replecas*, and you have an idea of the ignominy of an artist painting them. He is no longer an artist, but a copyist of his dead self. Still some artists do paint *replecas*, and it is evident that if an artist sold a picture for a substantial sum, and then went home and painted another like it, and sold that too, he would be guilty of a fraud upon the purchasers. That is not a question of law, or of artistry, but of morals! Nothing could justify such an act but the consent of the purchaser of the original, and the full knowledge of the buyer of the copy; and even then the painter would be injuring himself, and, if he were a really capable artist, depriving the world of some other work of art while he wasted his time in being an amanuensis to himself.

But there is a question of law, or rather of the policy of legisla-

tion which has been the turning point of this discussion. Under the Act of 1862, which was the first Act which established a copyright in paintings, unless there is an agreement at the time of the sale of the picture, the copyright which passes away from the artist is not vested in the owner of the picture. It does not go to the purchaser and does not remain in the artist. This condition of the law has been described as deplorably bad; but while we admit the possibility of a more excellent provision as to copyright, we would not go as far as utterly to condemn that enactment. It seems to have been founded on the belief that if neither the purchaser nor the seller thought it worth their while to make a bargain about the copyright, it was not worth while preserving it by legal enactment. But it is certain that works in connection with which copyright, at the time of sale might be regarded as of little value, sometimes come in time to have great value in that connection. Under such circumstances, of course, there is inconvenience in the present law. It ought in every case to be easily ascertainable to whom the right of making copies belongs. At present, in most cases, as most pictures are sold without anything being said at the time of sale as to copyright, copyright has fallen to the ground. It seems to us that under such circumstances it might have been a convenient modification of the law if it had been enacted that in every case when upon the sale of a picture the copyright was not made the subject of special agreement, the copyright in such a picture should thereupon vest in the State. It would, undoubtedly, be better that the copyright should belong to the public, than that it should belong to no one. When there are no heirs to property it vests in the Crown; when neither the painter of a picture nor the person purchasing it thinks the copyright worth preserving by contract it might with some expediency vest in the Crown, like unclaimed Consols. But although such an enactment would have had the advantage of making the law perfectly definite, and might possibly have gone further to meet the views of the artists who have contested this matter, the Royal Commission proposed another method of removing the vagueness which exists under the Act of 1862. They proposed, and the Bill of last Session is framed in accordance with their views, that in all cases the copyright should go with the picture, unless there was an express agreement at the time of the sale. It is this proposal which has been criticised and condemned at the Meeting of Artists, at the Grosvenor Gallery, and in the Memorial of the Royal Academy. More recently, Sir Frederick Leighton and Mr. Wells have contributed some strictures to the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*, (December, 1879). The opinion of the artists is that in every case the copyright should

belong to the painter unless it is transferred by agreement to the purchaser of the work. It was upon this issue that the newspaper war was waged.

The question, which is not a very large one, must be determined by considerations of expediency. It was considerations of expediency which guided the Royal Commissioners to their conclusion, and it is expediency which artists plead in favour of their views. The reasons which appealed to the Commissioners were these. In most cases they held, and held rightly, the purchaser believes he is buying the copyright when he buys a picture; he naturally thinks that he can do what he likes with it, as he can with a table or a chair, and he would be surprised if told that while he had purchased the property in the picture the artist retained the right to make copies from it, or to part with that right to any other person. On the other hand, if the law were altered in accordance with their suggestion, the artist would never be deprived of any property in ignorance of his rights, and the Commissioners thought that in a transaction where one party knows all about his rights, and the other does not, it is necessary to protect the latter and not the former. All that will be necessary, if the artist desires to retain the copyright of his work, will be a mention of the circumstance at the time of sale, and a bargain to that effect. It will be competent for an artist to advertise his works for sale without copyright, but it seems fair that the person who is likely to be ignorant of his rights should not be the one upon whom the duty of bargaining for them should be cast.

It is quite true that this recommendation of the Commission has been viewed in very different lights. Thus, Mr. Wells, who rightly understands that copyright was created for the protection of the artist, would have us believe that this recommendation is that it should be given to the owner. This misconception lies at the root of Mr. Wells' argument, and it is easy to understand that an argument founded upon an initial fallacy is likely to be somewhat infirm. It would, of course, have been a silly thing to attempt to protect artists by giving a copyright to somebody else. But what is done is not that. Copyright is given to the artist and not to the owner; but the law says, and says rightly, it shall go to the owner on the sale of the picture, unless the artist keep it by agreement. It is as rational to speak of the Commission giving copyright to the owner of the picture as it would be to say that the law gives the copyright of a literary work to the publisher, because after the writer has sold it it is vested in him. This attempted confusion is not good argument. But that the view of the Commission is the correct one, and that most purchasers believe they are buying the copyright with the picture, is con-

firmed by a significant sentence in the Memorial. In the first place, the memorialists quote from the Report that "artists seldom ask for agreements, preferring that copyright should drop," and they proceed to remark that—"In these circumstances it may be well understood why artists hesitate to obtrude in every case of a picture business, details which would bring results in a small proportion of cases only." Why should it bring results in a small proportion of cases only? Why do they prefer to let the copyright drop rather than mention the agreement? Is it not that they know that the purchaser is under the impression that he is purchasing the picture with all rights, and would be surprised out of his offer possibly if he was informed that while he had paid for the picture he had not acquired the copyright? That is the inference which we draw from that sentence, and it is an inference which confirms us in the belief that the recommendation of the Commissioners is a wise one.

Again, there was another consideration of expediency which must have weighed in favour of the determination arrived at. No doubt it is best in all cases that the work of art and the right to copy it should be vested in the same person. When these rights are separate many difficulties might be thrown in the way of the exercise of the rights of copy by the owner of the work. But these inconveniences are not so great as to prevent the separation of those two rights, and consequently the sale or retention of the copyright of a picture, independently of the retention or sale of the picture, is allowed by law. But it is a different thing to allow a man to assume openly and knowingly the onerous character of such a proprietorship with rights over another, and creating that separation by law; and in reference to the difficulty which is raised by Mr. Wells, that a purchaser of a picture will never know whether he gets the copyright or not, and that to secure it an elaborate legal transfer will be necessary, it is only necessary to say that the matter would not be simplified by the copyright having been left in the artist in the first instance, as it may have changed hands half a dozen times since, and the obvious remedy for all such uncertainties is to be found in registration.

We cannot think it worth while seriously to consider or refute such statements as those made by Sir Coutts Lindsay at the Grosvenor Meeting, that, for instance, "it is cruel to make artists part with both their properties (the property in the picture and the property in the idea) in one." The cruelty is not manifest to us. We know, however, that the artist is not made to part with his property either in the idea or in the picture. He may sell the picture or not, just as he pleases. He may sell or keep his copyright. But if he is so sensitive a being that he cannot—

as the Royal Academy Memorial hints, like a common, coarse, business man, or haggling lawyer—explain that the price which he has asked, and which is one of the details he can enter upon, covers only the picture and not the idea, then we can see no cruelty in depriving him of it.

There is one statement in the Memorial of the Royal Academy which is worthy of attention. It is that if the artist does not under existing circumstances make a bargain as to copyright, he will not be likely to do so “when his request will be nothing less than a demand upon the purchaser to remit property attaching to his purchase by law.” This is a curiously loose statement. The Memorial seems to have been drawn by a lawyer, but there are several of the statements in it which are exceedingly misleading, and that is one of them. It will in no sense be a demand on the purchaser to remit any thing belonging to him. The transaction seems to have been misconceived by the memorialists. When the purchaser is bargaining he has got nothing, there is no property attaching to his purchase, for he has made none. But before making any contract it is only fair and honourable that he should know what he is bargaining for. There can be no greater irksomeness in saying the price I mention does not include copyright than saying it does not include a frame. The main question is what rights are to be protected, and the answer is, those which are the least likely to be respected. “Are they those of the man who knows he has rights but is too shy to say a word about them, or those of the man who thinks he is getting rights for purchase-money, whereas he may not in fact be buying them? As to this question of *onus*—for that is the real question here—there is a significant admission in the Memorial. That document points out that the “commissioner of a picture of exceptional character is not likely to omit the needful stipulations for his protection. The necessity for them will be present to his mind, and the *onus* of making them should be upon him, and he should not be protected in his negligence by a law that would tell against the artist in every transaction, even the smallest throughout the whole of a professional life.”

The memorialists have curiously chosen the exceptional case of a commissioner of a picture, “to whose mind the necessity of protection might be present;” but the ordinary purchaser is the person whose rights are left in doubt, and with reference to him we wish no better principle for our guidance to the policy of the law than the sentence quoted. That principle is that it is on the party to a bargain, to whose mind the necessity for protection is present, that the *onus* of demanding the protection should rest. That is the proposition of the memorialists, and it is the principle

involved in the recommendation of the Royal Commission. Granting them their exceptional case, can it be doubted that in all ordinary sales of pictures the necessity for protection is more likely to be present to the mind of the artist than to that of the purchaser?

But although there are these considerations of expediency in favour of the view expressed by the Commissioners, there is one argument which seems to have been lost sight of in this inquiry. It is, however, referred to in the Memorial of the Royal Academy, and explained in Mr. Wells' Essay. 'There are various ways in which the right to copy a picture may be exercised. It may be painted in *repleca* by the artist himself or by others. It may be copied in the same medium, but of a smaller or larger size. It may be copied in a different medium; may be translated into black and white by means of engraving or lithography, or it may be photographed. Now, perhaps the most important questions of copyright at the present time arise in connection with the copying of pictures in engravings. This is an important industry, an important branch of art. It is important, not merely because it is in relation to this right to copy that by far the largest sums of money are paid, but because it is a means of popularising one beautiful art by another. It was Reynolds who said that McArdell would make him immortal, and he might have said the same of a great many of the admirable mezzotint engravers of his time. Only one man can possess a picture but many can possess engravings of it, and it is rather by means of these wandering works of art that the education of the nation is carried on, than by the original works of which these itinerants are copies. Now, the right to engrave a picture is, no doubt, in many cases a valuable property, and it is said to be analogous to the right to dramatise a novel, which the Royal Commissioners recommend should remain in the author. In this respect it has been said the recommendations of the Commission are inconsistent. It does seem that if the right to dramatise a novel should remain with the author, the right to engrave a picture should remain with the artist. The arguments in favour of the former rule seem applicable to the latter. It is said that a novelist's reputation may be injured if an inferior drama founded upon his book is produced; but the same is true of a bad engraving founded on a good picture. Again, it is said a novelist's reputation might be increased by such a play. It may advertise his book; and, therefore, it is urged that he should have the sole right of copying his book into the dramatic form. But a precisely similar remark might be made with equal truth of an artist. The question is really one

of expediency. The existence of copyright at all is, as we have seen, a compromise. It is a monopoly which is in itself objectionable, but in its results is for the public interest. But we confess we can see no reason why the rule should not be that the sale of the copyright of a novel should carry with it the right to dramatise the novel, unless that right should be expressly reserved by the author. All the arguments seem to be in favour of that view. We think the cases are analogous and that the rule ought to be the same in both.

There is an argument which bears upon this question which seems to us to have more weight than has been given to it. It is said, with truth, that if the copyright is to go with the picture, and the picture is copied in engraving subsequently, the true interests of the public will suffer by reason of the fact that the artist will not necessarily superintend the engraving of his work, as he would and does when the copyright is purchased from him instead of from the owner of the picture. No doubt the artist is the person primarily interested in having a good and valuable copy produced, a copy which will represent and not mis-represent his pictures. Mr. Wells, in his Essay to which we have more than once referred, alludes to the familiar instances of the care which Landseer and Turner brought to bear upon the engravings of their works, and no one familiar with the result of the engraver's efforts, as guided by the art of such men, will question the gain to the public which will follow the association of the artist and his picture during the process of engraving. But to say that the copyright should be left in the hands of the artist, because in those hands it will best serve the State by the adequate development of the artistic idea, as Mr. Wells does, is to say too much. Could we obtain engraving by no other means, could the superintending care of the artist never be obtained in any case in which the right to copy was not purchased directly from him, there might be some force in the argument. But, as a fact, even when the copyright in a picture is sold to a publisher by some one who has previously purchased the picture, it will still be possible for the publisher, it will be still for his interest, to secure the superintendence and correction of the artist in passing his engraving through the press. We have said that the public have to rely more upon copies in engraving for their notions of pictures than upon a familiarity with the original, and are chiefly interested in having the best copies possible. Those are only to be obtained with the assistance of the artist. But that assistance can be secured by the publisher, although he may have purchased the copyright elsewhere. True, the publisher would have to pay the artist, but he would under these circumstances pay the owner less for the copyright, and the

copyright which was transferred in the first instance with the work of art would be a little less valuable. We cannot see then that there is any real validity in the objection which has been made to the recommendation of the Commission, and after an examination of the views which have been expressed upon both sides of this important question, we can only come to the conclusion that the Commissioners were, in the main, right in this matter of art copyright, and that if their recommendations are carried out, there will be a substantial improvement in the law affecting copyright.



ART. III.—MASSON'S LIFE OF MILTON.

1. *The Life of John Milton: Narrated in connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time.* By DAVID MASSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. London: Macmillan and Co. 1859—1880. 6 vols.
2. *The Poetical Works of John Milton.* Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and an Essay on Milton's English. By the SAME. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874. 3 vols.

WE congratulate Professor Masson most sincerely on the completion of the great work to which he has given the best of his thoughts and studies during twenty years. His "Life of Milton" takes its place beside Mr. Carlyle's "Cromwell;" and these two biographies go far to complete for us the History of English Puritanism. With unrivalled force of style and imagination Mr. Carlyle led the assault against a host of sectarian prejudices and misconceptions; the special pleading of Clarendon and Hume was at last and for ever set aside; inquiring minds were set to work upon the true facts and issues of the controversy which we call the Great Rebellion; and the Puritan man of action was called into Court and allowed to speak for himself. Mr. Masson undertakes to describe to us the life of the Puritan man of thought; and he has done so on a scale far exceeding the ordinary limits of biography. He has laboured to discover for us every fact or circumstance or opinion which entered, or may be supposed to have entered, into the mind of Milton, to map out the whole horizon of the advocate and poet of the Commonwealth, and within that horizon to set down in its right place every significant detail. The details are made known to us, not in rapid summaries and general statements, but in tables of dates and in classified lists of names

which might, if they had only been published in time, have furnished forth a seventeenth-century Dod or Whitaker. When Milton refuses to become a clergyman, we are invited to examine the doctrine and constitution of every English-speaking Christian community; when Milton goes to Horton, we are introduced to every family of parochial note in the neighbourhood; when Milton publishes "*Paradise Lost*," we are presented with a record of every book entered in Stationers' Hall in the month of August, 1667: and the whole of this elaborate biography is surrounded on all sides by an almost equally elaborate general history of the period. It is not to be expected that a work constructed on this principle will command an immediate or an extensive popularity. Readers of average endurance will complain that Milton cannot have known half as much as Professor Masson about the Bishops and Presbyters whom he attacked; and they may object to being detained from accompanying the poet on his Italian journey in order to make a preliminary tour of Europe in the instructive society of his biographer. Even Mr. Lowell, who is a professed student, has protested with vehemence against the severity of the task which Mr. Masson sets his readers; and the general public will forsake these six bulky volumes for the agreeably condensed essay of Mr. Mark Pattison. But a reader who takes up this history with his mind full of doubts and questions suggested by previous writers will know how to appreciate the laborious scholarship of its author. We cannot expect to work our way into the meaning of the most interesting and critical period of our national history without a considerable expenditure of time and trouble. If we are not afraid of a little hard work we should be attracted rather than repelled by a historian who not only sets before us the results of his researches, but insists on submitting to our judgment the whole process by which the results have been obtained.

The present generation has witnessed a complete reversal of orthodox Royalist opinion concerning the Civil War. Even the Church of England has ceased to humiliate herself on the 30th of January; and "every schoolboy knows" that the 29th of May is no longer a recognised holiday. It is not the fashion to speak of Oliver Cromwell as a rebel; and King Charles's right to the title of Martyr is now regarded by most Englishmen as extremely dubious. Professor Seeley would account for this change of opinion by the simple consideration that "the fascinating pens have gone over to the other side." Clarendon is no longer read; Hume is banished from all well-conducted schools; and the place of these fallen powers has been taken by Macaulay and Carlyle. But we venture to think that Professor Seeley

fails to take note of an influence more important than the influence of literary fashion. All the thought and action of the present century have tended to the secularization of politics. The State dispenses with religious sanctions; refuses to concern itself with the beliefs of the individual citizen; claims no divine authority for itself, and concedes no such authority to priest or presbytery. The standard we adopt in estimating statesmen and forms of Government is the utilitarian standard; and therefore we can judge the Commonwealth and the Restoration on their political merits, without assuming that there must be something sacrilegious or profane in Revolution, as such. We are only now emerging from the long and confusing struggle between the secular and the religious view of politics. Our thought and speech are still largely coloured by the beliefs of a time when the terms of political allegiance were universally supposed to contain an element of sacredness not present in any mere contract, when existing Governments were identified with the "powers that be," which are declared in Scripture to be "ordained of God." But from the vantage ground* of complete toleration we can at least regard the seventeenth-century High Churchman and the seventeenth-century Puritan with reasonable impartiality. Of such impartiality Mr. Masson's work is a good example. As the biographer of Milton, Mr. Masson is more or less pledged to the Puritan view; he sets forth that view with a vigour which seems to be born of sympathy; and he can, on occasion, use very strong language. But he does not write in the spirit of a partisan; and when he has to deal with a really doubtful point he does not hurry to a decision; he brings before us every atom of evidence on both sides, and leaves us to draw our own conclusions. We are disposed to say that Mr. Masson has put too little rather than too much of his own opinions and feelings into this book. He has perhaps been too sedulous to avoid the vice of style which repels so many readers in Carlyle's "*Cromwell*." Mr. Carlyle loses no opportunity of repeating his own opinion in regard to Puritanism in general and Cromwell in particular: he turns aside at every moment from the course of his narrative to point a moral or to throttle and maltreat an imaginary critic. This kind of writing does not carry conviction to the minds of sober people: and we may safely say that Mr. Carlyle has not persuaded any large proportion of the English public that the civil war was a contest between Good on the one side and Evil on the other. It is impossible to deny that Puritanism rendered an immense political service to this country; but we are almost forced to admit that Puritanism, regarded as an attempt to prove that the law of God is directly applicable to modern society, was a failure. Such at least is the

conclusion in which the perusal of this "Life of Milton" has confirmed our own judgment; and we proceed to refer more particularly to some of the evidence on which this opinion is based.

From the particulars of Milton's origin and education given in Mr. Masson's first volume, we may form a notion of the development of those religious and political ideas which advanced into the militant stage of their existence in the early Parliaments of Charles I. John Milton, senior, disowned by his father, perhaps by his Oxfordshire kin generally, on account of his Puritan opinions, went to London, and established himself in business there as a scrivener. His household in Bread Street, into which his son John was born in the winter of 1608, was a household conducted according to the notions which ruled the minds of Puritan Churchmen during the reigns of Elizabeth and James. First among his rules of life, John Milton, senior, would have placed the fear of God, and the careful observance of God's law as he found it in the Scriptures and in the sermons of the Rev. Mr. Stocke. His theory of the universe was probably a mild Calvinism. "The Puritans of that day were devoutly unwilling to "make the grace of God to lackey it after the will of man;" but they had none of the logical rigidity, none of the tendency to Antinomian extravagance which characterized the Calvinism of Scotland; they were well within the Thirty-nine Articles, and their chief desire was to see the Articles properly enforced within the Church of England. They knew that they were in a minority on this point; the Church was tending more and more to the system of Arminian Anglo-Catholicism, which many good men regarded, not without reason, as a stage on the way back to Rome. The Puritans were in a minority, and yet they began to think of themselves as in some sort the national party in the Church. So far as the English laity had a mind of their own, that mind was Puritan, or at least intensely Protestant. The strength of the Court party was in the mass of indifference, which in peaceful times turns the scale in favour of conformity. A time might come when the Puritan spirit would carry the majority before it, to the confusion of Bishops and Princes; meantime the party was depressed, and even to some extent persecuted. We may note that in this stage the Puritanism of cultivated men was not disfigured by the eccentricities which became common at a later period: Milton's father probably took his boys to the play; he certainly taught them to sing not only "psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs," but also Elizabethan madrigals and good old English songs, which the Westminster Assembly would have banished. He had also a taste for poetry; but the one extant specimen of his powers of versification is a strong confirmation of the popular theory that men of genius

take after their mothers. Of the mother of the author of *Lycidas* we know extremely little. Her son records the fact that she was given to works of charity, and we know from another source that it was from her that he inherited his weakness of vision. John Milton, senior, read without spectacles at the age of eighty-four.

From the quiet atmosphere of a Puritan home, and from the careful teaching of Dr. Gill, of St. Paul's School, Milton was sent to Cambridge at the age of sixteen. He was a year older than the average freshman of that period; like his eminent contemporary, Lord Coke, he "did not preproperously incline himself to any study or business." Mr. Masson has compiled for us a complete history of the University during the seven years of Milton's residence, and a general scheme of the course of study which he must have followed. It is quite apparent that the Cambridge of 1625 was a much less orderly and comfortable place than the Cambridge of to-day. The undergraduates were boxed up together, two or even four in one set of rooms; bathing and riding were forbidden; and chapel was at five in the morning. On festal days ponderous Latin speeches were made, the tedium of which was relieved by copious potations of ale, and by the soothing influence of tobacco, which was smoked in the halls, sometimes even in the chapels, of the colleges. The resident graduates were divided into two parties: the High Churchmen, who would have liked to see at Cambridge some such reform as Laud carried through at Oxford, and the Low Churchmen, or semi-Puritans, who seem to have been in Milton's time in a state of revolt against authority generally. Some Fellows absented themselves from chapel, and encouraged the undergraduates to refuse to kneel at the Communion. It does not appear that Milton was known in his undergraduate days as an adherent of either of the contending parties. He had already asserted for himself an independent position, and though he must have sympathized with the Low Churchmen, he probably had no very high opinion of any University set. In his own College there was no man who could command the allegiance of such a spirit. Bainbrigge, the Master of Christ's, was a mean man, worshipping the shoe-tie of his honoured Lord and Chancellor, Buckingham. Chappell, who was Milton's first tutor, was a dry, energetic person, chiefly remarkable for having once argued an opponent in the schools into a fit; and Toovey, his second tutor, seems to have been neither better nor worse than other college tutors. In scholarship and in power of mind Milton was superior to all these men when he went to Cambridge. Whatever be the foundation for the legend that he was punished and even "sent down" for College offences, it is plain

that he was a man not favoured of the Dons, who took his own line in study and amusement, and owed but little to University routine. "A sober and virtuous person, but supposed not to be ignorant of his own parts:"—such was the verdict of Cambridge on the most illustrious of her sons.

It was while Milton was a student at Cambridge that Puritanism first revealed its political significance. The party, led by Pym and Eliot in the Parliaments of 1627–9, was not wholly composed of Puritans, and its leaders themselves were Puritans of a moderate type. But it was not long before the cause of Gospel truth was identified with the cause of liberty. Laud and his master would have kept the peace of the Church and nation by preventing all discussion of the religious question; the appointment of the Committee of Religion was a clear intimation that the leaders of the House of Commons intended to have the question discussed and settled in Parliament. It is precisely at this point, according to our view of the matter, that the embarrassments of the Puritans began. It is evident that most of the Commons were really afraid that the Church of England was going back towards Popery, and for this fear they had very good reasons. But what of the conjunction of Popery and *Arminianism* in the famous Resolutions of March, 1629? We cannot believe, *pere* Mr. Carlyle, that the gentlemen who carried those Resolutions, while the Speaker was held down in the chair, were all zealous for Calvinistic orthodoxy. The earnest vigour of a few had carried away many who were really indifferent; the protest of lawyers and business men against useless wars and illegal taxation was embittered by the infusion of the *oilium theologicum*. We render a full tribute of praise to the men who defended our liberties at the peril of their lives; but we note this Resolution of 1629 as a mistake, which was none the less dangerous because it was natural, and even, in a sense, inevitable.

We may suppose that Milton, living his own life among his more boyish companions at Christ's, followed the proceedings of this Parliament of 1629 with sympathetic interest. It may be that he was personally acquainted with members of the popular party. Mr. Gardiner hazards a conjecture that some of his early verses suggested to Sir John Eliot the famous passage in which that great champion and martyr of liberty spoke of the "pure diapason and concert" which the parts and members of the State might render if they were but disposed to be at unity among themselves. But Milton was in no haste to identify himself with any party or set of opinions. At Cambridge he was still a Conformist, not insensible to the charm of Church services and customs, not disposed to raise rebellion on his

own account against established beliefs, but yet unwilling to take service under the existing powers in Church or State. He could not take Orders under the Laudian discipline; the law, after a brief trial, he rejected altogether; he failed, or refused to become a Fellow of Christ's. It is a very important fact in Milton's life that he was the son of a wealthy man. If he had been obliged to choose a profession and work for a living, he might still have been a great man; but he would have spent some of that ambition which enabled him to reserve his powers for the literary and political tasks which, he believed, would be laid on him in due time. To the age of thirty he was content to be a student and nothing more; he was a Nazarite—a consecrated hero, set apart for some great battle with the Philistines. It would be interesting to inquire, if the state of our knowledge admitted of a satisfactory answer, how Milton reconciled this temper of conscious greatness with the Puritan version of the Christian faith. It is the temper of a hero rather than the temper of a saint. While Milton was calmly pursuing his work of self-perfection, Cromwell was writing: "I live, you know where—in Meshec, which they say signifies *Prolonging*; in Kedar, which signifies *Blackness*; yet the Lord forsaketh me not. . . . You know what my manner of life hath been.' Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true—I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me." Here we have what the Puritans called "the root of the matter"—intense conviction of personal unworthiness, absolute submission and annihilation of self. In all that Milton has written, we shall find no such passage.

The Philistines with whom Milton was to do battle were of course the men who governed England during the eleven years that lay between the Resolutions of 1629 and the Long Parliament. Mr. Masson takes an elaborate, and on the whole a fair, review of the Laudian supremacy; but we are inclined to think that he has laid too much stress on the personality of the Minister and too little on the strength of the principle which Laud represented. It should not be forgotten that Charles's personal government was supported by all the law and practice of the Sixteenth Century, and by the current religious conception of political allegiance. The weakness of Laud and Wentworth was their exaggerated contempt for their opponents, whom they persisted in regarding as a set of pedants and fanatics, "a generation of odd names and natures," fitly represented by Prynne and his like. But we are not to imagine that Charles's advisers had conspired to raise a new and unheard-of system of oppression on the ruins of English liberty. Their object was to use the time at their disposal so as to give unity

and symmetry to our institutions by creating an irresistibly efficient central government, and by remitting Parliament to what they considered its proper place as an advising not a governing body. They wished to Catholicize and purify the Church, to stop useless disputation, and to correct extremes of doctrine and practice on both sides. All this Wentworth accomplished in Ireland, much to the benefit of that kingdom; he was even able to face an Irish Parliament and to keep the members thereof in tolerable order. But in England benevolent despotism proved a total failure. In matters of government the sentiment of the English Commons is exactly contrary to the sentiment of Mr. Carlyle; they dislike being ruled by a man of genius. The popular leaders may have been incapable of appreciating the merits displayed by Wentworth and in an inferior degree by Laud, but they appreciated clearly enough the radical vice of Wentworth's notion of government. They knew that the leaders of a free people must be content to advance with the mass, not drag the mass after them at their own pace; they did not believe in the possibility of any benefit which would repay the individual citizen for placing his goods and his religion at the mercy of the King. They were further agreed in the determination to make Laud, Stafford, and the Laudian Bishops personally responsible for the illegal acts of the period of personal government. Beyond this point there was no definite common understanding among the members of the Constitutional and Protestant party in the State up to the meeting of the Long Parliament. There could be no more complete proof of the failure of despotism than the fact that the party which called with one voice for the condemnation of Stafford and Laud, the abolition of Star Chamber and High Commission, was a party composed of men divided among themselves by differences as wide as those which separated them from Court party. Unfortunately for the reputation of the Long Parliament, the fiction of a united popular party was kept up after the reality had disappeared. Section after section of English opinion fell away from the "good old cause"—the Constitutional Conservatives, the Moderate Episcopalians, the Presbyterian Royalists—until the Parliament was in the hands of a small band of men who derived their power from the New Model Army and were as far as possible from representing the opinions of the people of England; and these men, after accomplishing a deed which nine-tenths of their countrymen regarded with horror, calmly continued to profess themselves the representatives and defenders of that political doctrine which refers the origin of all rightful power to the People. The inconsistency of their position is no doubt to be ex-

plained in part by the sheer necessity of the case. The Puritan chiefs had been compelled to destroy an existing Government from the foundations; and the nation was too much divided and distracted to decide what Government should take its place. Perhaps the utmost that statesmanship could do was to set up a kind of ideal people, such as they hoped the actual people of England would in time become, and make that the origin of their power. But we cannot help seeing that the intrusion of religious faith into politics introduced an additional element of inconsistency into the Puritan cause. At every critical point of our history, from 1641 to 1660, we have occasion to remark how honest politicians were led out of the way when they tried to make zeal for true religion reinforce zeal for Constitutional Government. Let us take only one of many instances. The resolution to bring King Charles to trial and to make England a Republic was decisively formed in the heart of the Cromwellian-Republican party at the officers' prayer-meeting, held at Windsor in April, 1648. The political grounds of that resolution were very strong. Cromwell and Ireton had thoroughly sounded the King, and had come to the conclusion that while he retained any fragment of his claim to the people's allegiance good government would be impossible. But it would have been somewhat dangerous to place this conclusion in its naked political significance, even before a meeting of officers of the New Model. Any direct personal attack on the King was certain to rouse the Royalism which was still slumbering at the bottom of many Parliamentary hearts. It was advisable to approach the subject indirectly; and this was most skilfully managed in the hushed atmosphere of a religious meeting, by spreading abroad the suggestion that there was an obstacle to the triumph of the good cause, which could only be removed by prayer, by the suppression of individual scruples, by uncompromising execution of the Divine commission entrusted to the army. The men who spoke this language were not vulgar hypocrites; but we cannot pronounce them thoroughly honest. When Cromwell's mind was beset with doubts, he sought not counsel of flesh and blood; he would not weigh the matter in the scales of human justice and prudence; he betook himself to prayer and to meditation on passages of Scripture, until the purpose dimly formed in his own mind seemed to come to him from without as the revealed will of God. A statesman less wise or less benevolent than Cromwell might have been led by such a habit of mind into the most desperate crimes.

It is with the opening of the Long Parliament and the militant advance of Puritanism that the most original and valuable portion of Mr. Masson's contribution to general history begins. His

account of the composition of the two Houses (ii. 150) gives all accessible information on the subject in a well-digested form; and his statistics of the two sides in the Civil War (ii. 410, 427) contain a mass of important particulars not to be found in any previous historian. The common notion in regard to the Parliamentary Army used to be that it was entirely composed of illiterate and offensive fanatics: of late some have written of it as an army of saints and patriots. Mr. Masson's careful catalogues of the Old Model dispose of both these misconceptions; and his more general description of the New Model strikes us as the most fair and complete account yet written of that extraordinary body of men:—

“The ordinary conception of an army of fanatics is that of an army mad for one set of tenets. Now, the Parliamentary Army was really, as the Presbyterians called it, an Army of Sectaries. It was a miscellany of all the forms of Puritan belief known in England, with forms of belief included that were not Puritan. The much largest proportion after Presbyterians, of whom there were many, and ordinary Independents, of whom there were more, were Sectaries of the fervid and devout sorts, such as Baptists, Old Brownists, and Antinomians, with mystical Millenarics and Seekers, all passionately scriptural, saturated with the language and history of the Old Testament, and zealously Anti-Romanist and Anti-Prelatic; and these on the whole were the men after Cromwell's own heart. . . . But there were also in the army Sectaries of a cooler or easier order—Arminians, Anti-Sabbatarians, Anti-Scripturists, Familists, and Sceptics. Hardly a form of odd opinion mentioned in our *Conspectus of English Sects* in a former chapter but had representation in the army; nay, new speculative oddities had broken out in some regiments; and it may be doubted whether even in the English mind of our own time there is any form of speculation so peculiar as not to have had its prototype or lineal progenitor in that mass of steel-clad theorists contemporary with the Westminster Assembly” (iii. 522).

The whole description of the relations of these various opinions and of the manner in which the “Universal Army Tenet” of Toleration established itself in the midst of their differences, deserves careful study.

Throughout the period of the ten years' struggle between King and Parliament, there is no very close connection between the historical and the biographical portion of Mr. Masson's work. We may read the history of Laud's Government with the thought in our minds that this was the system which Milton hated and denounced; and we are constantly reminded, in reading the annals of the Commonwealth, that Milton was the servant and the literary advocate of the Republic and of Cromwellian rule. But what was Milton's position during the intervening period of storm and stress? He was not among the soldiers of the Parlia-

ment,* nor had he any place among its political servants. By profession he was a schoolmaster and a man of letters; his connections were for the most part with the Presbyterian party. It was on their behalf that he entered the field of political discussion with his anti-Episcopal pamphlets; and there was nothing in the language of those pamphlets inconsistent with Presbyterian orthodoxy. Milton denounces the Arminianism and anti-Sabbatarianism of the Bishops; mentions Arians and Pelagians with orthodox disapproval; and declares for an efficient system of Church discipline. But there are indications from the beginning that his mind was not to be kept within the limits of any party formula. His protests against tyranny are profoundly genuine; his defence of "Presbytery—if so it must be called"—is also genuine, but vague. In fact, Milton, though he was willing to lend a hand in aid of his friends the Smectymnuans, had already started on that path of independent reflection which was to lead him so far away from all the orthodoxy of his time. The course of his thought was accelerated by the most important circumstances of his domestic life. In 1643 he married, and in less than a month the result of this experiment was despair and disgust so bitter that the unhappy bridegroom was driven to question the very foundations of that marriage contract on which, according to received opinions, society is based. The publication of his *Divorce treatises* opened a gulf between Milton and all who pretended to orthodoxy. Religious old ladies said, and believed, that he had two or three wives living; and even sensible men may have thought that a person holding such subversive opinions could not be altogether safe. He was compelled to associate more with those who were not ashamed of the name of Sectary; but it was from himself, not from his society, of whatever kind, that his opinions were for the future to be learned.

But in spite of his isolation, in spite of the fact that his influence on events was never great, Milton was a typical man of his time and party. He was all the more typical because, unlike

* Mr. Masson (ii. 473) argues, from the accuracy of the descriptions of military movements in "*Paradise Lost*," that Milton must at some time have attended drill with the intention of taking service in the Parliamentary army. Such inferences, always rather questionable, are peculiarly unsafe in the case of Milton. On this particular inference we remark: 1. That Milton had studied the art military, some knowledge of which he considered necessary to the understanding of history. 2. That he had many opportunities of correcting his book-knowledge by actual observation at reviews, &c. 3. That Milton did not write on any subject without taking the trouble to obtain a clear notion of the meaning of technical and other words which he would have to use. And, 4. That Milton always regarded himself as the spectator and literary interpreter of the great events of his time, not as one of those who were called upon to take part in the fighting.

Cromwell, he had no overpowering personal ambition to warp his judgment of men and opinions. There are those who refuse to class him under a party name; Macaulay, for instance, goes so far as to say that Milton was not a Puritan. The statement was probably made by way of deduction from the general proposition, accepted by Macaulay on very insufficient evidence, that the Puritans were enemies of literature. Milton was a Puritan in the sincerity of his belief that the Catholic system was anti-Christian. He was a Puritan in his confidence that the New Model Army was directly commissioned to execute God's justice on earth. He was a Puritan, above all, in the exclusive allegiance which he rendered to the Bible as the only standard of truth and right. It is worth elaborating the point a little; not for the purpose of detracting from Milton's fame, but because his life and works afford most instructive illustration of the excesses and defects of the Puritan ideal, as well as of its essential greatness. We shall attempt to bring out in this place one or two points on which Mr. Masson has hardly laid sufficient stress.

In the first place, Milton was very much of a party man in his views of English history. We do not expect scientific impartiality from a pamphleteer, but there is no excuse for the recklessness which Milton sometimes displays in dealing with facts. The first instance that occurs to us will serve as well as another to illustrate our meaning. Milton is arguing against the institution of Episcopacy; part of his argument consists of a recapitulation of evil deeds actually committed by English Bishops. And this is what he has to say of Latimer:—

“When the Protector's brother, Lord Sudley the Admiral, through private malice and malengine was to lose his life, no man could be found fitter than Bishop Latimer . . . to divulge in his sermon the forged accusations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the people.”

The denouncer of Bishops omits to notice, *first*, that Latimer had resigned his Bishopric on account of the persecuting tenor of the Six Articles ten years before he preached his sermon on the death of the Admiral; and, *second*, that the Admiral was condemned on strong testimony for having entered into an audacious and selfish plot which would have endangered the Protestant Settlement in England. These were facts which Milton might have learned from any ordinary Protestant authority; the only wonder is, where he picked up the story he has set afloat against Latimer, whose memory, as that of a Christ's man and a Reformer, he might have been expected to treat with peculiar tenderness. Controversy, like adversity, makes a man acquainted with strange bed-fellows—the only modern authority, so far as

we know, who countenances Milton's view of Latimer's sermon, is Dr. Lingard.

We must admit, moreover, that Milton's political thought was subject to all the Puritan limitations. He never would allow that Popish worship might be tolerated by an English Government. He was not moved to condemn invasions of what he considered right principles of Government, when the "honest interest" was in power. One of his reasons for preferring a Republic to a Monarchy was the superior frugality of the former; but the Government he most admired was the most expensive England had ever known. We think, with Milton, that it was worth the money; but the majority of English citizens did not think so. This, however, was not a consideration to which Milton attached much importance: mere majorities he always regarded with supreme contempt. When the whole orthodox public cried out against his doctrine of divorce, he described his critics compendiously as "Owls and asses, cuckoos, apes, and dogs." When he has to speak of the people, in the sense of the masses, his tone is as aristocratic as the tone of Shakspeare himself. They are "A herd confused, A miscellaneous rabble Of whom to be dispraised were no small praise." Even a Parliamentary majority is not, in his eyes, the rightful exponent of the national mind. Filmer's note on the *Denure of Kings and Magistrates* (quoted by Mr. Masson, iv. 136) is very much to the point:—"J. M. will not allow the major part of the representers to be the People, but the sounder and better part only of them." And what was to be the test of soundness and goodness? Ability to recognise the fact that the power of the men who sat at the centre of affairs since 1649 had been owned and blessed of Almighty God so conspicuously that no Christian Englishman ought to question their title to his allegiance. In other words, the new and genuine Divine right of Cromwell had superseded the old and fictitious Divine right of Charles. We do not mean to imply that Milton regarded the Protectorate as an ideal Government. He accepted it only with the considerable reserves which are set forth in Mr. Masson's review of the *Defensio Secunda* (iv. 608). Cromwell was a Conservative, believing in Parliamentary Government and in the uses of an Established Church with tithes and lay patronage. Milton was a Radical, somewhat careless of Constitutional forms, and eager for total disestablishment. But he regarded Oliver's supremacy as the necessary condition of the prevalence of the "honest party;" and he would have co-operated in crushing all resistance to that supremacy until the times should admit of the restoration of the pure Republic. Of all actual Governments the one which pleased him best was that of 1649-53, the Government under whose

auspices Cromwell pacified Ireland, annexed Scotland, and crushed the enemies of the Republic at Worcester. Milton's pamphlet of 1659, "*A Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*," may be regarded as an attempt to go back to the time of Government without a "Single Person," and to show how the political conditions of that time might be restored.

It appears, then, that Milton's attitude in relation to the Protectorate was not that of a thorough-going Cromwellian. Mr. Masson is naturally anxious to make out that there was a close connection and sympathy between the two great men of the Commonwealth; but the probabilities seem to us to point the other way. The fact that certain papers belonging to the Protector's family were left in Milton's possession seems to prove that the Cromwells trusted in him as their friend; but the object of the loan was almost certainly literary and not political. There is no direct evidence that his duties as Latin Secretary ever brought him within the circle of Cromwell's more intimate friends and advisers. That the two men respected each the other's gifts and character is certain; but our impression is that they were in some respects too like-minded to agree. Both were consciously great men; each in his own sphere felt himself supreme; but Cromwell had too little discursive imagination to appreciate Milton, and Milton knew too little of the difficulties of power fully to appreciate Cromwell.* Their ambitions had not the same range of time or circumstance. At fifty-two Cromwell fulfilled himself; the Battle of Worcester made him, under whatever title, King of England, and he could be no more. But Milton, blind and fifty years old, was still lord of the future only; his mind was still revolving the plan of those works which were to furnish posterity with an adequate expression of the mind of Puritan England.

Milton's opportunity to fulfil himself came when Puritan England ceased to exist. The years of his life which his admirers will always regard with the fondest interest were the years during which, blind, old, and deserted of the great world, he pursued, with unabated vigour, the great works which his mind "in the spacious circuit of her musings" had contemplated since the days of his studious youth. Mr. Masson has com-

* Mr. Masson (v. 398) concludes from the series of Milton's State Letters that their author was employed by Cromwell on the occasion when the Protector took a specially personal interest in the business in hand. But this does not prove that Milton was specially trusted by Cromwell. In regard to the Piedmont Massacres, for instance, only one resolve could be taken by the English Government; and nobody could put that resolve into sonorous and unmistakable Latin words so well as Milton. When a doubtful point of policy had to be disposed of, the Protector preferred a different sort of agent.

pressed the history of those fourteen years into a single volume. There is, indeed, less scope for original research and criticism in the history of the Restoration Government than in the history of the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. But wherever there survives any fragment of the legend so long accepted as truth by our historians, Mr. Masson is ready to meet it with a cannonade of facts. Here, for instance, is his answer to the prevailing but mistaken notion that the Literature of the Restoration was an outburst of intellectual fertility after a period of sterility and poverty.

"The misconception arises in part from the habit of regarding many of the veterans . . . as Restoration writers, merely because they were not defunct at the Restoration, and so of crediting the Restoration with all that they had done in the previous portions of their lives. Our enumeration and datings ought to have helped, in this respect, towards the required correction. Hobbism, Cambridge Platonism, Theological Latitudinarianism, Quakerism, an association of almost national dimensions for the promotion of the Mathematical and Experimental Sciences, Harringtonian and other theorizings in Politics and Economics, speculative free-thinking and pamphleteering generally, and an organized Newspaper Press in particular—all these had been growths of the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. . . . The best of old Hobbes, the best of Sanderson, nearly all Wither, all Herrick, nearly all Bramhall, the best of Izaak Walton, all Brian Walton, the best of Howell, the best of Shirley, the whole of Fuller, a great deal of Waller, all of Browne of Norwich, nearly all of Jeremy Taylor, the best of Dr. Henry More, a full half of Baxter and Owen, much of Wilkins and Wallis, nearly the whole of Denham, the best of Cowley, the best of Henry Stubbe, and at least the fully announced beginnings of a number more, lie chronologically on the other side of the Restoration. Jeremy Taylor, the Bishop, belongs to the Restoration, but the Jeremy Taylor of English literature belongs to the twenty years of the Civil Wars, the Republican Government of the Rump, and the sovereignty of Cromwell (vi. 322).

This tremendous array of names is followed up by statistics compiled from the Registers of the Stationers' Company which fully bear out Mr. Masson's contention that in all kinds of literature, with the single exception of the Drama, the Restoration was a period of arrest and paralysis, and not of exuberant fertility. We cannot help remarking, however, that most of the names we have transcribed are names of Royalists and Churchmen, and that a considerable proportion of these literary worthies actually suffered, more or less, for their opinions during the Puritan ascendancy. The Restoration was hostile to sound literature, as it was hostile to almost all that was sound in our national life and character; but neither the Republic nor the Protectorate can be said to have done much to encourage the

writing of good books. Those who surrounded the great men of those eventful years had their hands full of pressing, multifarious work ; and independent authors were very much let alone to write for the Government, or even, within limits, against it, as their own genius prompted them. It was better that it should be so. Patronage, however enlightened, has never done much for real literature ; and the general stimulus which the Republic gave to the English mind is a more important influence in our literary history than any mere princely dilettantism.

The question how Milton came to miss the honour of being included among the victims of the Restoration has always been a historical puzzle. Mr. Masson after devoting some thirty pages to the subject is obliged to leave the matter more or less doubtful, but he seems to make out that there was a Parliamentary combination among Milton's friends and admirers, and that this combination must have commanded influence in very high quarters. Of his friends, Annesley, Morrice, and Clarges deserve special mention ; tradition has always given Davenant credit for having had a hand in the business ; and whatever assistance could be given by a private member of the House of Commons must have been zealously rendered by Andrew Marvel. Mr. Masson thinks it certain that Hyde must have consented that Milton should be spared, and conjectures that the Chancellor may have promised the poet's friends to allow their skilful arrangements to keep Milton's name out of sight to pass the House of Lords without criticism. Such an act of generosity and mercy would certainly dispose us to a kindlier judgment of the stately, narrow-minded Minister who was doomed to spend the energies of his mind and the resources of his style in the thankless task of putting a respectable face on the stupidest episode in our history. It may be, however, that the natural partiality of a biographer has led Mr. Masson to exaggerate the difficulties of the case. The facts at first sight appear strange enough. Milton was marked out for prosecution by an order of the House of Commons ; and that order would fall to be executed by Sir Heneage Finch, the Solicitor-General, who managed all the trials of the Regicides. Now, Sir Heneage Finch had been heard to say of Milton that he " was Cromwell's Latin Secretary, and deserved hanging." If this was his settled opinion, it is curious that so careful a lawyer should have allowed the Bill of Indemnity to pass without inserting an exception to cover the case of a man whom the House had ordered him to prosecute. But Finch's words look not unlike a grumbling consent to let the Protector's Latin Secretary go ; and we see no particular reason why such consent should not have been given readily enough. Milton was not associated in the popular memory with

the late king's death ; he had never held any high or responsible office during the interregnum ; his services to the Republic were not of a kind to make his name familiar to the general public. There may have been a good many members of the Convention Parliament who had never heard of Mr. Milton, his pamphlets, his heresies, and the little volume of poems which he had published in 1645. We must remember, also, that literary assistance to a political cause was not always, in the seventeenth century, referred to any personal conviction of the literary man who rendered it. If an eminent scholar was employed to write in defence of a Republic, the proper course for an enlightened prince was to offer the eminent scholar more money to write on the other side. The coarser sort of Royalist politicians would have taken it quite as a matter of course if Milton had written some ridiculous verses for Charles the Second's Coronation. It was an age when men knew and cared to know but little of the personal characters of authors. If a man produces a notable poem now-a-days, a thousand agencies are set to work at collecting and disseminating information about him, testing his merits, exposing his weaknesses, and settling with the utmost possible dispatch his place in universal literature. In this way many people who have not read the poem, or who have tried to read it and failed, get some notion of the author's character and style, and can hold their own when he is quoted against them in conversation. But in the seventeenth century the agencies of which we speak did not exist. To be separated from a man by a parish or two in distance, by a point or two in doctrine, was to be in total ignorance about him. Sheer ignorance explains half the atrocity of the libels and caricatures circulated by each party against its opponents ; the same may be the explanation of the indifference which made it easy for Milton's friends, to procure his escape. We can even imagine that Prynne, eagerly occupied in hunting down such great game as Lord Monson and Sir Gilbert Pickering, was willing magnanimously to forget the unfortunate Latinist who had actually dared to meet him in the lists of controversy, and to make fun of the "paroxysms of citations" with which the margins of his pamphlets were fortified and adorned.

As, on the one hand, we may be justified in supposing that Milton was comparatively little known, even to the wits and students of 1660, so, on the other hand, we must take care to allow due importance to the circumstances which show that he was held in high respect and admiration by those who were acquainted with him and his works. The three thousand copies of "*Paradise Lost*" which were in circulation before the author's death represent a larger amount of real appreciation than a similar circulation would represent at the present day. Foreign

scholars came not unfrequently to the house in Bunhill Row to look upon the champion who had slain Salmasius; and there were admirers even at Westminster and Whitehall who loved to listen to the great man's talk. In spite of gout, blindness, and the unhappy troubles with his daughters, we are almost disposed to say that these later years were among the happiest of Milton's life. His literary work went on quietly and steadily, until, in the "History of Britain," the "Treatise on Christian Doctrine," and the three greatest of his poems, Milton's message was at last fully delivered to mankind. His third wife was a careful, cheerful helpmate, quite disposed to accept her husband's opinion in regard to the subjection of women. Elizabeth Milton survived the poet more than fifty years. Mr. Masson has given us (vi. 744) all the particulars that are known of her widowed existence. She returned to Nantwich, in Cheshire, her native place, and there she was known some forty years as a tidy old lady of the General Baptist persuasion, of frugal but not inhospitable ways; indeed, the Nantwich people are said to have had a proverb: "Mrs. Milton's feast—enough, and no more;" which may, and we hope does, survive to the present day. She died in the first year of the reign of George II., and the Rev. Mr. Kimber preached her funeral sermon.

We look with interest for all indications of Milton's opinions about men and affairs during this period of his life. We know that he retained his Republican faith in its purity in spite of the political fates; we know, also, that age abated nothing of the exalted independence with which he had faced the world in his youth. But sad experience had taught him how powerless, genius and eloquence are against the slavish folly of the mass. His prose writing was no longer inspired by the boundless expectation and desire of beneficent change; the arguments and figures do not rush on like a conquering army—they advance in slower and more regular array, with the grim determination of a forlorn hope. The new heavens and new earth wherein righteousness was to dwell were farther off than ever; and Milton can hardly have realised how all that was best in Puritanism had fixed itself deep in the English mind, and would work its way to victory again: It is often the glory of great men that their work tends to wider issues than they themselves know; and so it was with the Puritans. They made a tremendous mistake when they assumed to be God's vice-gerents upon earth, and to set aside the historic instincts of a nation for their own spiritual intuition. But they showed—or at least the greatest of them showed—that they were superior to the perverse logic which would have perpetuated the mistake after it had been brought to the test of practice. Nothing is more characteristic of Cromwell than his

gradual emancipation from the errors into which the exclusively religious notion of his own rights and duties would have led him. And nothing is more characteristic of Milton than the steadfast intellectual honesty which placed him at last far ahead of and apart from the more conventionally-minded men in company with whom he had worked out the deliverance of the English mind from Sacerdotalism.

The *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, to which Mr. Masson (vi 817) rightly assigns a more important place in the history of Milton's thought than has been assigned to it by previous writers, may be regarded as the last word of Biblical religion on the Puritan lines. Never, perhaps, in the history of theology has a finer attempt been made to determine what can be extracted from the Bible on the true Protestant principle of exegesis. All the results of previous scholarship and disquisition were at Milton's command; but we may be sure that he valued those results only in so far as they were verified to him by his own judgment and conscience. He believed, on grounds which seemed to him sufficient, that the canonical books of Scripture were the only direct revelation of God's mind to man, and that the revelation was to be read by the light of the indwelling Spirit assisting his own private judgment, and his sole study was to set down faithfully, in a systematic form, the contents of the Book. The result is a system so full of heresies, peculiarities, and subversive applications of Christian principles, that no Protestant Church would for one moment allow that the *Treatise* is in any sense a correct or authoritative statement of Christian doctrine. In fact, the *Treatise* is a complete argument in favour of the Catholic contention, that if men are to rest their faith on an inspired book, they must have the book explained to them by an infallible interpreter. No possible stretch of toleration could bring Milton's heresies within the category of things indifferent: they concern the doctrine of the Trinity, the immortality of the soul, the necessity of ordinances, the observance of the Sabbath, and the Christian family. The agreement of his Scriptural views on such points with what we know of his intellectual experience apart from Biblical study, is a striking illustration of the unsoundness of the Protestant theory, that the authority of a book has power to control the independent judgment of an honest thinker.

Although in theology Milton moved steadily forward to the end of his life, we notice one or two changes of opinion in minor matters which seem to indicate a harder and more dogmatic temper than he had shown in his youth. Surely, when he justified his refusal to allow his daughters to learn the meaning of the Latin and Greek, which they read to him by rote, with the

famous saying that "one tongue was enough for a woman," he must have forgotten the

"Parole adorne di lingua piu d'una"

which had taken his heart captive in Italy thirty years before. And, to pass to a point of some interest in the history of Milton's poetry, how are we to reconcile the exclusive preference given to blank verse in the author's note prefixed to "*Paradise Lost*" with Milton's early practice? It is strange to find the author of "*Lycidas*" speaking of rhyme as "the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre; graced, indeed, since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse, than else they would have expressed them." From the tenor of the sentences which follow, we are inclined to think that Milton intended this judgment to apply only to heroic poems of considerable length. If the supposition be admissible in the case of so careful a writer, we might conjecture that he dictated the paragraph entitled "*The Verse*" in a few minutes as his immediate answer to the objection made by some readers on the first appearance of the poem, and reported to him by his publisher, Simmons. This is substantially the explanation adopted by Mr. Masson. It cannot be said that Milton had any rooted objection to rhyme; indeed, he used it, after the publication of "*Paradise Lost*" in the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*. But we can imagine how the circumstance that some readers had been "stumbled" by his blank verse, drew out at once the lofty and somewhat too sweeping reply. Some critics have been disposed to agree with the judgment as it stands; but general literary opinion is against it. The varied musical effects rendered possible by rhyme far more than repay us for any constraint imposed or caprice suggested by the necessity of finding words that match in sound. We may refer to the poems of Mr. Browning for many proofs of the general rule that a poet who is not superior to the temptation of curious or jingling collocations of words will be just as undignified in blank verse as he is in rhyme.

We cannot profess to have given anything like a systematic account of the wealth of carefully verified facts to be found in Mr. Masson's volumes, and we have left ourselves no space to speak of the beautiful and elaborate edition of Milton's Poetical Works which we owe to the same scholarly hand. It would be almost presumptuous to say anything of Milton as a man of letters. Almost every one of the supreme masters of our language since his time has rendered tribute to his genius; we may say that his diction has passed into the very texture of all the

best English speech and writing. But of Milton as the representative man of a revolutionary age there is still something to be said. We do not know whether our reflections on this aspect of his biography are such as Mr. Masson would approve. We offer them in the belief that an examination of Puritanism from a secular point of view is much needed at the present time. Ignorant contempt for the Puritans has almost disappeared from our literature; there is some danger that its place may be taken by a mood of uncompromising Puritan-worship. Writers who are as far as possible from agreeing with the religious opinions of our seventeenth-century ancestors have succeeded in working themselves into an unlimited belief in Biblical politics and the Reign of the Saints. We regard this belief as a delusion; but we desire to speak with all reverence of the men who emancipated this nation from the evil rule of Sacerdotalism and Kingcraft.



ART. IV.—THE GREEK HUMANISTS : NATURE AND LAW.

Ancient Law. By Sir HENRY SUMNER MAINE. 7th ed. 1878.

IN a former Article we traced the rise and progress of physical philosophy among the ancient Greeks. We showed how a few great thinkers, borne on by an unparalleled development of intellectual activity, worked out ideas respecting the order of nature and the constitution of matter which, after more than two thousand years, still remain as fresh and fruitful as ever; and we found that, in achieving these results, Greek thought was itself determined by ascertainable laws. Whether controlling artistic imagination or penetrating to the objective truth of things, it remained always essentially homogeneous, and worked under the same forms of circumscription, analysis, and opposition. It began with external nature, and with a far distant past; nor could it begin otherwise, for only so could the subjects of its later meditations be reached. Only after less sacred beliefs have been shaken can ethical dogmas be questioned. Only when discrepancies of opinion obtrude themselves on man's notice is the need of an organising logic experienced. And the mind's eye, originally focussed for distant objects alone, has to be gradually restricted in its range by the pressure of accumulated experience before it can turn from past to present, from successive to contemporaneous phenomena. We have now to undertake the not less interesting task of showing how the new culture, the new conceptions, the new power to think ob-

tained through those earliest speculations reacted on the life from which they sprang, transforming the moral, religious, and political creeds of Hellas, and preparing, as nothing else could prepare, the vaster revolution which has given a new dignity to existence, and substituted, in however imperfect a form, for the adoration of animalisms that lie below man, the adoration of an ideal that rises above him, but only personifies the best elements of his own nature, and therefore is possible for a perfected humanity to realise.

While most educated persons will admit that the Greeks are our masters in science and literature, in politics and art, some even among those who are free from theological prejudices will not be prepared to grant that the principles which claim to guide our conduct are only a wider extension or a more specific application of Greek ethical teaching. Hebraism has been opposed to Hellenism as the educating power whence our love of righteousness is derived, and which alone prevents the foul orgies of a primitive nature-worship from being still celebrated in the midst of our modern civilization. And many look on old Roman religion as embodying a sense of duty higher than any bequeathed to us by Greece. The Greeks have, indeed, suffered seriously from their own sincerity. Their literature is a perfect image of their life, reflecting every blot and every flaw, unveiled, uncoloured, undisguised. It was, most fortunately, never subjected to the revision of a jealous priesthood, bent on removing every symptom inconsistent with the hypothesis of a domination exercised by themselves through all the past. Nor yet has their history been systematically falsified to prove that they never wrongfully attacked a neighbour, and were invariably obliged to conquer in self-defence. Still, even taking the records as they stand, it is to Greek rather than to Hebrew or Roman annals that we must look for examples of true virtue, and in Greek literature, earlier than in any other, occur precepts like those which are now held to be most distinctively characteristic of Christian ethics. Let us never forget that only by Stoical teaching was the narrow and cruel formalism of ancient Roman law elevated into the "written reason" of the imperial jurists; only after receiving successive infiltrations of Greek thought was the ethnic monotheism of Judæa expanded into a cosmopolitan religion. Our popular theologians are ready enough to admit that Hellenism was providentially the means of giving Christianity a world-wide diffusion; they ignore the fact that it gave the new faith not only wings to fly, but also eyes to see and a soul to love. From very early times there was an intuition of humanity in Hellas that only needed dialectical development to become an all-sufficient law of life. Homer sympathizes ardently

with his own countrymen, but he never vilifies their enemies. He did not, nor did any Greek, invent impure legends to account for the origin of hostile tribes whose kinship could not be disowned; unlike Samuel, he regards the sacrifice of prisoners with unmixed abhorrence. What would he, whose Odysseus will not allow a shout of triumph to be raised over the fallen, have said to Deborah's exultation at the murder of a suppliant fugitive? Courage was, indeed, with him the highest virtue, and Greek literature abounds in martial spirit-stirring tones, but it is nearly always by the necessities of self-defence that this enthusiasm is invoked; with Pindar and Simonides, with Æschylus and Sophocles, it is resistance to an invader that we find so proudly commemorated; and the victories that make Greek history so glorious were won in fighting to repel an unjust aggression perpetrated either by the barbarians or by a tyrant state among the Greeks themselves. There was, as will be shown hereafter, an unhappy period when right was either denied, or, what comes to the same thing, identified with might; but this offensive paradox only served to waken true morality into a more vivid self-consciousness, and into the felt need of discovering for itself a stronger foundation than usage and tradition, a loftier sanction than mere worldly success could afford. The most universal principle of justice, to treat others as we should wish to be treated ourselves, seems before the Rabbi Hillel's time to have become almost a commonplace of Greek ethics;* difficulties left unsolved by the Book of Job were raised to a higher level by Greek philosophy; and long before St. Paul, a Plato reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come.

No one will deny that the life of the Greeks was stained with foul vices, and that their theory sometimes fell to the level of their practice. No one who believes that moral truth, like all truth, has been gradually discovered, will wonder at this phenomenon. If moral conduct is a function of social life, then, like other functions, it will be subject, not only to growth, but also to disease, and decay. An intense and rapid intellectual development may have for its condition a totally abnormal state of society, where certain vices unknown to ruder ages spring up and flourish with rank luxuriance. When men have to take women along with them on every new path of inquiry, pro-

* "Thou shalt not take that which is mine, and may I do to others as I would that they should do to me" (Plato, *Laws*, 913 A, Jowett's Transl., vol. v. p. 483). Isocrates makes a king addressing his governors say: "You should be to others what you think I should be to you" (*Nicoles*, 49). And again: "Do not to others what it makes you angry to suffer yourselves" (*Ibid.* 61). A similar observation is attributed to Thales, doubtless by an anachronism (Diogenes Laertius, Book I. chap. i. 36).

gress will be considerably retarded, although its benefits will ultimately be shared among a greater number, and will be better insured against the danger of a violent reaction. But the work that Hellas was commissioned to perform could not wait ; it had to be accomplished in a few generations, or not at all. The barbarians were pressing in on every side, not merely with the weight of invading armies, but with the deadlier pressure of a benumbing superstition, with the brute-worship of Egypt and the devil-worship of Phœnicia, with their delirious orgies, their mutilations, their crucifixions, and their gladiatorial contests. Already in the later dramas of Euripides and in the Rhodian school of sculpture we see the awful shadow coming nearer, and feel the poisonous breath of Asia on our faces. Reason, the reason by which these terrors have been for ever exorcised, could only arrive at maturity under the influence of free and uninterrupted discussion carried on by men among themselves in the gymnasium, the agora, the ecclesia, and the dicastery. The resulting and inevitable separation of the sexes bred frightful disorders, which through all changes of creed have clung like a moral pestilence to the shores of the *Ægean*, and have helped to complicate political problems by joining to religious hatred the fiercer animosity of physical disgust. But whatever were the corruptions of Greek sentiment Greek philosophy had the power to purge them away. "Follow nature" became the watchword of one school after another ; and a precept which at first may have meant only that man should not fall below the brutes, was finally so interpreted as to imply an absolute control of sense by reason. No loftier standard of sexual purity has ever been inculcated than that fixed by Plato in his latest work, the *Laws*. Isocrates bids husbands set an example of conjugal fidelity to their wives. Socrates had already declared that virtue was the same for both sexes. Xenophon interests himself in the education of women. Plato would give them the same training, and everywhere associate them in the same functions with men. Equally decisive evidence of a theoretical opposition to slavery is not forthcoming, and we know that it was unfortunately sanctioned by Plato and Aristotle, in this respect no better inspired than the Early Christians ; nevertheless, the germ of such an opposition existed, and will hereafter be pointed out.

It has been said that the Greeks only worshipped beauty ; that they cultivated morality from the æsthetic side ; that virtue was with them a question, not of duty, but of taste. Some very strong texts might be quoted in support of this judgment. For example, we find Isocrates saying, in his encomium on Helen, that "Beauty is the first of all things in majesty, and honour, and divineness. It is easy to see its power ; there are many

things which have no share of courage, or wisdom, or justice, which yet will be found honoured above things which have each of these, but nothing which is devoid of beauty is prized; all things are scorned which have not been given their part of that attribute; the admiration for virtue itself comes to this, that of all manifestations of life virtue is the most *beautiful*.* And Aristotle distinguishes the highest courage as willingness to die for the *καλόν*. So also Plato describes philosophy as a love "that leads one from fair forms to fair practices, and from fair practices to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is. And this is that life beyond all others which man should live in the contemplation of beauty absolute."† Now, first of all, we must observe that, while loveliness has been worshipped by many others, none have conceived it under a form so worthy of worship as the Greeks. Beauty with them was neither little nor fragile, nor voluptuous; the soul's energies were not relaxed but exalted by its contemplation; there was in it an element of austere and commanding dignity. The Argive Hêrê, though revealed to us only through a softened Italian copy, has more divinity in her countenance than any Madonna of them all; and the Melian Aphrodîtê is distinguished by majesty of form not less than by purity and sweetness of expression. This beauty was the unreserved information of matter by mind, the visible rendering of absolute power, wisdom, and goodness. Therefore what a Greek worshipped was the perpetual and ever-present energizing of mind; but he forgot that beauty can only exist as a combination of spirit with sense; and, after detaching the higher element, he continued to call it by names and clothe it in attributes proper to its earthly manifestations alone. Yet such an extension of the æsthetic sentiment involved no weakening of the moral fibre. A service comprehending all idealisms in one demanded the self-effacement of a laborious preparation and the self-restraint of a gradual achievement. They who pitched the goal of their aspiration so high, knew that the paths leading up to it were rough, and steep, and long; they felt that perfect workmanship and perfect taste, being supremely precious, must be supremely difficult as well; *χαλεπὸν τὸ καλόν* they said, the beautiful is hard—hard to judge, hard to win, and hard to keep. He who has passed through that stern discipline need tremble at no other task; nor has duty anything to fear from a com-

* We gladly avail ourselves of the masterly translation given by Professor Jobb. The whole of this splendid passage will be found in his "Attic Orators," vol. ii. pp. 78, 79.

† Symposium, 211 C, Jowett's Transl., vol. ii.

panionship whose ultimate requirements are coincident with her own, and the abandonment of which for a joyless asceticism can only lead to the reappearance as an invading army of forces that should have been cherished as indispensable allies.

Thus much for the current prejudices that seemed likely to interfere with a favourable consideration of our subject. We have next to study the conditions by which the form of Greek ethical philosophy was originally determined. Foremost among these must be placed the moral conceptions already current long before systematic reflection could begin. What they were may be partly gathered from some wise saws attributed by the Greeks themselves to their Seven Sages, but probably current at a much earlier period. The pith of these maxims taken collectively is to recommend the qualities attributed by our own philosophic poet to his perfect woman :—

“The reason firm, the temperate will,
Endurance, foresight, strength, and skill.”

We may say almost as briefly that they inculcate complete independence both of our own passions and of external circumstances, with a corresponding respect for the independence of others to be shown by using persuasion instead of force. Their tone will perhaps be best understood by contrast with that collection of Hebrew proverbs which has come down to us under the name of Solomon, but which Biblical critics now attribute to a later period and a divided authorship. While these regularly put forward material prosperity as the chief motive to good conduct, Hellenic wisdom teaches indifference to the variations of fortune. To a Greek, “the power that makes for righteousness,” so far from being “not ourselves,” was our own truest self, the far-seeing reason that should guard us from elation and from depression, from passion, and from surprise. Instead of being offered old age as a reward, we are told to be equally prepared for a long and for a short life.

Two precepts stand out before all others, which, trivial as they may seem, are uttered from the very soul of Greek experience. “Be moderate,” and “know thyself.” Their joint observance constitutes the characteristic virtue of *Sôphrosynê*, which means all that we understand by temperance, and a great deal more besides ; so much, in fact, that very clever Greeks were hard set to define it, and very wise Greeks could pray for it as the fairest gift of the gods. Let us suppose that each individual has a sphere of activity marked out for him by his own nature and his special environment ; then to discern clearly the limits of that sphere and to keep within them would be *Sôphrosynê*, while the

discernment taken alone would be wisdom. The same self-restraint operating as a check on interference with other spheres would be justice; while the expansive force by which a man fills up his entire sphere and guards it against aggressions may be called courage. Thus we are enabled to comprehend the many-sided significance of *Sôphrosynê*, to see how it could stand both for a particular virtue and for all virtuousness whatever. We need only glance at Homer's poems, and in particular at the *Iliad*—a much deeper as well as a more brilliant work than the *Odyssey*—to perceive how very early this demand for moderation combined with self-knowledge had embodied itself in Greek thought. Agamemnon violates the rights of Achilles under the influence of immoderate passion and through ignorance of how little we can accomplish without the hero's assistance. Achilles again carries his vindictiveness too far, and suffers in consequence. But his self-knowledge is absolutely perfect; conscious that he is first in the field while others are better in council, he never undertakes a task to which his powers are not fully adequate; nor does he enter on his final work of vengeance without a clear consciousness of the speedy death that its completion will entail on himself. Hector, too, notwithstanding ominous forebodings knows his duty and does it, but with much less just an estimate of his own powers, leading him to pursue his success too far, and then when the tide has turned not permitting him to make a timely retreat within the walls of Troy. So with the secondary characters. Patroclus also oversteps the limits of moderation, and pays the penalty with his life. Diomed silently bears the unmerited rebuke of Agamemnon, but afterwards recalls it at a most effective moment when rising to oppose the craven counsels of the great king. This the Greeks called observing opportunity, and opportunism was with them as with French politicians a form of moderation.* Down at the very bottom of the scale Thersites and Dolon are signal examples of men who do not know their sphere and suffer for their folly. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is a nearly perfect type of wisdom joined with self-control, erring if we remember rightly only once when he insults Polyphemus before the ship is out of danger; while his comrades perish from want of these same gifts.

So far virtue was with the Greeks what it must inevitably be with all men at first, chiefly self-regarding, a refined form of prudence. Moreover, other regarding virtues gave less scope for reflection, being originally comprehended under obedience to the law. But there were two circumstances which could not long escape their notice; first, that fraud and violence are often, at least apparently

* Pindar uses *καίρος* and *μέτρον* as synonymous terms.

profitable to those who perpetrate them, a fact bitterly remarked by Hesiod ; and, secondly, that society cannot hold together without justice. It was long before Governments grew up willing and able to protect their subjects from mutual aggressions, nor does positive law create morality, but implies it, and could not be worked without it. Nor could international obligations be enforced by a superior tribunal ; hence they have remained down to the present day a fertile theme for ethical discussion. It is at this point that morality forms a junction with religion, the history of which is highly interesting, but which can here be only briefly traced. The Olympian divinities as placed before us by Homer are anything but moral. Their conduct towards each other is that of a dissolute nobility ; towards men it is that of unscrupulous partisans and patrons. A loyal adherence to friends and gratitude for sacrificial offerings are their most respectable characteristics, raising them already a little above the nature-powers whence they were derived. Now, mark how they first become moralised. It is by being made witnesses to an oath. Any one who is called in to testify to a promise feels aggrieved if it is broken, looking on the breach as an insult to his own dignity. As the Third Commandment well puts it, his name has been ~~broken~~ in vain. Thus it happened that the same gods who left every other crime unpunished, visited perjury with severe and speedy retribution, continued even after the offender's death. Respect for a contract is the primary form of moral obligation, and still seems to possess a peculiar hold over uneducated minds. We see every day how many persons will abstain from actions which they know to be immoral because they have given their word to that effect, not because the actions themselves are wrong. And for that reason law-courts would be more willing to enforce contracts than to redress injuries. If, then, one person inflicted damage on another he might afterwards in order to escape retaliation from the injured party, or from his family, engage to give satisfaction, and the court would compel him to redeem his promise.* Thus contract by procuring redress for every species of wrong would gradually extend its own obligatory character to abstinence from injury in general, and the divine sanctions primarily invoked on behalf of oaths would be extended with them over the whole domain of moral conduct. Nor is this all. Laws and justice once established would require to have their origin accounted for, and according to the usual genealogical method of the early Greeks would be described as children of the gods, who would thus be interested in their welfare, and would avenge their violation,

* See Maine's "Ancient Law," chap. x. "The Early History of Delict and Crime."

a stage of reflection already reached in the *Works and Days* of Hesiod. Again, when oracles like that at Delphi had obtained wide-spread renown and authority, they would be consulted not only on ceremonial questions and matters of policy, but also on debateable points of morality. The divine responses being unbiassed by personal interest, would necessarily be given in accordance with received rules of rectitude, and would be backed by all the terrors of a supernatural sanction. It might even be dangerous to assume that the god could possibly give his support to wrong-doing. A story told by Herodotus proves that such actually was the case. There lived once at Sparta a certain man named Glaucus, who had acquired so great a reputation for probity that during the troublous times of the Persian conquest a wealthy Milesian thought it advisable to deposit a large sum of money with him for safe keeping. After a considerable time the money was claimed by his children, but the honesty of Glaucus was not proof against temptation. He pretended to have forgotten the whole affair, and required a delay of three months before making up his mind with regard to the validity of their demand. During that interval he consulted the Delphic oracle to know whether he might possess himself of the money by a false oath. The answer was that it would be for his immediate advantage to do so, all must die, the faithful and the perjured alike, but Hecates (oath) had a nameless son swift to pursue without feet, strong to grasp without hands, who would destroy the whole race of the human. Glaucus craved forgiveness, but was informed that to tempt the god was equivalent to committing the crime. He went home and restored the deposit, but his whole family perished utterly from the land before three generations had passed by.

Yet another step remained to take. Punishment must be transferred from a man's innocent children to the man himself in a future life. But the Olympian theology was, originally at least, powerless to effect this revolution. Its gods, being personifications of celestial phenomena, had nothing to do with the dark underworld whither men descended after death. There existed, however, side by side with the brilliant religion of courts and camps which Greek poetry has made so familiar to us, another religion more popular with simple country-folk, to whom war meant ruin, courts of justice a means invented by kings for exacting bribes, sea-voyages a senseless imprudence, chariot-racing a sinful waste of money, and beautiful women drones in the human hive, demons of extravagance invented by Zeus for the purpose of venting his spite against mankind. What interest could these poor people take in the resplendent guardians of their hereditary oppressors, in Hêrê and Athênê, Apôllo and Poseidôn, Artemis and Aphrodité? But they had other gods peculiar to themselves,

whose worship was wrapped in mystery, partly that its objects need not be lured away by the attraction of richer offerings elsewhere, partly because the activity of these Chthonian deities, as they were called, was naturally associated with darkness and secrecy. Presiding over birth and death, over seed-time and harvest and vintage, they personified the frost-bound sleep of vegetation in winter and its return from a dark underworld in spring. Out of their worship grew stories that told how Persephonê, the fair daughter of Dêmêtêr, or Mother Earth, was carried away by Pluto to reign with him over the shades below, but after long searching was restored to her mother for eight months in every year; and how Dionysus, the wine-god, was twice born, first from the earth burned up and fainting under the intolerable fire of a summer sky, respectively personified as Semelê and her lover Zeus, then from the protecting mist wrapped round him by his divine father, of whom it formed a part. Dionysus, too, was subject to alternations of depression and triumph, from the recital of which Attic drama was developed, and gained a footing in the infernal regions, whither we accompany him in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. Another country god was Hermês, who seems to have been associated with planting and possession, with the demarcation and exchange of property, and who was also a conductor of souls to Hades. Finally, there were the Erinyes, children of night and dwellers in subterranean darkness; they could breed pestilence and discord, but could also avert them; they could blast the produce of the soil or increase its luxuriance and fertility, when blood was spilt on the ground; they made it blossom up again in a harvest of retributive hatred; they pursued the guilty during life, and did not relax their grasp after death; all law, whether physical or moral, was under their protection; the same Erinyes who, in the *Odyssey*, avenge on Oedipus the suicide of his mother, in the *Iliad* will not allow the miraculous speaking of a horse to continue; and we have seen in our former Article how, according to Heraclitus, it is they who also prevent the sun from transgressing his appointed limits.* Dêmêtêr and Persephone, too, seem to have been law-giving goddesses, as their great festival, celebrated by women alone, was called the Thesmophoria, while eternal happiness was promised to those who had been initiated into their mysteries at Eleusis; and we also find that moral maxims were graven on the marble busts of Hermês placed along every thoroughfare in Athens. We can thus understand why the mutilation of these Hermæ caused such rage and terror, accompanied, as it was rumoured to be, by a profanation of

* Compare Wordsworth —

“Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens through thee are fresh and strong.”
Ode to Duty.

the Eleusinian mysteries ; for any attack on the deities in question would seem to prefigure an attack on the settled order of things, the popular rights which they both symbolized and protected.

Here, then, we find, chiefly among the rustic population, a religion intimately associated with morality, and including the doctrine of retribution after death. But this simple faith, though well adapted to the few wants of its original votaries, could not be raised to the utmost expansion and purity of which it was susceptible without being brought into vivifying contact with that other Olympian religion which, as we have seen, belonged more peculiarly to the ruling aristocracy. The poor may be more moral than the rich, and the country than the town ; nevertheless it is from dwellers in cities, and from the higher classes, including as they do a large percentage of educated large-minded individuals, that the impulses to moral progress always proceed. If the narrowness and hardness of primitive social arrangements were overcome ; if justice was disengaged from the ties of blood-relationship, and tempered with consideration for inevitable error ; if deadly feuds were terminated by habitual appeal to arbitration ; if the worship of one supreme ideal was substituted for a blind sympathy with the ebb and flow of life on earth ; if the numerical strength of States was increased by giving shelter to fugitives ; if a Hellenic nation was created and held together by a common literature and a common civilization, by oracles accessible to all, and by periodical games in which every free-born Greek could take part ; and, lastly, if a brighter abode than the slumberous garden of Persephonê was assigned after death to the godlike heroes who had come forth from a twice repeated ordeal with souls unstained by sin ;—all this was due to the military rather than to the industrial classes, to the spirit that breathes through Homer rather than to the tamer inspiration of Hesiod's muse. But if justice was raised to an Olympian throne ; if righteous providence, not less than creative power, became an inalienable attribute of Zeus ; if lyric poetry, from Archilochus to Simonides and Pindar, is one long hymn of prayer and praise ever turned upward in adoring love to the divine ; we must remember that Themis was a synonyme for Earth, and that Prometheus, the original friend of humanity, for whose benefit he invented every useful art, augury included, was her son. The seeds of immortal hope were first planted in the fructifying bosom of Dêmêtêr, and life, a forsaken Ariadnê, took refuge in the mystical embraces of Dionysus from the memory of a promise that had allured her to betray. Thus, we may conjecture that between hall and farm-house, between the Olympian and the Chthonian religions, there was a constant reaction going on, during which ethical ideas were continually expanding, and extri-

cating themselves from the superstitious elements associated with their earliest theological expression.

This process was conceived by Æschylus as a conflict between two generations of gods, ending with their complete reconciliation. In the *Prometheus Bound* we have the beginning of the conflict, in the *Eumenides* its close. Our sympathies are apparently at first intended to be enlisted on behalf of the older divinities, but at last are claimed exclusively by the younger. As opposed to Prometheus, Zeus is evidently in the wrong, and seeks to make up for his deficiencies by arbitrary violence. In the *Oresteia* he is the champion of justice against iniquity, and through his interpreter, Apollo, he enforces a revised moral code against the antiquated claims of the Erinyes; these latter, however, ultimately consenting to become guardians of the new social order. The Æschylean drama shows us Greek religion at the highest level it could reach, unaided by philosophical reflection. With Sophocles a perceptible decline has already begun. We are loth to say anything that may sound like disparagement of so noble a poet. We yield to none in admiration for one who has combined the two highest qualities of art—sweetness and strength—more completely than any other singer, Homer alone excepted, and who has given the primordial affections their definitive expression for all time. But we cannot help perceiving an element of superstition in his dramas which, so far, distinguishes them unfavourably from those of his Titanic predecessor. With Sophocles, when the gods interfere it is to punish disrespect towards themselves, not to enforce justice between man and man. Ajax perishes by his own hand because he has neglected to ask for divine assistance in battle. Laius and Jocastê come to a tragic end through disobedience to a perfectly arbitrary oracle, and as a part of the same divine purpose Œdipus encounters the most frightful calamities by no fault of his own. The gods are, moreover, exclusively objects of fear; their sole business is to enforce the fulfilment of enigmatic prophecies; they give no assistance to the pious and virtuous characters. Antigônê is allowed to perish for having performed the last duties to her brother's corpse. Neoptolemus receives no aid in that struggle between ambition on the one hand with truthfulness and pity on the other which makes his character one of the most interesting in all imaginative literature. When Athênê bids Odysseus exult over the degradation of Ajax, the generous Ithacan refuses to her face, and falls back on the consciousness of a common humanity uniting him in sympathy with his prostrate foe.

The rift within the flute went on widening till all its music was turned to jarring discord. With the third great Attic dramatist we arrive at a period of complete dissolution. Morality is

not only separated from mythological tradition, but is openly at war with it. Religious belief, after becoming almost monotheistic, has relapsed into polytheism. With Euripides the gods do not, as with his predecessors, form a common council. They lead an independent existence, not interfering with each other, and pursuing private ends of their own—often very disreputable ones. Aphrodite inspires Phædra with an incestuous passion for her stepson. Artemis is propitiated by human sacrifices. Hêrê causes Heraclês to kill his children in a fit of delirium. Zeus and Poseidôn are charged with breaking their own laws, and setting a bad example to mortals. Apollo, once so venerated, fares the worst of any. He outrages a noble maiden, and succeeds in palming off her child on the man whom she subsequently marries. He instigates the murder of a repentant enemy who has come to seek forgiveness at his shrine. He fails to protect Orestes from the consequences of matricide, committed at his own unwise suggestion. Political animosity may have had something to do with these attacks on a god who was believed to side with the Dorian confederacy against Athens. Doubtless, also, Euripides disbelieved many of the scandalous stories that he selected as appropriate materials for dramatic representation. But a satire on immoral beliefs would have been unnecessary had they not been generally accepted. Nor was the poet himself altogether a freethinker. One of his latest and most splendid works, the *Bacchæ* is a formal submission to the orthodox creed. Under the stimulus of an insane delusion, Pentheus is torn to pieces by his mother, Agavê and her attendant, Mænads, for having presumed to oppose the introduction of Dionysus-worship into Thebes. The antecedents of the new divinity are questionable, and the nature of his influence on the female population extremely suspicious. Yet much stress is laid on the impiety of Pentheus, and we are clearly intended to consider his fate as well-deserved.

Euripides is not a true thinker, and for that very reason fitly typifies a period when religion had been shaken to its very foundation, but still retained a strong hold on men's minds, and might at any time reassert its ancient authority with unexpected vigour. We gather, also, from his writings, that ethical sentiment had undergone a parallel transformation. He introduces characters and actions which the elder dramatists would have rejected as unworthy of tragedy, and not only introduces them, but composes elaborate speeches in their defence. Side by side with examples of devoted heroism, we find such observations as that every one loves himself best, and that those are most prosperous who attend most exclusively to their own interests. It so happens that in one instance where Euripides has chosen a subject already handled by Æschylus, the difference of treatment shows how

great a moral revolution had occurred in the interim. The conflict waged between Eteoclês and Polyneicês for their father's throne is the theme both of the *Seven against Thebes* and of the *Phœnissæ*. In both, Polyneicês bases his claim on grounds of right. It had been agreed that he and his brother should alternately hold sway over Thebes. His turn has arrived, and Eteoclês refuses to give way. Polyneicês endeavours to enforce his pretensions by bringing a foreign army against Thebes. Æschylus makes him appear before the walls with an allegorical figure of Justice on his shield, promising to restore him to his father's seat. On hearing this, Eteoclês exclaims :—

“Aye, if Jove's virgin daughter Justice shared
In deed or thought of his, then it might be.
But neither when he left his mother's womb,
Nor in his childhood, nor in youth, nor when
The clustering hair first gathered round his chin,
Hath Justice turned approving eyes on him ;
Nor deem I that she comes as his ally,
Now that he wastes his native land with war,
Or Justice most unjustly were she called
If ruthless hearts could claim her fellowship.”

Euripides, with greater dramatic skill, brings the two brothers together in presence of their mother, Jocastê. When Polyneices has spoken, Eteoclês replies :—

“Honour and wisdom are but empty names
That mortals use, each with a different meaning,
Agreeing in the sound, not in the sense.
Hear, mother, undisguised my whole resolve !
Were Sovereignty, chief goddess among gods,
Far set as is the rising of a star,
Or buried deep in subterranean gloom,
There I would seek and win her for mine own.

* * * *

Come fire, come sword, yoke horses to the car,
And fill the plain with armed men, for I
Will not give up my royalty to him !
Let all my life be guiltless save in this :
I dare do any wrong for sovereign power—
The splendid guerdon of a splendid sin.”

The contrast is not only direct, but designed, for Euripides had the work of his predecessor before him, and no doubt imagined that he was improving on it.

We perceive a precisely similar change of tone on comparing the two great historians who have respectively recorded the struggle of Greece against Persia, and the struggle of imperial Athens against Sparta and her allies. Though born within fifteen

years of one another, Herodotus and Thucydides are virtually separated by an interval of two generations, for while the latter represents the most advanced thought of his time, the former lived among traditions inherited from the age preceding his own. Now, Herodotus is not more remarkable for the earnest piety than for the clear sense of justice that runs through his entire work. He draws no distinction between public and private morality. Whoever makes war on his neighbours without provocation, or rules without the consent of the governed, is according to him in the wrong, although he is well aware that such wrongs are constantly committed. Thucydides knows nothing of supernatural interference in human affairs. After relating the tragical end of Nicias, he observes, not without a sceptical tendency, that of all the Greeks then living, this unfortunate general least deserved such a fate, so far as respectability of character went. If there are gods they hold their position by superior strength. That the strong should enslave the weak is a universal and necessary law of Nature. The Spartans, who among themselves were most scrupulous in observing traditional obligations, in their dealings with others most openly identified gain with honour, and expediency with right. Even if the historian himself did not share these opinions, it is evident that they were widely entertained by his contemporaries, and he expressly informs us that Greek political morality had deteriorated to a frightful extent in consequence of the civil discords fomented by the conflict between Athens and Sparta; while in Athens at least a similar corruption of private morality had begun with the great plague of 430, its chief symptom being a mad desire to extract the utmost possible enjoyment from life, for which purpose every means was considered legitimate. On this point Thucydides is confirmed and supplemented by the evidence of another contemporary authority. According to Aristophanes, the ancient discipline had in his time become very much relaxed. The rich were idle and extravagant; the poor mutinous; young men were growing more and more insolent to their elders; religion was derided; all classes were animated by a common desire to make money and to spend it on sensual enjoyment. Only, instead of tracing back this profound demoralization to a change in the social environment, Aristophanes attributes it to demagogues harassing informers and popular poets, but above all to the new culture then coming into vogue. Physical science had brought in atheism; dialectic training had destroyed the sanctity of ethical restraints. When, however, the religious and virtuous Socrates is put forward as a type of both tendencies, our confidence in the comic poet's accuracy, if not in his good faith, becomes seriously shaken, and his whole tone so vividly recalls

the analogous invectives now hurled from press and pulpit against every philosophic theory, every scientific discovery, every social reform at variance with traditional beliefs or threatening the sinister interests which have gathered round iniquitous institutions that at first we feel tempted to follow Mr Grote in rejecting his testimony altogether. So far, however, as the actual phenomena themselves are concerned, and apart from their generating antecedents, Aristophanes does but bring into more picturesque prominence what graver observers are content to indicate, and what Plato, writing a generation later, treats as an unquestionable reality. Nor is the fact of a lowered moral tone going along with accelerated mental activity either incredible or unparalleled. Modern history knows of at least two periods remarkable for such a conjunction, the Renaissance and the eighteenth century, the former stained with every imaginable crime, the latter impure throughout, and lapsing into blood-thirsty violence at its close. Moral progress, like every other mode of motion, has its appropriate rhythm—its epochs of severe restraint followed by epochs of rebellious license. And when as an aggravation of the reaction from which they periodically suffer, ethical principles have become associated with a mythology whose decay, at first retarded, is finally hastened by their activity, it becomes still easier to understand how they may share in its discredit, and only regain their ascendancy by allying themselves with a purified form of the old religion, until they can be disentangled from the compromising support of all unverified theories whatever. We have every reason to believe that Greek life and thought did pass through such a crisis during the second half of the fifth century B.C., and we have now to deal with the speculative aspects of that crisis, so far as they are represented by the Sophists.

The word sophist in modern languages means one who purposely uses fallacious arguments. Our definition was probably derived from that given by Aristotle in his 'Topics,' but does not entirely reproduce it. What we call sophistry was with him eristic, or the art of unfair disputation; and by sophist he means one who practises the eristic art for gain. He also defines sophistry as the appearance without the reality of wisdom. A very similar account of the Sophists and their art is given by Plato in what seems to be one of his later dialogues, and another dialogue, probably composed some time previously, shows us how eristic was actually practised by two Sophists, Euthydêmus and Dionysodôrus, who had learned the art, which is represented as a very easy accomplishment, when already old men. Their performance is not edifying, and one only wonders how any Greek could have been induced to pay for the privilege of witnessing such an

exhibition. But the word sophist, in its original signification, was an entirely honourable name. It meant a sage, a wise and learned man, like Solon, or for the matter of that, like Plato and Aristotle themselves. The interval between these widely-different connotations is filled up and explained by a number of individuals as to whom our information is principally, though by no means entirely, derived from Plato. All of them were professional teachers, receiving payment for their services; all made a particular study of language, some aiming more particularly at accuracy, others at beauty of expression. While no common doctrine can be attributed to them as a class, as individuals they are connected by a series of graduated transitions, the final outcome of which will enable us to understand how, from a title of respect, their name could be turned into a byword of reproach. The Sophists, concerning whom some details have been transmitted to us, are Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, Hippias, Polus, Thrasymachus, and the Eristics already mentioned. We have placed them, so far as their ages can be determined, in chronological order, but their logical order is somewhat different. The first two on the list were born about 480 B.C., and the second pair possibly twenty years later. But neither Protagoras nor Gorgias seems to have published his most characteristic theories until a rather advanced time of life, for they are nowhere alluded to by the Xenophontic Socrates, who, on the other hand, is well acquainted with both Prodicus and Hippias, while, conversely, Plato is most interested in the former pair. We shall also presently see that the scepticism of the elder Sophists can best be explained by reference to the more dogmatic theories of their younger contemporaries, which again easily fit on to the physical speculations of earlier thinkers.

Prodicus was born in Coos, a little island belonging to the Athenian confederacy, and seems to have habitually resided at Athens. His health was delicate, and he wrapped up a good deal, as we learn from the ridicule of Plato, always pitiless to a valetudinarian. Judging from two allusions in Aristophanes, he taught natural science in such a manner as to conciliate even that unsparing enemy of the new learning.* He also gave moral instruction grounded on the traditional ideas of his country, a pleasing specimen of which has been preserved. It is conveyed under the form of an apologue, entitled the Choice of Heracles, and was taken down in its present form by Xenophon from the lips of Socrates, who quoted it with full approval for the benefit of

* Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλω γ' ὑπακούοιμεν τῶν νῦν μετεωροσοφιστῶν πλὴν ἢ Προδίκῳ, τῷ μὲν σοφίας καὶ γνώμης οὕνεκα κ.τ.λ.—*Clouds*, 361-2. Cf. *Birds*, 692.

his own disciples. Prodicus also lectured on the use of words, laying especial emphasis on the distinction of synonyms. We hear, not without sympathy, that he tried to check the indiscriminate employment of "awful" (*δεινός*), which was even more rife at Athens than among ourselves. Finally, we are told that, like many moderns, he considered the popular divinities to be personifications of natural phenomena. Hippias, who was a native of Elis, seems to have taught on very much the same system. It would appear that he lectured principally on astronomy and physics, but did not neglect language, and is said to have invented an art of memory. His restless inquisitiveness was also exercised on ancient history, and his erudition in that subject was taxed to the utmost during a visit to Sparta, where the unlettered people still delighted in old stories which among the more enlightened Greeks had been superseded by topics of livelier and fresher interest. At Sparta, too, he recited, with great applause, an ethical discourse under the form of advice given by Nestor to Neoptolemus after the capture of Troy. We know, on good authority, that Hippias habitually distinguished between natural and customary law, the former being, according to him, everywhere the same, while the latter varied from State to State, and in the same State at different times. Natural law he held to be alone binding and alone salutary. On this subject the following expressions, evidently intended to be characteristic, are put into his mouth by Plato:—"All of you who are here present I reckon to be kinsman and friends and fellow-citizens, by nature and not by law; for by nature like is akin to like, whereas law is the tyrant of mankind, and often compels us to do many things which are against nature."* Here two distinct ideas are implied, the idea that Nature is a moral guide, and, further, the idea that she is opposed to convention. The habit of looking for examples and lessons to some simpler life than their own prevailed among the Greeks from a very early period, and is indeed very common in primitive societies. Homer's similes are a case in point; while all that we are told about the innocence and felicity of the Ethiopians and Hyperboreans seems to indicate a deep-rooted belief in the moral superiority of savage to civilized nations; and Hesiod's fiction of the Four Ages, beginning with a golden age, arises from a kindred notion that intellectual progress is accompanied by moral corruption. Simonides of Amorgus, illustrates the various types of womankind by examples from the animal world; and Æsop's fables, dating from the first half of the sixth century, give ethical instruction under the same disguise. We have already pointed out how Greek

* Plato, "Protagoras," 337 D, Jowett's Transl., vol. i. p. 152.

rural religion established a thorough-going connection between physical and moral phenomena, and how Heracleitus followed in the same track. Now, one great result of early Greek thought, as described in our former Article, was to combine all these scattered fugitive incoherent ideas under a single conception, thus enabling them to elucidate and support one another. This was the conception of Nature as a universal all-creative eternal power, first superior to the gods, then altogether superseding them. When Homer called Zeus the father of gods and men ; when Pindar said that both races, the divine and the human, are sprung from one mother (earth) ; when, again, he spoke of law as an absolute king ; or when Æschylus set destiny above Zeus himself ; they were but foreshadowing a more despotic authority, whose dominion is even now not extinct, is perhaps being renewed under the title of evolution. The word nature was used by most philosophers, and the thing was implied by all. They did not, indeed, commit the mistake of personifying a convenient abstraction, but a conception which they substituted for the gods would soon inherit every attribute of divine agency. Moreover, the Nature of philosophy had three fundamental attributes admitting of ready application as ethical standards. She was everywhere the same ; fire burned in Greeco and Persia alike. She tended towards an orderly system where every agent or element was limited to its appropriate sphere. And she proceeded on a principle of universal compensation, all gains in one direction being paid for by losses in another, and every disturbance being eventually rectified by a restoration of equilibrium. It was, indeed, by no means surprising that truths which were generalized from the experience of Greek social life should now return to confirm the orderliness of that life with the sanction of an all-pervading law.

Euripides gives us an interesting example of the style in which this ethical application of physical science could be practised. We have seen how Eteoclês expresses his determination to do and dare all for the sake of sovereign power. His mother, Jocastê, gently rebukes him, as follows :—

“ Honour Equality who binds together
Both friends and cities and confederates,
For equity is law, law equity ;
The lesser is the greater's enemy,
And disadvantaged aye begins the strife.
From her our measures weights and numbers come.
Defined and ordered by Equality
So do the night's blind eye and sun's bright orb
Walk equal courses in their yearly round,
And neither is embittered by defeat ;

And while both light and darkness serve mankind
Wilt thou not bear an equal in thy house ?”*

On examining the apologue of Prodicus, we find it characterized by a somewhat similar style of reasoning. There is, it is true, no reference to physical phenomena, but Virtue dwells strongly on the truth that nothing can be had for nothing, and that pleasure must either be purchased by toil or atoned for by languor, satiety, and premature decay. We know also that the Cynical school, as represented by Antisthenês, rejected all pleasure on the ground that it was always paid for by an equal amount of pain ; and Heracles, the Prodicean type of a youth who follows virtue in preference to vice disguised as happiness, was also the favourite hero of the Cynics. Again, Plato alludes, in the *Philêbus*, to certain thinkers, reputed to be “great on the subject of physics,” who deny the very existence of pleasure. Critics have been at a loss to identify these persons, and rather reluctantly put up with the explanation that Antisthenês and his school are referred to. Antisthenês was a friend of Prodicus, and may at one time have shared in his scientific studies, thus giving occasion to the association touched on by Plato. But is it not equally possible that Prodicus left behind disciples, who, like him, combined moral with physical teaching ; and, going a little further, may we not conjecture that their opposition to Hedonism was inherited from the master himself, who, like the Stoics afterwards, may have based it on an application of physical reasoning to ethics ?

Still more important was the antithesis between nature and convention, which, so far as we know, originated exclusively with Hippias. We have already observed that universality and necessity were with the Greeks standing marks of naturalness. The customs of different countries were, on the other hand, distinguished by extreme variety, amounting sometimes to diametrical opposition. Herodotus was fond of calling attention to such contrasts, only he drew from them the conclusion that law to be so arbitrary must needs possess supreme and sacred authority. According to the more plausible interpretation of Hippias, the variety, and, at least in Greek democracies, the changeability of law proved that it was neither sacred nor binding. He also

* There is a delicious parody of this method in the *Clouds*. A creditor asks Strepsiades, who has been taking lessons in philosophy, to pay him the interest on a loan. Strepsiades begs to know whether the sea is any fuller now than it used to be. “No,” replies the other, “for it would not be just” (οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον πλεῖον εἶναι). “Then, you wretch,” rejoins his debtor, “do you suppose that the sea is not to get any fuller although all the rivers are flowing into it, and that your money is to go on increasing ?” An argument against usury which we commend to the attention of Mr. Ruskin.

looked on artificial social institutions as the sole cause of division and discord among mankind. Here we already see the dawn of a cosmopolitanism afterwards preached by Cynic and Stoic philosophers. Furthermore, to discover the natural rule of right, he compared the laws of different nations, and selected those which were held by all in common as the basis of an ethical system.* Now, this is precisely what was done by the Roman jurists long afterwards under the inspiration of Stoical teaching. We have it on the high authority of Sir Henry Maine that they identified the *Jus Gentium*, that is, the laws supposed to be observed by all nations alike, with the *Jus Naturale*, that is, the code by which men were governed in their primitive condition of innocence. It was by a gradual application of this ideal standard that the numerous inequalities between different classes of persons, enforced by ancient Roman law, were removed, and that contract was substituted for status. Above all, the abolition of slavery was, if not directly caused, at any rate powerfully aided, by the belief that it was against Nature. At the beginning of the fourteenth century we find Louis Hutin, King of France, assigning, as a reason for the enfranchisement of his serfs, that, "according to natural law, everybody ought to be born free," and, although Sir H. Maine holds this to have been a mistaken interpretation of the juridical axiom "*omnes homines naturâ æquales sunt*," which means not an ideal to be attained, but a primitive condition from which we have departed; nevertheless it very faithfully reproduces the theory of those Greek philosophers from whom the idea of a natural law was derived. That, in Aristotle's time at least, a party existed who were opposed to slavery on theoretical grounds of right is perfectly evident from the language of the *Politics*. "Some persons," says Aristotle, "think that slaveholding is against nature, for that one man is a slave and another free by law, while by nature there is no difference between them, for which reason it is unjust as being the result of force."† And he proceeds to prove the contrary at length. The same doctrine of natural equality led to important political consequences, having again, according to Sir H. Maine, contributed both to the American Declaration of Independence and to the French Revolution.

There is one more aspect deserving our attention, under which the theory of Nature has been presented both in ancient and modern times. A dialogue which, whether rightly or wrongly attributed to Plato, may be taken as good evidence on the subject it relates to, exhibits Hippias in the character of a universal genius who can not only teach every science, and practise every

* Xenophon, "*Memorabilia*," Bk. iv. cap. 4, sect. 19. † Book i. cap 2.

kind of literary composition, but has also manufactured all the clothes and other articles about his person. Here we have precisely the sort of versatility that characterizes uncivilized society, and that believers in a state of Nature love to encourage at all times. The division of labour, while it carries us ever farther from barbarism, makes us more dependent on each other. An Odysseus is master of many arts, a Themistocles of two, a Demosthenes of only one. A Norwegian peasant can do more for himself than an English countryman, and therefore makes a better colonist. If we must return to Nature, our first step should be to learn a number of trades, and so be better able to shift for ourselves. Such was the ideal of Hippias, and it was also the ideal of the eighteenth century. Its literature begins with Robinson Crusoe, the story of a man who is accidentally compelled to provide himself, during many years, with all the necessities of life. Its educational manuals are, in France, Rousseau's *Emile*; in England, Day's *Saulford and Merton*, both teaching that the young should be thrown as much as possible on their own resources. One of its types is Diderôt, who learns handicrafts that he may describe them in the *Encyclopédie*. Its two great spokesmen are Voltaire and Goethe, who, after cultivating every department of literature, take in statesmanship as well. And its last word is Schiller's "Letters on *Æsthetic Culture*," holding up totality of existence as the supreme ideal to be sought after.

There is no reason to believe that Hippias used his distinction between Nature and convention as an argument for despotism. It would rather appear that, if anything, he and his school desired to establish a more complete equality among men. Others, however, both rhetoricians and practical statesmen, were not slow to draw an opposite conclusion. They saw that where no law was recognised, as between different nations, nothing but violence and the right of the stronger prevailed. It was once believed that aggressions which human law could not reach found no favour with the gods, and dread of the divine displeasure may have done something towards restraining them. But religion had partly been destroyed by the new culture, partly perverted into a sanction for wrong-doing. By what right, it was asked, did Zeus himself reign? Had he not unlawfully dethroned his father, Cronos, and did he not now hold power simply by virtue of superior strength? Similar reasonings were soon applied to the internal government of each State. It was alleged that the ablest citizens could lay claim to uncontrolled supremacy by a title older than any social fiction. Rules of right meant nothing but a permanent conspiracy of the weak to withdraw themselves from the legitimate dominion of

their born master, and to bamboozle him into a voluntary surrender of his natural privileges. Sentiments bearing a superficial resemblance to these have occasionally found utterance among ourselves. Nevertheless, it would be most unjust to compare Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Froude with Critias and Calicles. We believe that their preference of despotism to representative government is an entire mistake. But we know that with them as with us the good of the governed is the sole end desired. The gentlemen of Athens sought after supreme power only as a means for gratifying their worst passions without let or hindrance, and for that purpose they were ready to ally themselves with every foreign enemy in turn, or to flatter the caprices of the Dêmos if that policy promised to answer equally well. The antisocial theories of these "young lions," as they were called by their enemies and sometimes by themselves also, do not seem to have been supported by any public teacher. If we are to believe Plato, Polus, a Sicilian rhetor did indeed regard Archelaus, the abler Louis Napoleon of his time, with sympathy and envious admiration, but without attempting to justify the crimes of his hero by an appeal to natural law. The corruption of theoretical morality among the paid teachers took a more subtle form. Instead of opposing one principle to another, they held that all law had the same source, being an emanation from the will of the stronger, and exclusively designed to promote his interest. Justice, according to Thrasymachus in the *Republic*, is another's good, which is true enough, and to practice it except under compulsion is foolish, which, whatever Mr. Grote may say, is a grossly immoral doctrine.

We have seen how the idea of Nature, first evolved by physical philosophy, was taken by some at least among the Sophists as a basis for their ethical teaching, then how an interpretation utterly opposed to theirs was put on it by practical men, and how this second interpretation was so generalized by the younger rhetoricians as to involve the denial of all morality whatever. Meanwhile, another equally important conception destined to come into speedy and prolonged antagonism with the idea of Nature, and like it to exercise a powerful influence on ethical reflection, had almost contemporaneously been elaborated out of the materials which earlier speculation supplied. From Parmenides and Heracleitus down, every philosopher who had propounded a theory of the world, had also more or less peremptorily insisted on the fact that his theory differed widely from common belief. Those who held that change is impossible, and those who taught that everything is incessantly changing; those who asserted the indestructibility of matter, and those who denied its continuity; those who took away

objective reality from every quality except extension and resistance, and those who affirmed that the smallest molecules partook more or less of every attribute that is revealed to sense—all these, however much they might disagree among themselves, agreed in declaring that the received opinions of mankind were an utter delusion. Thus, a sharp distinction came to be drawn between the misleading sense—impressions and the objective reality to which thought alone could penetrate. It was by combining these two elements; sensation and thought, that the idea of mind was originally constituted. And mind when so understood could not well be accounted for by any of the materialistic hypotheses at first proposed. The senses must differ profoundly from that of which they give such an unfaithful report; while reason, which Anaxagoras had so carefully differentiated from every other form of existence, carried back its distinction to the subjective sphere, and became clothed with a new spirituality when reintegrated in the consciousness of man.

The first result of this separation between man and the world was a complete breach with the old physical philosophy, shown, on the one hand, by an abandonment of speculative studies, on the other, by a substitution of convention for Nature as the recognised standard of right. Both consequences were drawn by Protagoras, the most eminent of the Sophists. We have now to consider more particularly what was his part in the great drama of which we are attempting to give an intelligible account.

Protagoras was born about 480 B.C. He was a fellow-townsmen of Democritus, and has been represented, though not on good authority, as a disciple of that illustrious thinker. It was rather by a study of Heraclitus that his philosophical opinions, so far as they were borrowed from others, seem to have been most decisively determined. In any case practice, not theory, was the principal occupation of his life. He gave instruction for payment in the higher branches of a liberal education, and adopted the name of Sophist, which before had simply meant a wise man, as an honourable title for his new calling. Protagoras was a very popular teacher. The news of his arrival in a strange city excited immense enthusiasm, and he was followed from place to place by a band of eager disciples. At Athens he was honoured by the friendship of such men as Pericles and Euripides. It was at the house of the great tragic poet that he read out a work beginning with the ominous declaration, "I cannot tell whether the gods exist or not; life is too short for such difficult investigations." Athenian bigotry took alarm directly. The book containing this frank confession of agnosticism was publicly burned, all purchasers being compelled to give up

the copies in their possession. The author himself was either banished or took flight, and perished by shipwreck on the way to Sicily before completing his seventieth year.

The scepticism of Protagoras went beyond theology and extended to all science whatever. Such at least seems to have been the force of his celebrated declaration that "man is the measure of all things, both as regards their existence and their non-existence." According to Plato this doctrine followed from the identification of knowledge with sensible perception, which in its turn was based on a modified form of the Heracleitean theory of a perpetual flux. The series of external changes which constitutes Nature acting on the series of internal changes which constitutes each man's personality, produces particular sensations, and these alone are the true reality. They vary with every variation in the factors, and therefore are not the same for separate individuals. Each man's perceptions are true for himself, but for himself alone. Plato easily shows that such a theory of truth is at variance with ordinary opinion, and that if all opinions are true it must necessarily stand self-condemned. We may also observe that if nothing can be known but sensation, nothing can be known of its conditions. It would, however, be unfair to convict Protagoras of talking nonsense on the unsupported authority of the *Theætetus*. Plato himself suggests that a better case might have been made out for the incriminated doctrine could its author have been heard in self-defence. We may conjecture that Protagoras did not distinguish very accurately between existence knowledge, and applicability to practice. If we assume, what there seems good reason to believe, that in the great controversy of Nature *versus* Law, Protagoras sided with the latter, his position will at once become clear. When the champions of Nature credited her with a stability and an authority greater than could be claimed for merely human arrangements, it was a judicious step to carry the war into their territory and ask on what foundation then does Nature herself stand? Is not she, too, perpetually changing, and do we not become acquainted with her entirely through our own feelings? Ought not those feelings to be taken as the ultimate standard in all questions of right and wrong? Individual opinion is a fact that must be reckoned with, but which can be changed by persuasion, not by appeals to something that we none of us know anything about. *Man* is the measure of all things, not the will of gods whose very existence is uncertain, nor yet a purely hypothetical state of Nature. Human interests must take precedence of every other consideration. Hector meant nothing else when he preferred the obvious dictates of patriotism to inferences drawn from the flight of birds.

We now understand why Protagoras, in the Platonic dialogue bearing his name, should glance scornfully at the method of instruction pursued by Hippias with his lectures on astronomy, and why he prefers to discuss obscure passages in the poets. The quarrel between a classical and a scientific education was just then beginning, and Protagoras as a Humanist sided with the classics. Again, he does not think much of the "great and sane and noble race of brutes." He would not, like the Cynics, take them as examples of conduct. Man, he says, is naturally worse provided for than any animal; even the divine gift of wisdom would not save him from extinction without the priceless social virtues of justice and reverence, that is, the regard for public opinion which Dr. Darwin, too, has represented as the strongest moralizing power in primitive society. And as the possession of these qualities constituted the fundamental distinction between men and brutes, so also did the advantage of civilization over barbarism rest on their superior development, a development due to the ethical instruction received by every citizen from his earliest infancy, reinforced through after-life by the sterner correction of legal punishments, and completed by the elimination of all individuals demonstrably unfitted for the social state. Protagoras had no sympathy with those who affect to prefer the simplicity of savages to the fancied corruption of civilization. Hear how he answers the Rousseaus and Diderots of his time:—

"I would have you consider that he who appears to you to be the worst of those who have been brought up in laws and humanities would appear to be a just man and a master of justice if he were to be compared with men who had no education, or courts of justice, or laws, or any restraints upon them which compelled them to practise virtue—with the savages, for example, whom the poet Pherecrates exhibited on the stage at the last year's Lenæan festival. If you were living among men such as the man-haters in his chorus, you would be only too glad to meet with Eurybates and Phrynondas, and you would sorrowfully long to re-visit the rascality of this part of the world."*

We find the same theory reproduced and enforced with weighty illustrations by the great historian of that age. It is not known whether Thucydides owed any part of his culture to Protagoras, but the introduction to his history breathes the same spirit as the observations which we have just transcribed. He, too, characterizes antiquity as a scene of barbarism, isolation, and lawless violence, particularly remarking that piracy was not

* Plato, "Protagoras," 327, Jowett's Transl., vol. i. p. 140. On the superior morality that accompanies advancing civilization as evinced by the great increase of mutual trust, see Maine's "Ancient Law," pp. 306-7. The passage is, unfortunately too long to quote here.

then counted a dishonourable profession. He points to the tribes outside Greece, together with the most backward among the Greeks themselves, as representing the low condition from which Athens and her sister States had only emerged within a comparatively recent period. And in the funeral oration which he puts into the mouth of Pericles, the legendary glories of Athens are passed over without the slightest allusion,* while exclusive prominence is given to her proud position as the intellectual centre of Greece. Evidently a radical change had taken place in men's conceptions since Herodotus wrote. They were learning to despise the mythical glories of their ancestors, to exalt the present at the expense of the past, to fix their attention exclusively on immediate human interests, and, possibly, to anticipate the coming of a loftier civilization than had as yet been seen.

The evolution of Greek tragic poetry bears witness to the same transformation of taste. On comparing Sophocles with Æschylus, we are struck by a change of tone analogous to that which distinguishes Thucydides from Herodotus. It has been shown in our former Article how the first great Attic dramatist delights in tracing events and institutions back to their first origin, and in following derivations through the steps of a genealogical sequence. Sophocles, on the other hand, limits himself to a close analysis of the action immediately represented, the motives by which his characters are influenced, and the arguments by which their conduct is justified or condemned. We have already touched on the very different attitude assumed towards religion by these two great poets. Here we have only to add that while Æschylus fills his dramas with supernatural beings, and frequently restricts his mortal actors to the interpretation or execution of a divine mandate, Sophocles, representing the spirit of Greek Humanism, only once brings a god on the stage, and dwells exclusively on the emotions of pride, ambition, revenge, terror, pity, and affection, by which men and women of a lofty type are actuated. Again (and this is one of his poetic superiorities), Æschylus has an open sense for the external world; his imagination ranges far and wide from land to land; his pages are filled with the fire and light, the music and movement of Nature in a Southern country. He leads before us in splendid procession the starry-kirtled night, the bright rulers that bring round winter and summer, the dazzling sunshine, the forked flashes of lightning, the roaring thunder, the white-winged snow-flakes, the rain descending on thirsty flowers, the sea now rippling with infinite laughter, now moaning on the

* This point is noticed by Zeller, Ph.d., Gr. II. 22.

shingle, growing hoary under rough blasts, with its Eastern waves dashing against the new-risen sun, or again lulled to waveless, windless, noonday summer sleep, the volcano with its volleys of fire-breathing spray and fierce jaws of devouring lava, the eddying whorls of dust, the resistless mountain-torrent, the meadow-dews, the flowers of spring and fruits of summer, the evergreen olive and trees that give leafy shelter from dogstar heat. For all this world of wonder and beauty Sophocles offers only a few meagre allusions to the phenomena presented by sunshine and storm. No poet has ever so entirely concentrated his attention on human deeds and human passions. Only the grove of Colonus, interwoven with his own earliest recollections had power to draw from him, in extreme old age, a song such as the nightingale might have warbled amid those inviolable recesses where the ivy and laurel, the vine and olive gave a never-failing shelter against sun and wind alike. Yet even this leafy covert is but an image of the poet's own imagination, undisturbed by outward influences, self-involved, self-protected, and self-sustained. (Of course, we are only re-stating in different language what has long been known, that the epic element of poetry, before so prominent, was with Sophocles entirely displaced by the dramatic ; but if Sophocles became the greatest dramatist of antiquity, it was precisely because no other writer could, like him, work out a catastrophe solely through the action of mind on mind without any intervention of physical force, and if he possessed this faculty it was because Greek thought as a whole had been turned inward ; because he shared in the devotion to psychological studies equally exemplified by his younger contemporaries, Protagoras, Thucydides, and Socrates, all of whom might have taken for their motto the noble lines—

“ On earth there is nothing great but man,
In man there is nothing great but mind.”

We have said that Protagoras was a partisan of *Nomos*, or convention against Nature. That was the conservative side of his character. Still, *Nomos* was not with him what it had been with the older Greeks, an immutable tradition indistinguishable from physical law. It was a human creation, and represented the outcome of inherited experience, admitting always of change for the better. Hence the vast importance which he attributed to education. This, no doubt, was magnifying his own office, for the training of youth was his profession. But, unquestionably, the feelings of his more liberal contemporaries went with him. A generation before, Pindar had spoken scornfully of intellectual culture as a vain attempt to make up for the absence of genius that the gods alone could give. Yet Pindar himself was always

careful to dwell on the services rendered by professional trainers to the victorious athletes whose praises he sang, and there was really no reason why genius and culture should be permanently dissociated. A Themistocles might decide offhand on the questions brought before him ; a Pericles dealing with much more complex interests already needed a more careful preparation.

On the other hand, conservatives like Aristophanes continued to oppose the spread of education with acrimonious zeal. Some of their arguments have a curiously familiar ring. Intellectual pursuits, they said, were bad for the health, led to irreligion and immorality, made young people quite unlike their grandfathers, and were somehow or other connected with loose company and a fast life. This last insinuation was in one respect the very reverse of true. So far as personal morality went, nothing could be better for it than the change introduced by Protagoras from amateur to paid teaching. Before his time, a Greek youth who wished for something better than the very elementary instruction given at school, could only attach himself to some older and wiser friend whose conversation might be very improving, but who was pretty sure to introduce a sentimental element into their relationship equally dis-creditable to both.* A similar danger has always existed with regard to highly intelligent women, although it may have threatened a smaller number of individuals ; and the efforts now being made to provide them with a systematic education under official superintendence, will incidentally have the effect of saving our future Héloïses and Julies from the tuition of an Abélard or a Saint-Preux.

It was their habit of teaching rhetoric as an art that raised the fiercest storm of indignation against Protagoras and his colleagues. The endeavour to discover rules for addressing a tribunal or a popular assembly in the manner best calculated to win their assent had originated quite independently of any philosophical theory. On the re-establishment of order, that is to say, of popular government in Sicily, many lawsuits arose out of events which had happened years before, and owing to the lapse of time demonstrative evidence was not available. Accordingly, recourse was had on both sides to arguments possessing a greater or less degree of probability. The art of putting such probable inferences so as to produce persuasion demanded great technical skill, and two Sicilians, Corax and Tisias by name, composed treatises on the subject. It would appear that the new-born art was taken up by Protagoras and developed in the direction of increased dialectical subtlety. We

* This phase of Greek life is well illustrated by the addresses of Theognis to Cyrnus.

are informed that he undertook to make the worse appear the better reason, and this very soon came to be popularly considered as an accomplishment taught by all philosophers, Socrates among the rest. But if Protagoras merely meant that he would teach the art of reasoning, one hardly sees how he could have expressed himself otherwise consistently with the antithetical style of his age. We should say more simply that a case is strengthened by the ability to argue it properly. It has not been shown that the Protagorean dialectic offered exceptional facilities for maintaining unjust pretensions. Taken, however, in connection with the humanistic teaching, it had an unsettling and sceptical tendency. All belief and all practice rested on law, and law was the result of a convention made among men and ultimately produced by individual conviction. What one man had done another could undo. Religious tradition and natural right, the sole external standards, had already disappeared. There remained the test of self-consistency, and against this all the subtlety of the new dialectic was turned. The triumph of Eristic was to show that a speaker had contradicted himself, no matter how his statements might be worded. Moreover, now that reference to an objective reality was disallowed, words were put in the place of things and treated like concrete realities. The next step was to tear them out of the grammatical construction where alone they possessed any truth or meaning, each being simultaneously credited with all the uses which at any time it might be made to fulfil. For example, if a man knew one thing he knew all, for he had knowledge, and knowledge is of everything knowable. Much that seems to us tedious or superfluous in Aristotle's expositions was intended as a safeguard against this endless cavilling. Finally, negation itself was eliminated along with the possibility of falsehood and contradiction. For it was argued that "nothing" had no existence and could not be an object of thought.

From utter confusion to extreme nihilism there was but a single step. This step was taken by Gorgias, the Sicilian rhetorician, who held the same relation towards western Hellas and the Eleatic school as that which Protagoras held towards eastern Hellas and the philosophy of Heraclitus. He, like his eminent contemporary, was opposed to the thinkers whom borrowing a useful term from the nomenclature of the last century, we may call the Greek physiocrats. To confute them, he wrote a book, with the significant title, "On Nature or Nothing:" maintaining first, that nothing exists; secondly, that if anything exists we cannot know it; thirdly, that if we know it there is no possibility of communicating our knowledge to others. The first thesis was established by pushing the Eleatic arguments against movement and change a little further; the second, by

showing that thought and existence are different, or else everything that is thought of would exist; the third, by establishing a similar incommensurability between words and sensations. Mr. Grote has attempted to show that Gorgias was only arguing against the existence of a noumenon underlying phenomena, such as all idealists deny. Professor Zeller has, however, convincingly proved that Gorgias, in common with every other thinker before Plato, was ignorant of this distinction; and we may add that it would leave the second and third theses absolutely unimpaired. We must take the whole together as constituting a declaration of war against science, an assertion in still stronger language of the agnosticism taught by Protagoras. The truth is that a Greek controversialist generally overproved his case, and in order to overwhelm an adversary pulled down the whole house, even at the risk of being buried among the ruins himself. A modern reasoner, taking his cue from Gorgias, without pushing the matter to such an extreme, might carry on his attack on lines running parallel with those laid down by the Sicilian Sophist. He would begin by denying the existence of a "state of Nature;" for such a state must be either variable or constant. If it is constant, how could civilization ever have arisen? If it is variable, what becomes of the fixed standard appealed to? Then, again, supposing such a state ever to have existed, how could authentic information about it have come down to us through the ages of corruption that are supposed to have intervened? And, lastly, granting that a state of Nature accessible to inquiry has ever existed, how can we reorganize society on the basis of such discordant data as are presented to us by the physiocrats, no two of whom agree with regard to the first principles of natural order; one saying that it is equality, another aristocracy, and a third despotism? We do not say that these arguments are conclusive, we only mean that in relation to modern thought they very fairly represent the dialectic artillery brought to bear by Greek humanism against its naturalistic opponents.

We have seen how Prodicus and Hippias professed to teach all science, all literature, and all virtuous accomplishments. We have seen how Protagoras rejected every kind of knowledge unconnected with social culture. We now find Gorgias going a step further. In his later years, at least, he professes to teach nothing but rhetoric or the art of persuasion. We say in his later years, for at one time he seems to have taught ethics and psychology as well. But the Gorgias of Plato's famous dialogue limits himself to the power of producing persuasion by words on every possible subject, even those of whose details he is ignorant. Wherever the rhetorician comes into competition

with the professional he will beat him on his own ground, and will be preferred to him for every public office. The type is by no means extinct, and flourishes like a green bay-tree among ourselves. Like Pendenis, a writer of this kind will review any book from the height of superior knowledge acquired by two hours' reading in the British Museum, or if he is adroit enough will dispense with even that slender amount of preparation. He need not even trouble himself to read the book that he criticizes. A superficial acquaintance with magazine articles will qualify him to pass judgment on all life, all religion, and all philosophy. But it is in politics that the finest career lies before him. He rises to power by attacking the measures of real statesmen, and remains there by adopting them. He becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer by gross economical blundering, and Prime Minister by a happy mixture of epigram and adulation.

Rhetoric conferred even greater power in old Athens than in modern England. Not only did mastery of expression lead to public employment; but also, as every citizen was permitted by law to address his assembled fellow-countrymen and propose measures for their acceptance, it became a direct passport to supreme political authority. Nor was this all. At Athens, the employment of professional advocates was not allowed, and it was easy to prosecute an enemy on the most frivolous pretexts. If the defendant happened to be wealthy, and if condemnation involved a loss of property, there was a prejudice against him in the minds of the jury, confiscation being regarded as a convenient resource for replenishing the national exchequer. Thus, the possession of rhetorical ability became a formidable weapon in the hands of unscrupulous citizens, who were enabled to extort large sums by the mere threat of putting rich men on their trial for some real or pretended offence. This systematic employment of rhetoric for purposes of self-aggrandisement bore much the same relation to the teaching of Protagoras and Gorgias as the open and violent seizure of supreme power on the plea of natural superiority bore to the theories of their rivals, being the way in which practical men applied the principle that truth is determined by persuasion. It was also attended by considerably less danger than a frank appeal to the right of the stronger, so far at least as the aristocratic party were concerned. For they had been taught a lesson not easily forgotten by the downfall of the oligarchies established in 411 and 404, and the second catastrophe especially proved that nothing but a popular Government was possible in Athens. Accordingly, the nobles set themselves to study new methods for obtaining their ultimate end, which was always the possession of uncontrolled power over the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens. With wealth to purchase

instruction from the Sophists, with leisure to practise oratory and with the ability often accompanying high birth, there was no reason why the successors of Charmides and Critias should not enjoy all the pleasures of tyranny unaccompanied by any of its drawbacks. Here, again, a parallel suggests itself between ancient Greece and modern Europe. On the Continent, where theories of natural law are far more prevalent than with us, it is by brute force that justice^{*} is trampled down; the one great object of every ambitious intriguer is to possess himself of the military machine, his one great terror, that a stronger man may succeed in wresting it from him; in England the political adventurer looks to rhetoric as his only resource, and at the pinnacle of power has to dread the hailstorm of epigrammatic invective directed against him by abler or younger rivals.*

Besides its influence on the formation and direction of political eloquence, the doctrine professed by Protagoras had a far-reaching effect on the subsequent development of thought. Just as Cynicism was evolved from the theory of Hippias, so also did the teaching which denied Nature and concentrated all study on subjective phenomena with a tendency towards individualistic isolation lead on to the system of Aristippus. The founder of the Cyrenaic school is called a Sophist by Aristotle, nor can the justice of the appellation be doubted. He was, it is true, a friend and companion of Socrates, but intellectually he is more nearly related to Protagoras. Aristippus rejected physical studies, reduced all knowledge to the consciousness of our own sensations, and made immediate gratification the end of life. Protagoras would have objected to the last principle, but it was only an extension of his own views, for all history proves that Hedonism is constantly associated with sensationalism. The theory that knowledge is built up out of feelings has an elective affinity for the theory that action is or ought to be determined in the last resort by the most prominent feelings, which are pleasure and pain. Both theories have since been strengthened by the introduction of a new and more ideal element into each. We have come to see that knowledge is constituted not by sensations alone, but by sensations grouped according to certain laws which seem to be inseparable from the existence of any consciousness whatever. And similarly we have learned to take into account, not merely the momentary enjoyments of an individual, but his whole life's happiness as well, and not his happiness only, but also that of the whole community to which he belongs. Nevertheless, in both cases it is rightly held that the element of

* Lord Beaconsfield recently spoke of the Balkans as forming an "intelligible" frontier for Turkey. Continental telegrams substituted "natural frontier." The change was characteristic and significant.

feeling preponderates, and the doctrines of such thinkers as J. S. Mill are legitimately traceable through Epicurus and Aristippus to Protagoras as their first originator

Notwithstanding the importance of this impulse it does not represent the whole effect produced by Protagoras on philosophy. His eristic method was taken up by the Megaric school, and at first combined with other elements borrowed from Parmenides and Socrates, but ultimately extricated from them and used as a critical solvent of all dogmatism by the later Sceptics. From their writings, after a long interval of enforced silence, it passed over to Montaigne, Bayle, Hume, and Kant, with what redoubtable consequence to received opinions need not here be specified. Our object is simply to illustrate the continuity of thought, and the powerful influence exercised by ancient Greece on its subsequent development.

Every variety of opinion current among the Sophists reduces itself in the last analysis to their fundamental antithesis between Nature and Law, the latter being somewhat ambiguously conceived by its supporters as either human reason or human will, or more generally as both, together combining to assert their self-dependence and emancipation from external authority. This antithesis was prefigured in the distinction between Chthonian and Olympian divinities. Continuing afterwards to inspire the rivalry of opposing schools, Cynic against Cyrenaic, Stoic against Epicurean, Sceptic against Dogmatist, it was but partially overcome by the mediatorial schemes of Socrates and his successors. Then came Catholicism, equally adverse to the pretensions of either party, and held them down under its suffocating pressure for more than a thousand years.

"Natur und Geist, so spricht man nicht zu Christen,
Darum verbrennt man Atheisten,
Natur ist Sünde, Geist ist Teufel."

Both slowly struggled back into consciousness in the fitful dreams of mediæval sleep. Nature was represented by astrology with its fatalistic predetermination of events, idealism by the alchemical lore that was to give its possessor eternal youth and inexhaustible wealth. With the complete revival of classic literature and the temporary neutralization of theology by internal discord, both sprang up again in glorious life and produced the great art of the sixteenth century, the great science and philosophy of the seventeenth. Later on, becoming self-conscious, they divide, and their partisans draw off into two opposing armies, Rousseau against Voltaire, Herder against Kant, Goethe against Schiller, Hume against himself. Together they bring about the Revolution, but after marching hand in hand to the destruction of all existing institutions they again part

company, and, putting on the frippery of a dead faith, confront one another, each with its own ritual, its own acolytes, its own intolerance, with feasts of Nature and goddesses of Reason, in mutual and murderous hostility. When the storm subsided, new lines of demarcation were laid down, and the cause of political liberty was dissociated from what seemed to be thoroughly discredited figments. Nevertheless, imaginative literature still preserves traces of the old conflict, and on examining the four greatest English novelists of the last fifty years we shall find that Dickens and Charlotte Brontë, though personally most unlike, agree in representing the arbitrary subjective ideal side of life, the subjugation of things to self, not of self to things ; he transfiguring them in the light of humour, fancy, sentiment ; she transforming them by the alchemy of inward passion ; while Thackeray and George Eliot represent the triumph of natural forces over rebellious individualities, the one writer depicting an often crude reality at odds with convention and conceit ; while the other possessing, if not an intrinsically greater genius, at least a higher philosophical culture, discloses to us the primordial necessities of existence, the pitiless conformations of circumstance before which egoism, ignorance, illusion, and indecision must bow or be crushed to pieces if they resist.

Our readers have now before them everything of importance that is known about the Sophists, and something more that is not known for certain, but may, we think, be reasonably conjectured. Taking the whole class together, it represents a combination of three distinct tendencies, the endeavour to supply an encyclopædic training for youth, the cultivation of political rhetoric as a special art, and the search after a scientific foundation for ethics derived from the results of previous philosophy. With regard to the last point, they agree in drawing a fundamental distinction between Nature and Law, but some take one and some the other for their guide. The partisans of Nature lean to the side of a more comprehensive education, while their opponents tend more and more to lay an exclusive stress on oratorical proficiency. Both schools are at last infected by the moral corruption of the day, natural right becoming identified with the interest of the stronger, and humanism leading to the denial of objective reality, the substitution of illusion for knowledge, and the confusion of momentary gratification with moral good. The dialectical habit of considering every question under contradictory aspects degenerates into eristic prize-fighting and deliberate disregard of the conditions which alone make argument possible. Finally, the component elements of Sophisticism are dissociated from one another, and are either separately developed or pass over into new combinations. Rhetoric, apart from specu-

lation, absorbs the whole time and talent of an Isocrates; general culture is imparted by a professorial class without originality, but without reproach; naturalism and sensuous idealism are worked up into systematic completion for the sake of their philosophical interest alone; and the name of sophistry is unhappily fastened by Aristotle on paid exhibitions of verbal wrangling which the great Sophists would have regarded with indignation and disgust.

It remains for us to glance at the controversy that has long been carried on respecting the true position of the Sophists in Greek life and thought. We have already alluded to the by no means favourable judgment passed on them by some among their contemporaries. Socrates condemned them severely, but only because they received payment for their lessons; and the sentiment was probably echoed by many who had neither his disinterestedness nor his frugality. To make profit by intellectual work was not unusual in Greece. Pheidias sold his statues; Pindar spent his life writing for money; Simonides and Sophocles were charged with showing too great eagerness in the pursuit of gain. But a man's conversation with his friends had always been gratuitous, and the novel idea of charging a high fee for it excited considerable offence. Socrates called it prostitution—the sale of that which should be the free gift of love—without perhaps sufficiently considering that the same privilege had formerly been purchased with a more dishonourable price. He also considered that a freeman was degraded by placing himself at the beck and call of another, although it would appear that the Sophists chose their own time for lecturing, and were certainly not more slaves than a sculptor or poet who had received an order to execute. It was also argued that any one who really succeeded in improving the community benefited so much by the result that it was unfair on his part to demand any additional remuneration. Suppose a popular preacher were to come over from New York to England, star about among the principal cities, charging a high price for admission to his sermons, and finally return home in possession of a handsome fortune, we can well imagine that sarcasms at the expense of such profitable piety would not be wanting. This hypothetical case will help us to understand how many an honest Athenian must have felt towards the showy colonial strangers who were making such a lucrative business of teaching moderation and justice. Plato, speaking for his master but not from his master's standpoint, raised an entirely different objection. He saw no reason why the Sophists should not sell their wisdom if they had any wisdom to sell. But this was precisely what he denied. He submitted their pretensions to a searching cross-examination, and, as he con-

sidered, convicted them of being worthless pretenders. There was a certain unfairness about this method, for neither his own positive teaching nor that of Socrates could have stood before a similar test, as Aristotle speedily demonstrated in the next generation. He was, in fact, only doing for Protagoras and Gorgias what they had done for early Greek speculation, and what every school habitually does for its predecessors. It had yet to be learned that this dissolving dialectic constitutes the very law of philosophical progress. The discovery was made by Hegel, and it is to him that the Sophists owe their rehabilitation in modern times. His lectures on the History of Philosophy contain much that was afterwards urged by Mr. Grote on the same side. Five years before the appearance of Grote's famous sixty-seventh chapter, Mr. Lewes had also published a vindication of the Sophists, possibly suggested by Hegel's work, which he had certainly consulted when preparing his own History. There is, however, this great difference, that while the two English critics endeavour to minimize the sceptical innovating tendency of the Sophists, it is contrariwise brought into exaggerated prominence by the German philosopher. We have just remarked that the final dissolution of Sophisticism was brought about by the separate development given to each of the various tendencies which it temporarily combined. Now each of our three apologists has taken up one of the tendencies, and treated it as constituting the whole movement under discussion. To Hegel, the Sophists are chiefly subjective idealists. To Lewes, they are rhetoricians like Isocrates. To Grote, they are what in truth the Sophists of the Roman empire were, teachers representing the standard opinions of their age. Lewes and Grote are both particularly anxious to prove that the original Sophists did not corrupt Greek morality. Thus, much has been conceded by contemporary German criticism, and is no more than was observed by Plato long ago. Mr. Grote further asserts that the implied corruption of morality is an illusion, and that at the end of the Peloponnesian war the Athenians were no worse than their forefathers who fought at Marathon. His opinion is shared by so accomplished a scholar as Professor Jowett;* but here he has the combined authority of Thucydides, Aristophanes, and Plato against him. We have, however, examined this question already, and need not return to it. Whether any of the

* "As Mr. Grote remarks, there is no reason to suspect any greater moral corruption in the age of Demosthenes than in the age of Pericles." ("The Dialogues of Plato," vol. iv. p. 380.) We do not remember that Mr. Grote commits himself to such a sweeping statement, nor was it necessary for his purpose to do so. No one would have been more surprised than Demosthenes himself to hear that the Athenians of his generation equalled the contemporaries of Pericles in public virtue.

Sophists themselves can be proved to have taught immoral doctrines is another moot point. Mr. Grote defends them all, Polus and Thrasymachus included. Here also we have expressed our dissent from the eminent historian, whom we can only suppose to have missed the whole point of Plato's argument. Mr. Lewes takes different ground when he accuses Plato of misrepresenting his opponents. It is true that the Sophists cannot be heard in self-defence, but there is no internal improbability about the charges brought against them. The Greek rhetoricians are not accused of saying anything that has not been said again and again by their modern representatives. Whether the odium of such sentiments should attach itself to the whole class of Sophists is quite another question. Mr. Grote denies that they held any doctrine in common. The German critics, on the other hand, insist on treating them as a school with common principles and tendencies. Brandis calls them "a number of men, gifted indeed, but not seekers after knowledge for its own sake, who made a trade of giving instruction as a means for the attainment of external and selfish ends, and of substituting mere technical proficiency for real science."* If our account be the true one, this would apply to Gorgias and the younger rhetoricians alone. One does not precisely see what external or selfish ends were subserved by the physical philosophy which Prodicus and Hippias taught, nor why the comprehensive inquiries of Protagoras into the conditions of civilization and the limits of human knowledge should be contemptuously flung aside because he made them the basis of an honourable profession. Zeller, in much the same strain, defines a Sophist as one who professes to be a teacher of wisdom, while his object is individual culture (*die formelle und praktische Bildung des Subjects*) and not the scientific investigation of truth.† We do not know whether Mr. Grote was content with an explanation which would only have required an unimportant modification of his own statements to agree precisely with them. It ought amply to have satisfied Mr. Lewes. For ourselves, we must confess to caring very little whether the Sophists investigated truth for its own sake or as a means to self-culture. We believe, and we hope to have an opportunity hereafter of showing, that Socrates, at any rate, did not treat knowledge apart from practice as an end in itself. But the history of philosophy is not concerned with such subtleties as these. Our contention is that the Stoic, Epicurean, and Sceptical schools may be traced back through Antisthenes and Aristippus to Hippias and Protagoras much more directly than

*"Geschichte der Entwicklung der Griechischen Philosophie," vol. i. p. 201.

†"Philosophie d. Gr.," vol. i. p. 943. Third edition.

to Socrates. If Zeller will grant this, then he can no longer treat Sophisticism as a mere solvent of the old physical philosophy. If he denies it, we can only appeal to his own history which here, as well as in our discussions of early Greek thought, we have found more useful than any other work on the subject. Our obligations to Mr. Grote are of a more general character. We have learned from him to look at the Sophists without prejudice. But we think that he, too, underrates their far-reaching intellectual significance, while his defence of their moral orthodoxy seems, so far as certain members of the class are concerned, inconsistent with any belief in Plato's historical fidelity. That the most eminent Sophists did nothing to corrupt Greek morality is now almost universally admitted. If we have succeeded in showing that they did not corrupt but fruitfully develop Greek philosophy, the purpose of this study will have been sufficiently fulfilled.

The title of this Article may have seemed to promise more than a casual mention of the thinker in whom Greek Humanism attained its loftiest and purest expression. But in history, no less than in life, Socrates must ever stand apart from the Sophists. Beyond and above all specialities of teaching, the transcendent dignity of a character which personified philosophy itself demands a separate treatment. Readers who have followed us thus far may hereafter feel interested in an attempt to throw some new light on one who was a riddle to his contemporaries, and has remained a riddle to after ages.

ART. V.—THE LETTERS OF CHARLES DICKENS.

The Letters of Charles Dickens. Edited by his SISTER-IN-LAW and his ELDEST DAUGHTER. In 2 vols. Vol. I. London: Chapman and Hall.

THE Dean of Westminster, in his recently published memoir of his mother, gives us her estimate of Sir Walter Scott:—"As to Sir Walter, when one thinks over other works and other writers, there is not one to be compared to him since Shakespeare; not one to whom so many can feel grateful for the number of hours of innocent and delightful amusement he has given to the world."*

This opinion was expressed before the publication of any of the works of the great writer, whose selected letters are now given

* "Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley," by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, p. 301.

to the world. At its date we should have concurred in it, but now we think that in the amount of innocent and delightful amusement Dickens has given to the world he certainly equals, perhaps even surpasses, Scott. In common with the rest of the world we, therefore, gladly welcome these volumes, which completely fulfil their editors' intention and "great desire to give to the public another book from Charles Dickens' own hands, as it were, a portrait of himself by himself."*

The editors, to whom the preparation of the work has undoubtedly been "a labour of love," tell us that they—

"Intend this collection of letters to be a supplement to the 'Life of Charles Dickens,' by John Forster. That work," they go on to say, "perfect and exhaustive as a biography, is only incomplete as regards correspondence, the scheme of the book having made it impossible to include in its space any letters, or hardly any, besides those addressed to Mr. Forster." "As no man ever expressed *himself* more in his letters than Charles Dickens, we believe that in publishing this careful selection from his general correspondence we shall be supplying a want which has been universally felt."†

Not only do we agree in this belief, but we go further: we believe that had we only had the "letters," and not Mr. Forster's biography, we should have known more what manner of man Dickens was than if we had known him only from Mr. Forster's "Life."

The letters extend over the period from 1833 to 1870, that is, from the commencement of Dickens' literary life, just before the starting of the "Pickwick Papers," to the time of his death, and we purpose calling our readers' attention to those of them which are most characteristic of the writer's mind and style.

We first take an illustration of Dickens' habit of making real persons and events the foundation of characters and incidents in his tales. In a letter written to his wife during a tour in Yorkshire, undertaken in order that he might investigate for himself "the real facts as to the condition of the Yorkshire schools," and dated from "Greta Bridge," in the neighbourhood of which our readers will remember "Dotheboys Hall" is placed, he writes:—

"We reached Grantham between nine and ten on Thursday night and found everything prepared for our reception in the very best inn I have ever put up at. It is odd enough that an old lady who had been outside all day and came in towards dinner time turned out to be the mistress of a Yorkshire school, returning from the holiday stay in London. She was a very queer old lady, and showed us a long letter she was carrying to one of the boys from his father, containing a severe lecture (enforced and aided by many texts of Scripture) on

* Vol. i., Preface.

† Ibid.

his refusing to eat boiled meat. She was very communicative, drank a great deal of brandy and water, and towards evening became insensible, in which state we left her."

Again, writing on another day, driving the same journey:—

"We had a very droll male companion until seven o'clock in the evening, and a most delicious lady's maid for twenty miles, who implored us to keep a sharp look-out at the coach windows, as she expected the carriage was coming to meet her, and she was afraid of missing it. We had many delightful vauntings of the same kind; but in the end it is scarcely necessary to say that the carriage did not come, but a very dirty girl did."*

Here we plainly have the origin of Mr. Squeers' drunken habits. The boy who refused to eat boiled meat appears in "Nicholas Nickleby" as the luckless pupil of Squeers who was reproved in a letter from "his maternal aunt, who was suspected of standing in a nearer maternal relation towards him, for turning up his nose at the cow's liver broth after his good master had asked a blessing on it," while the lady's maid of real life appears in the tale as a lady who, during the delay caused by the upsetting of the coach during Nicholas' journey to Dotheboys Hall, was very particular that a look out should be kept for a carriage with servants in the smartest liveries (in a snow-storm) coming from Grantham, "which induced one of the other passengers to ask her whether there was not very good society in the neighbourhood of Grantham, which the lady answered there was, in a manner that showed she belonged to it."†

We take next a letter to a child, who had written to him with suggestions as to the final rewards and punishments to be awarded to the characters in "Nicholas Nickleby" on the completion of the story.

It is highly characteristic of the writer and is a remarkable illustration of his success in one of the most difficult of arts—that of writing for children in a style not childish in thought, but amusing and easily understood:—

"RESPECTED SIR,—I have given Squeers one cut in the neck and two on the hand, at which he appeared much surprised and began to cry, which, being a cowardly thing, is just what I should have expected from him—wouldn't you?

"I have carefully done what you told me in your letter about the lamb and the two 'sheeps' for the little boys.

"They have also had some good ale and porter and some wine. I am sorry you didn't say *what* wine you would like them to have. I

* Vol. i. p. 8.

† We are compelled to quote from memory, and although substantially we may not be verbally accurate.

gave them some sherry which they liked very much, except one boy who was a little sick and choked a good deal. He was rather greedy, and that's the truth, and I believe it went the wrong way, which I say served him right, and I hope you will say so too.

"Nicholas had his roast lamb as you said he was to, but he could not eat it all, and says if you do not mind his doing so he should like to have the rest *hashed* to-morrow with some greens which he is very fond of, and so am I.

"He said he did not like to have his porter hot, for he thought it spoiled the flavour, so I let him have it cold. You should have seen him drink it. I thought he would never have left off. I also gave him three pounds of money in sixpences to make it seem more, and he said directly that he would give more than half to his mamma and sister and divide the rest with poor Smike, and I say he is a good fellow for saying so; and if anybody says he isn't, I am ready to fight him whenever they like—there.

"Fanny Squeers shall be attended to, depend upon it. Your drawing of her is very like, except that I don't think the hair is quite curly enough. The nose is particularly like hers, and so are the legs. She is a nasty disagreeable thing, and I know it will make her very cross when she sees it; and, what I say is, that I hope it may. You will say the same I know, at least I think you will.

"I meant to have written you a long letter, but I cannot write very fast when I like the person I am writing to, because that makes me think about them, and I like you, and so I tell you. Besides, it is just eight o'clock at night and I always go to bed at eight o'clock except when it is my birthday, and then I sit up to supper. So I will not say anything more besides this—and that is my love to you and Neptune, and if you will drink my health every Christmas Day I will drink yours—come.

"I am, respected Sir,

"Your affectionate friend."*

For none of Dickens' friends had he a deeper affection and a higher admiration than for the late William Charles Macready. This appears abundantly throughout these volumes. We give the earliest expression of these feelings. It was written on the occasion of Macready's retirement from the management of Covent Garden Theatre:—

"I ought not to be sorry to hear of your abdication, but I am, notwithstanding, most heartily and sincerely sorry, for my own sake and the sake of thousands who may now go and whistle for a theatre—at least, such a theatre as you gave them; and I do now in my heart believe that for a long and dreary time that exquisite delight has passed away.

"If I may jest with my misfortunes, and quote the Portsmouth critic of Mr. Crummles' company, I say that, as an exquisite embodi-

ment of the poet's visions, and a realisation of human intellectuality, gilding with refulgent light our dreamy moments, and laying open a new and magic world before the mental eye, the drama is gone—perfectly gone.

“With the same perverse and unaccountable feeling which amuses a heartbroken man at a dear friend's funeral to see something irresistibly comical in a red-nosed or one-eyed undertaker, I receive your communication with ghostly facetiousness, though, on a moment's reflection, I find better cause for consolation in the hope that, relieved from your most trying and painful duties, you will now have leisure to return to pursuits more congenial to your mind, and to move more easily and pleasantly among your friends. In the long catalogue of the latter I believe there is not one prouder of the name or more grateful for the store of delightful recollections you have enabled him to heap up from boyhood.*

The illustrations of Dickens' works were to him objects of his most painstaking care. Of this we can afford to give space for only one instance. Those who remember or possess the original edition of “*Master Humphrey's Clock*” will be interested in reading the following history of the illustrations in that edition:—

“I want to know,” he writes to his friend, George Cattermole, the artist, “whether you would object to make me a little sketch for a woodcut—in Indian ink would be quite sufficient—about the size of the enclosed scrap? The subject—an old quaint room with antique Elizabethan furniture, and in the chimney corner an extraordinary old clock—the clock belonging to Master Humphrey, in fact, and no figures. This I should drop into the text at the head of my opening page.”†

Again:—

“Kit, the single gentleman, and Mr. Garland go down to the place where the child is, and arrive there at night. There has been a fall of snow. Kit, leaving them behind, runs to the old house, and, with a lanthorn in one hand and the bird in its cage in the other, stops for a moment at a little distance before he goes up to make his presence known. In a window—supposed to be that of the child's little room—a light is burning, and in that room the child (unknown, of course, to her visitors who are full of hope) lies dead.”

Again, he suggests an idea which the artist admirably carried out:—

“I want the cart gaily decorated, going through the street of the old town with the wax brigand displayed to fierce advantage, and the child seated on it also dispersing bills. As many flags and inscriptions about Jarley's Waxwork fluttering from the cart as you please. You know the wax brigands and how they contemplate small oval minia-

* Vol. i. pp. 18, 19.

† Ibid. p. 29.

tures. That's the figure I want. I send you the scrap of MS. which contains the subject."

Here is another suggestion for an illustration which, if our memory serves us rightly, was not very successfully carried out by the artist:—

"The child lying dead in the little sleeping-room which is behind the open screen. It is winter time, so there are no flowers; but upon her breast and pillow, and about the bed, there may be strips of holly and berries, and such free green things. Window overgrown with ivy.

"The little boy who had that talk with her about angels may be by the bedside if you like it so; but I think it will be quieter and more peaceful if she is quite alone. I want it to express the most beautiful repose and tranquillity, and to have something of a happy look, if death can."

The following suggestion our readers will remember was admirably carried out:—

"The child has been buried inside the church, and the old man, who cannot be made to understand that she is dead, repairs to the grave and sits there all day long, waiting for her arrival to begin another journey. His staff and knapsack, her little bonnet and basket, &c., beside him. 'She'll, come to-morrow,' he says, when it gets dark, and goes sorrowfully home. I think an hour-glass running out would help the notion; perhaps her little things upon his knee or in his hand."

The concluding sentence of this letter shows the earnestness with which Dickens devoted himself to his compositions, the intense interest he felt in his stories, and that the "Old Curiosity Shop" was one of the favourite children of his imagination: "I am breaking my heart over this story, and I cannot bear to finish it." A still stronger proof of the same fact we take from a letter to his friend, the Rev. W. Harness:—

"I should have been very glad to join your pleasant party, but all next week I shall be laid up with a broken heart, for I must occupy myself in finishing the "Curiosity Shop," and it is such a painful task to me that I must concentrate myself upon it tooth and nail, and go out nowhere until it is done."*

"I am," he writes again to Cattermole, "for the time being nearly dead with work and grief for the loss of my child."

His sincere and ardent love of literary fame appears constantly in his letters, but nowhere finds a stronger expression than in the following extract from a letter to an admirer in the back-woods of America:—

"I thank you cordially and heartily, both for your letter and its

kind and courteous terms. To think that I have awakened a fellow-feeling and sympathy with the creatures of many thoughtful hours among the vast solitudes in which you dwell is a source of the purest delight and pride to me: and, believe me, that your expressions of affectionate remembrance and approval, sounding from the green forests on the banks of the Mississippi, sink deeper into my heart and gratify it more than all the honorary distinctions that all the Courts in Europe could confer."*

We have not Mr. Forster's "Life" at hand; but we think these letters first make public the fact that so early as 1841 overtures were made to Dickens to stand as candidate for the borough of Reading:—

"My principles and inclinations," he writes to his correspondent there, "would lead me to aspire to the distinction you invite me to seek if there were any reasonable chance of success, and I hope I should do no discredit to such an honour if I won it and wore it. But I am bound to add, and I have no hesitation in saying plainly, that I cannot afford the expense of a contested election."

It was suggested to him that he should apply to the Government for their support.

"But I cannot," he writes, to the same correspondent, "satisfy myself that to enter Parliament under such circumstances would enable me to pursue that honourable independence without which I could neither preserve my own respect nor that of my constituents."

As his literary labours and fame increased his inclination to enter Parliament grew weaker. Though the idea is again mentioned, he seems never seriously to have entertained it, and we think it was fortunate for his reputation that he did not enter the House of Commons; in our judgment neither his habit of mind nor his style of speaking were suited for Parliamentary life.

The letters written during his first visit to the United States (1842) contain some very unfavourable reflections on America and its people. We think these judgments are open to the remark which John Stuart Mill made on opinions as to the working of American institutions formed "on the strength of a drive through the country performed in a few months."

"I desire," Dickens writes to Macready, after being in the States about two months, "to be honest and just to those who have so enthusiastically and warmly welcomed me. . . . Still it is of no use—I am disappointed. This is not the republic I came to see; this is not the republic of my imagination. I infinitely prefer a liberal monarchy—even with its sickening accompaniments of Court circulars—to such a Government as this. The more I think of its youth and strength the

poorer and more trifling in a thousand aspects it appears in my eyes. In everything of which it has made a boast—excepting its education of the people and its care for poor children—it sinks immeasurably below the level I had placed it upon: and England, even England, bad and faulty as the old land is and miserable as millions of her people are, rises in the comparison.

“*You* live here, Macready, as I have sometimes heard you imagining! *You*! Loving you with all my heart and soul, and knowing what your disposition really is, I would not condemn you to a year’s residence on this side of the Atlantic for any money. Freedom of opinion! Where is it? I see a press more mean and paltry and silly and disgraceful than any country I ever knew. If that is its standard here it is. But I speak of Bancroft and am advised to be silent on that subject, for he is ‘a black sheep and a Democrat.’ I speak of Bryant, and am entreated to be more careful for the same reason. I speak of international copyright, and am implored not to ruin myself outright. I speak of Miss Martineau, and all parties—Slave-upholders and Abolitionists, Whigs, Tyler-Whigs, and Democrats—shower down upon me a perfect cataract of abuse. But what has she done? Surely she praised America enough! Yes; but she told us some of our faults, and Americans can’t bear to be told of their faults. Don’t split on that rock Mr. Dickens, don’t write about America; we are so very suspicious.*

“The people are affectionate, generous, open-hearted, hospitable, enthusiastic, good-humoured, polite to women, frank and candid to all strangers, anxious to oblige, far less prejudiced than they have been described to be, frequently polished and refined, very seldom rude or disagreeable. I have made a great many friends here even in public conveyances, whom I have been truly sorry to part from. In the towns I have formed perfect attachments. I have seen none of the greediness and indecorousness on which travellers have laid so much emphasis. I have returned frankness with frankness, met questions not intended to be rude with answers meant to be satisfactory; and have not spoken to one man, woman, or child of any degree, who has not grown positively affectionate before we parted.

“In the respects of not being left alone, and of being horribly disgusted by tobacco-chewing and tobacco-spittle, I have suffered considerably. The sight of slavery in Virginia, the hatred of British feeling upon the subject, and the miserable hints of the impotent indignation of the South, have pained me very much; on the first head, of course, I have felt nothing but a mingled pity and amusement; on the other, sheer distress. But, however much I like the ingredients of this great dish, I can but come back to the point upon which I started, and say that the dish itself goes against the grain with me and that I don’t like it.

“The man who comes to this country a Radical, and goes home with his opinions unchanged, must be a Radical on reason, sympathy,

and reflection ; one who has so well considered the subject that he has no chance of wavering."*

It is difficult to reconcile the favourable statements in this letter as to American manners with the descriptions given of them in some of the American scenes in "Martin Chuzzlewit," particularly that one in which Martin is introduced to the "Hon. Elijah Pogram." Those familiar with that tale will remember the description of the levées, or receptions, held by some of the characters. The story embodies Dickens' experiences of such meetings.

"Think," he writes to a friend, "of two hours of this every day, and the people coming in by hundreds all fresh and piping hot and full of questions, when we are literally exhausted and can hardly stand. I really do believe that if I had not had a lady with me I should have been obliged to leave the country and go back to England. But for her they would never leave me alone by day or night, and, as it is, a slave comes to me now and then in the middle of the night with a letter, and waits at the bedroom door for an answer."†

The International Copyright Question draws from him the following burst of indignation :—

"Is it not a horrible thing that scoundrel booksellers should grow rich here from publishing books, the authors of which do not reap one farthing from their issue, by scores of thousands ; and that every vile, blackguard, and detestable newspaper, so filthy and bestial that no honest man would admit one into his house for a scullery door-mat, should be able to publish these same writings, side by side, cheek by jowl, with the coarsest and most obscene companions with which they must become connected in course of time in people's minds. Is it tolerable that, besides being robbed and rifled, an author should be forced to appear in any form, in any vulgar dress, in any atrocious company, that he should have no choice of his audience, no control over his own distorted text, and that he should be compelled to jostle out of the course the best men in this country who only ask to live by writing ? I vow before high Heaven that my blood so boils at these enormities that when I speak about them I seem to grow twenty feet high, and to swell out in proportion. 'Robbers that ye are,' I think to myself when I get upon my legs, 'here goes.'"

Strong as were his feelings on the question of International Copyright, he was indignant that the *Edinburgh Reviewer* of his "American Notes" represented him as having gone to America as a missionary in the cause of International Copyright :—

"This statement," he writes to the editor, "hurt my feelings excessively, and it is in this respect I still conceive most unworthy of its author. I am at a loss to divine who its author is. I know he read

* Vol. i. pp. 62, 63.

† Ibid. p. 66.

in some cut-throat American paper this and other monstrous statements which at any time I could have converted into sickening praise by the payment of some fifty dollars. . . . The better the acquaintance with America the more defenceless and more inexcusable such conduct is. For I solemnly declare (and appeal to any man but the writer of this paper, who has travelled in that country for confirmation of my statement) that the source from which he drew the 'information' so recklessly put forth again in England is infinitely more obscene, disgusting, and brutal than the very worst Sunday newspaper that has ever been printed in Great Britain. Conceive the *Edinburgh Review* quoting the *Satirist* or the *Man about Town* as an authority against a man with one grain of honour or feather weight of reputation."*

We turned with interest to the letters written during Dickens' second tour in America (1868) to see if we could find in them any revisal or modification of his opinions on America and its institutions, but we find none. The second series of his American letters is almost wholly filled with descriptions of his readings, and the preparations and arrangements for them.

But though Dickens' letters are silent as to his later views on America, we—not agreeing with the universal we have heard laid down "that every man lies when he speaks in public"—are glad to learn those views from his speech, in returning thanks, at the farewell dinner given to him at New York previous to his final return to England:†—

"I say, gentlemen, so much of my voice has lately been heard, that I might have been contented with troubling you no further from my present standing-point, were it not a duty with which I henceforth charge myself, not only here, but on every suitable occasion whatsoever and wheresoever, to express my high and grateful sense of my second reception in America, and to bear my testimony to the national generosity and magnanimity. Also to declare how astounded I have been by the amazing changes that I have seen around me on every side—changes moral, changes physical, changes in the amount of land subdued and peopled, changes in the rise of vast new cities, changes in the growth of older cities almost out of recognition, changes in the graces and amenities of life, changes in the press, without whose advancement no advancement can be made anywhere. Nor am I, believe me, so arrogant as to suppose that in five-and-twenty years there have been no changes in me, and that I had nothing to learn and no extreme impressions to correct when I was here first."

To another American traveller, Mrs. Trollope, Dickens writes,

* "Selected Correspondence of the late Macvey Napier," p. 417. The *Satirist* and the *Man about Town* were libellous newspapers of that day.

† "Speeches on Literary and Social Occasions in England and America," by Charles Dickens, p. 226.

shortly after the publication of his "American Notes," referring to her well-known book on America:—

"As I never scrupled to say in America, so I can have no delicacy in saying to you, that allowing for the change you worked in many social features of American society, and for the time that has passed since you wrote of the country, I am convinced that there is no writer who has so well and so accurately (I need not add so entertainingly) described it, in many of its aspects, as you have done; and this renders your praise [of his "Notes"] the more valuable to me. I do not recollect ever to have heard or seen the charge of exaggeration made against a feeble performance, though in its feebleness it may have been most untrue. It seems to me essentially natural and quite inevitable that common observers should accuse an uncommon one of this fault, and I have no doubt that you were long ago of this opinion, very much to your own comfort."

From a letter to Douglas Jerrold (written 1843) we take the following characteristic extracts:—

"I vow to God that I think the parrots of society are worse than its birds of prey. If ever I destroy myself it will be in the bitterness of hearing those infernal and damnably 'good old times' extolled. . . . O Heaven! if you could have been with me at a hospital dinner last Monday. There were men there who made such speeches and expressed such sentiments as any moderately intelligent dustman would have blushed through his cindery bloom to have thought of. Sleek, slobbering, bow-paunched, over-fed, apoplectic, snorting cattle, and the auditory leaping up in their delight! I never saw such an illustration of the power of purse, or felt so degraded and debased by its contemplation, since I have had eyes and ears. The absurdity of the thing was too horrible to laugh at. It was perfectly overwhelming."

Again, from the same letter:—

"Supposing fifty families were to emigrate into the wilds of North America—yours, mine, and forty-eight others—picked for their concurrence of opinion in all important subjects and for their resolution to found a colony of common sense, how soon would that devil Cant present itself among them in some shape or other? The day they landed do you say, or the day after?"

Certainly had such a colony been founded, and the devil Cant had risen up amongst them, he would have been met with a vigorous exorcism, as we may judge from the following reply to a correspondent who had written that some saying attributed to Stiggins, in "Pickwick," apparently reflected on the Scriptural doctrine of the "new birth":—

"Permit me to say in reply to your letter that you do not understand the intention (I dare say the fault is mine) of that passage in the

"Pickwick Papers" which has given you offence. The design of "the Shepherd," and of this and every allusion to Him, is to show how sacred things are degraded, vulgarised, and rendered absurd when persons who are utterly incompetent to teach the commonest things take upon themselves to expound such mysteries, and how in making mere cant phrases of divine words these persons miss the spirit in which they had their origin. I have seen a great deal of this sort of thing in many parts of England, and I never knew it lead to charity or good deeds.

"Whether the great Creator of the world and the creature of His hands, moulded in His own image, be quite so opposite in character as you believe is a question which it would profit us little to discuss. I like the frankness and candour of your letter, and thank you for it. That every man who seeks heaven must be born again in good thoughts of his Maker I sincerely believe. That it is expedient for every hound to ~~say~~ so in a certain snuffling form of words to which he attaches no good meaning, I do not believe. I take it there is no difference between us."*

The letters abound in playful allusions to any peculiarities of manner or habits which he noted in his friends and acquaintance. Thus, in a letter to Macready in America he refers to some common friend unnamed as "elaborately explaining everything in creation is a joint-stock company," and describes Macready himself "as unwinding something slowly round and round your chest which is so long that no man can see the end of it."

From the same letter we take this pleasant and characteristic description of the relations between Dickens and Macready and their families:—

"Oh, that you had been at Clarence Terrace on Nina's birthday! Good God! how we missed you, talked of you, drank your health, and wondered what you were doing! Perhaps you are Falkland enough (I swear I suspect you of it) to feel rather sore—just a little bit, you know, the merest trifle in the world—on hearing that Mrs. Macready looked brilliant, blooming, young and handsome, and that she danced a country dance with the writer hereof (Acres to your Falkland) in a thorough spirit of becoming good humour and enjoyment. Now, you don't like to be told that? Nor do you quite like to hear that Forster and I conjured bravely; that a plum pudding was produced from an empty saucepan held over a blazing fire kindled in Stanfield's hat without damage to the lining; that a box of bran was changed into a live guinea-pig which ran between my godchild's feet, and was the cause of such a shrill uproar and clapping of hands that you might have heard it (and I dare say did) in America; that three half-crowns being taken from Major Burns and put into a tumbler-glass before his eyes did then and there give jingling answers

to the questions asked of them by me, and knew where you were and what you were doing, to the unspeakable admiration of the whole assembly. Neither do you quite like to be told that we are going to do it again next Saturday, with the addition of demoniacal dresses from the masquerade shop; nor that Mrs. Macready for her gallant bearing always and her best sort of best affection is the best creature I know. Never mind; no man shall gag me, and these are my opinions."*

In a letter to Douglas Jerrold, written from Cremona, during Dickens' residence in Italy, 1844, he writes—and it is an excellent example of his peculiar style:—

"You know this place as famous of yore for fiddles. I don't see any here now, but there is a whole street of coppersmiths not far from this inn, and they throb so d——ably and fitfully that I thought I had a palpitation of the heart just now, and seldom was more relieved than when I found the noise to be none of mine."

He then gives some Shakspearian experiences.

"I was rather shocked yesterday (I am not strong in geographical details) to find that Romeo was only banished twenty-five miles. That is the distance between Mantua and Verona. The latter is a quaint old place with great houses in it that are now solitary and shut up—exactly the place it ought to be. The former has a great many apothecaries at this moment who could play this part to the life. For of all the stagnant ponds I ever beheld it is the greenest and weediest. I went to see the old palace of the Capulets, which is still distinguished by their cognizance (a hat carved in stone on the courtyard wall). It is a miserable inn. The court was full of crazy coaches, carts, geese and pigs, and was ankle deep in mud and dung. The garden is walled off and built on. There was nothing to connect it with its old inhabitants, and a very unsentimental lady at the kitchen door. The Montagues used to live some two or three miles off in the country. It does not appear quite clear whether they ever inhabited Verona itself. . . . But there is a village bearing that name to this day, and traditions of the quarrels of the two families are still as nearly alive as anything can be in such a drowsy neighbourhood."

While in Italy he wrote one of his best Christmas books, "The Chimes." How he threw himself into it appears from the following extract:—

"I have worn myself to death in the month I have been at work. None of my usual reliefs have been at hand. I have not been able to divest myself of the story, have suffered very much in my sleep in consequence, and am so shaken by such work in this trying climate that I am as nervous as a man who is dying of drink, and haggard as a murderer."†

In this book he endeavoured, he writes to Macready,

* Vol. i. pp. 96, 97.

† Ibid. i. p. 122.

"To plant an indignant right-hander on the eye of certain wicked cant that makes my blood boil which I hope will not only cloud that eye with black and blue, but many a gentle one with crystal of the finest sort. God forgive me, but I think there are good things in the little story."*

His hopes were realised.

"Anybody" he writes to his wife, "who has heard it has been moved in the most extraordinary manner. Forster read it for dramatic purposes to A'Beckett. He cried so much and so painfully that Forster didn't know whether to go on or stop; and he called next day to say that any expression of his feeling was beyond his power, but that he believed it and felt it to be—I won't say what."—"If," he adds in a postscript, "you had seen Macready last night undisguisedly sobbing and crying on the sofa as I read, you would have felt, as I did, what a thing it is to have power"†

To how wonderful a degree Dickens possessed this power of affecting his hearers by his reading of his own writings, those who, like ourselves, are privileged to remember the effect produced by his reading of the shipwreck scene in "David Copperfield" can bear witness.

Like Mr Bright, Dickens must sometimes have felt that if Sir Rowland Hill's postal reforms had been postponed until he was no longer connected with public life, it would have been fortunate for him.‡

"Do look," he writes to his friend and colleague on *Household Words*, Mr Wills 'at the enclosed from Mrs. What-s-her-name. For a surprising audacity it is remarkable even to me who am positively bullied and all but beaten by these people. . . . If I were the wealthiest nobleman in England I could not keep pace with one-twentieth part of the demands on me . . . [He, notwithstanding, complied liberally with many of these demands] That pause,' he writes to Mr. Wills "which I could never keep shut in my life makes mouths at me, saying, 'See how empty I am.' Then I fill it, and it looks very rich indeed.'"

Applications for employment seem to have been as frequent as those for money. In the same letter he writes, "As to employment I do in my soul believe that if I were Lord Chancellor of England I should have been aground long ago for the patronage of a messenger's place. "The letter from Nelson Square—(he writes to the same friend on another occasion)—is a very manly

* Vol 1 p. 130.

† Ibid p. 133.

‡ "I venerate Sir Rowland Hill's memory as one of the most useful and honourable men I have known, but I must say I sometimes feel that if he had postponed his discovery until I was no longer connected with public affairs, it would have been a most fortunate thing for me."—Mr. Bright's Speech at Birmingham, 20th January, 1880.

and touching one. But I am more helpless in such a case as that than in any other, having really fewer means of helping such a gentleman to employment than I have of firing off the guns in the Tower. Such appeals come to me here in scores upon scores.*

During a stay at Paris (1846), he thus writes Walter Savage Landor, the godfather of one of his sons, who bore Landor's names :—

"YOUNG MAN,—I will not go there if I can help it; I have not the slightest confidence in the value of your introduction to the devil. I can't help thinking that it would be of better use 'the other way, the other way,' but I won't try there either at present if I can help it. Your godson says, is that your duty? and he begs me to enclose a blush newly blushed for you. . . . I have been writing a little Christmas book† besides expressly for you. I am not to be trifled with. I write from Paris . . . we are all well and happy, and they send loves to you by the bushel. We are in the agonies of house hunting. The people are frightfully civil and grotesquely extortionate. One man (with a house to let) told me yesterday that he loved the Duke of Wellington like a brother. The same gentleman wanted to hug me round the neck with one hand and pick my pocket with the other. . . . If you were the man I took you for when I took you (as a godfather) for better or worse, you would come to Paris and amaze the weak walls of the house I haven't found yet with that steady snore of yours which I once heard piercing the door of your bedroom in Devonshire Terrace, reverberating along the bell wires in the hall, so getting into the street, playing Eolian harps among the area railings and going down the New Road like the blast of a trumpet." •

From a letter to the Hon. R. Watson we take Dickens' description of the house he at length succeeded in finding. It is in his best descriptive style.

"I am proud to express my belief that we are lodged at last in the most preposterous house in the world‡. . . The like of it cannot, and so far as my knowledge goes does not, exist in any other part of the globe. The bed-rooms are like opera boxes. The dining-rooms, staircases, and passages quite inexplicable. The dining-room is a sort of cavern painted (ceiling and all) to represent a grove, with unaccountable bits of looking-glass sticking in among the branches of the trees. There is a gleam of reason in the drawing-room. But it is approached through a series of small chambers like the joints in a telescope which are hung with inscrutable drapery. The maddest man in Bedlam having the material given him would be likely to devise such a suite supposing his case to be hopeless and quite incurable."§

In another letter, written during his stay in Paris, he mentions

* Vol. i. pp. 148, 150, 151.

† "The Battle of Life."

‡ It was No. 48, Rue de Courcelles, St. Honoré. § Vol. i. pp. 159, 160.

a *dramatized* version of "*Clarissa Harlowe*" as being the rage at one of the Parisian Theatres.

"There are some things in it," he says, "rather calculated to astonish the ghost of Richardson, but *Clarissa* is very admirably played and dies better than the original, to my thinking; but Richardson is no great favourite of mine, and never seems to take his top-boots off whatever he does. Several pieces are in course of representation involving rare portraits of the English. In one, a servant called 'Tom Bob, who wears a particularly English waistcoat, trimmed with gold lace and concealing his ankles, does very good things indeed. 'Sir Fokson' is one of the characters in another play, 'English to the Core;' and I saw a Lord Mayor of London at one of the small theatres the other night looking uncommonly well in a stage coachman's waistcoat, the Order of the Garter and a very low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat, not unlike a dustman's."

The same letter contains one of the few political allusions or opinions contained in these letters. Dickens, though little if anything of a politician—certainly none in the party sense—was Liberal in his sympathies and tendencies.

"I was at Geneva at the time of the Revolution (1846). The moderation and mildness of the successful party were beyond all praise. Their appeals to the people of all parties—printed and pasted on the walls—have no parallel that I know of in history for their real good sterling Christianity and tendency to promote the happiness of mankind. My sympathy is strongly with the Swiss Radicals. They know what Catholicity is. They see in some of their own valleys the poverty, ignorance, misery, and bigotry it always brings in its train wherever it is triumphant, and they would root it out of their children's way at any price. I fear the end of the struggle will be that some Catholic Power will step in to crush the dangerously well-educated Republic (very dangerous to such neighbours), but there is a spirit in the people, or I very much mistake them, that will trouble the Jesuits there many years, and shake their altar steps for them."*

In the early days of the French Republic of 1848, he expressed a hope which was doomed to be disappointed—"I think Lamar-tine so far one of the best fellows in the world, and I have great hopes of that great people establishing a noble Republic.†

On the publication of Forster's "*Life of Oliver Goldsmith*" Dickens wrote to his friend and future biographer a letter of strong commendation from which we make the following extracts, which we particularly commend to the attention of those who have of late endeavoured to vindicate Boswell's character against the severe, but strictly just, sentence of condemnation passed on it by Lord Macaulay:‡

* Vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

† Ibid. p. 187.

‡ *Vide* WESTMINSTER REVIEW, Vol. CXI., January, 1879, Art. "Dr. Johnson: his Biographers and Critics."

"As a picture of the time I really think it impossible to give it too much praise. It seems to me to be the very essence of all about the time that I have ever seen in biography or fiction presented in most wise and human lights, and in a thousand new and just aspects. I have never liked Johnson half so well. Nobody's contempt for Boswell ought to be capable of increase; but I have never seen him in my mind's eye half so plainly. The introduction of him is quite a masterpiece. I should point to that, if I did not know the author as being done by somebody with a remarkably vivid conception of what he narrated, and a most admirable and fanciful power of communicating it to another. All about Reynolds is charming, and the first account of the Literary Club and of Boswell's introduction to it is as excellent a piece of description as ever I read in my life. But to read the book is to be in the time.

"It lives again in as fresh and lively a manner as if it were presented on an impossibly good stage by the very best actors that ever lived, only the real actors come out of their graves on purpose.

"I question very much whether it would have been a good thing for every great man to have had his Boswell, as I think that two Boswells—or three, at most—would have made great men extraordinarily false, and would have set them on always playing a part, and would have made distinguished people about them for ever restless and distrustful. I can imagine a succession of Boswells bringing about a tremendous state of falsehood in society, and playing the very devil with confidence and friendship.

"I will never hear the biography compared with Boswell's, except under vigorous protest. For I do say that it is mere folly to put into opposite scales a book, however amusing and curiously written by an unconscious coxcomb like that, and one which surveys and grandly understands the characters of all the illustrious company that move in it.

"My dear Foster, I cannot sufficiently say how proud I am of what you have done, or how sensible I am of being so tenderly connected with it.* When I look over this note I feel as if I had said no part of what I think; and yet if I were to write another I should say no more, for I can't get it out. I desire no better for my fame, when my personal destinies shall be past the control of my love of order than such a biographer and such a critic. And again I say most solemnly that literature in England has never had, and probably never will have, such a champion as you are in right of this book."†

In his letters Dickens not unfrequently, and always unreservedly, expresses his religious feelings. He was brought up, we believe, under Unitarian influences, and for some years, we think, was a member of an Unitarian church. For many years he had relinquished any formal connection with the Unitarian

* It will be remembered that Forster's "Life of Goldsmith" is dedicated to Charles Dickens.

† Vol. i. p. 188, *et seq.*

body, and his children apparently were not educated as Unitarians; but we think he himself never formally joined any other communion or professed any orthodox creed. We have heard that difference of religious opinion was the origin of the unhappy dissensions which arose between him and his wife, who held the orthodox creed. It is abundantly clear from his letters that Dickens might have said as one said of himself, but in Dickens' case it would have been said with far greater truth, "that he had not much religion, but that the little he had was of the best sort."* Nowhere does his religious faith find stronger expression than in the singularly beautiful letters he wrote to his friends on any occasion of a death in their families. We give an extract from his letter to his friend, the Rev. James White, who had lately lost a child.

"I reserve the more serious part of my letter until the last, my dear White, because it comes from the bottom of my heart. None of your friends have thought and spoken oftener of you and Mrs. White than we have these many weeks past. I should have written to you, but was timid of intruding on your sorrow. What you say, and the manner in which you tell me I am connected with your recollection of your dear child, now among the angels of God, gives me courage to approach your grief to say what sympathy we have felt with it, and how we have not been unimaginative of those deep sources of consolation to which you have had recourse. The traveller who travelled in fancy from this world to the next was struck to the heart to find the child he had lost many years before building him a tower in heaven.

"Our blessed Christian hopes do not shut out the belief of love and remembrance still enduring there, but irradiate it and make it sacred. Who should know that better than you do? Who more deeply feel the touching truths and comfort of that story in the older Book when the bereaved mother is asked, 'Is it well with the child?' She answers, 'It is well.'"[†]

We also give an extract from a letter to his friend the Hon. Mrs. Watson on the death of her husband.

"We have thought of you every day and every hour; we think of you now in the dear old house, and know how right it is for his dear children's sake that you should have bravely set up your rest in the place consecrated by their father's memory, and within the same summer shadows that fall upon his grave. We try to look on through a few years and to see the children brightening it, and George a comfort and a pride and an honour to you, and although it is hard to think of what we have lost, we know how something of it will be restored by your example and endeavours, and the blessing that will descend upon

* This saying is attributed to the late Earl Fitzhardinge on the authority of Lord Palmerston. *Vide Ashley's "Life of Palmerston,"* vol. ii.

† Vol. i. pp. 193, 194.

them. We know how the time will come when some reflection of that cordial, unaffected, most affectionate presence, which we can never forget, and never would forget if we could—such is God's great mercy—will shine out of your boy's eyes, upon you, his best friend and his last consoler, and fill the void there is now.

"May God, who has received into His rest through this affliction as good a man as ever I can know and love and mourn for on this earth, be good to you, dear friend, through these coming years may all those compassionate and hopeful lessons of the Great Teacher, who shed divine tears for the dead, bring their full comfort to you! I have no fear of that, my confidence is certainty."*

In the same year in which Dickens lost his friend Watson, his friend Macready lost his wife. We cannot refrain from making this extract from Dickens' letter on the sad event.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have known her so well, have been so happy in her regard, have been so lighthearted with her, have interchanged so many tender remembrances of you with her when you were far away, and have seen her ever so simply and truly anxious to be worthy of you, that I cannot write as I would, and as I know I ought. As I would press your hand in your distress I let this note go from me. I understand your grief, I deeply feel the reason that there is for it, yet in that very feeling find a softening consolation that must spring up a hundred thousandfold for you. May Heaven prosper it in your breast, and spirits that have gone before from the regions of mercy to which they have been called smooth the path that you have to tread alone! Children are left you. Your good sister (God bless her) is by your side. You have devoted friends, and more reasons than most men to be self-reliant and steadfast. Something is gone that never in this world can be replaced, but much is left, and it is a part of her life, her death, her immortality."†

Even stronger evidence of Dickens' real but unobtrusive religion is given by the letters written to his sons on their passing from boyhood to active life. We have space for only one illustration. To one of his sons, who had just entered at Cambridge, he writes:—

"As your brothers have gone away one by one, I have written to each of them what I am now going to write to you. You know you have never been hampered with religious forms of restraint, and that with mere unmeaning forms I have no sympathy. But I most strongly and affectionately impress upon you the priceless value of the New Testament, and the study of that book as the one unfailing guide in life. Deeply respecting it, and bowing down before the character of our Saviour as separated from the vain constructions and inventions of men, you cannot go very wrong, and will always preserve at heart a true spirit of veneration and humility. Similarly,

* Vol. i. pp. 282, 283.

† Ibid. pp. 284, 285.

I impress upon you the habit of saying a Christian prayer every night and morning.

"These things have stood by me all through my life; and remember that I tried to render the New Testament intelligible to you, and lovable by you when you were a mere baby."*

His tender, but wise and judicious, affection for all his children appears in every one of his letters to them. We can give one example only: To his eldest daughter he writes:—

"I am not engaged in the evening of your birthday. But even if I had an engagement of the most particular kind I should excuse myself from keeping it so that I might have the pleasure of celebrating at home, and among my children, the day that gave me such a dear and good daughter as you."†

From a letter to his friend Mr. Cergat, of Lansanne, we gain an intimation of the purpose he had in view in writing the history of "Little Emily" in "Copperfield."

"I had previously observed much of what you say about the poor girls. In all you suggest with so much feeling about their return to virtue being cruelly cut off, I concur with a sore heart. I have been turning it over in my mind for some time, and hope in the history of Little Emily (who *must* fall, there is no hope for her) to put it before the thoughts of people in a new and pathetic way, and perhaps to do some good. You will be glad to hear I know that 'Copperfield' is a great success. I think it is better liked than any of my other books."‡

Coexistent with this deep and sincere religious feeling there was, it is to all his readers—and who is not one of them?—almost too trite an observation, an equally deep and sincere hatred of cant and humbug in all their diversified forms, which in his works is everywhere candidly and unreservedly expressed. This brought on him the suspicion and dislike of brethren of "the straitest sect of our religion," and from them many critical letters, mostly of the anonymous sort.

"I venture to trespass," writes one of these nameless ones, "on your attention with one serious query touching a sentence in the last number of 'Bleak House.' Do the supporters of Christian missions really deserve the attack that is conveyed in the sentence about Joe seated in his anguish on the doorstep of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts? The allusion is severe, but is it just? Are such boys as Joe neglected? What are ragged school town missions and many of those societies, I regret to see, sneered at in the last number of *Household Words*?"

This drew from Dickens a reply, the opinion in which it is noteworthy had been formerly expressed by Dr. Arnold.§

* Vol. ii p. 394, and see *Ibid.* p. 402. † *Ibid.* i. p. 205. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 211
§ Stanley's "Arnold," vol. ii. p. 66.

"There was a long time during which benevolent societies were spending immense sums on missions abroad, when there was no such thing as a ragged school in England, or any kind of associated endeavour to penetrate to those horrible domestic depths in which such schools are now to be found, and where they were, to my most certain knowledge, neither placed nor discovered by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"If you think the balance between the home mission and the foreign mission justly held at the present time, I do not. I abstain from drawing the strange comparison that might be drawn between the sums even now expended in endeavours to remove the darkest ignorance and degradation from our very doors, because I have some respect for mistakes that may be founded in a sincere wish to do good. But I present a general suggestion of the still existing state of things (in such a paragraph as that which offends you) in the hope of inducing some people to reflection on this matter, and to adjust the balance more correctly. I am decidedly of the opinion that the two works, the home and the foreign, are *not* conducted with an equal hand, and that the home claim is by far the stronger and the more pressing of the two.

"Indeed, I have very great doubts whether a great commercial country, holding communication with all parts of the world, can better Christianize the benighted portions of it than by the bestowal of its wealth and energy in the making of good Christians at home, and on the removal of neglected and untaught childhood from its streets before it wanders elsewhere. For if it steadily persist in this work, working downwards to the lowest, the travellers of all grades whom it sends abroad will be good, exemplary, practical missionaries, instead of undocrs of what the best professed missionaries can do.

"These are my opinions, founded, I believe, on some knowledge of facts and some observation.

"If I could be scared out of them, let me add in all good humour, by such easily expressed words as 'anti-Christian' or 'irreligious,' I should think that I deserved them in their real signification.

"I have referred in vain to page 312 of *Household Words* for the sneer to which you called my attention, nor have I, I assure you, the least idea where else it is to be found."*

It may fairly be claimed for Dickens, as one of the many services he rendered to the poorer classes of his countrymen, that he powerfully helped to bring about a readjustment of the balance between home and foreign missions. All churches now give much of their energies and support to home missions without, so far as we can judge, any diminution of their foreign missionary enterprises.

One of the most amiable traits—and they are many in Dickens' character, as our extracts from his letters to Forster

* Vol. ii. pp. 278, 279.

have already shown—was his sincere admiration for his fellow-workers in the field of literature. He evidently was entirely free from jealousy, and would never have found a place in any new edition of “*The Quarrels of Authors*.” In asking Mrs. Gaskell to write for *Household Words*, he says—

“I do not know what your literary vows of temperance or abstinence may be, but as I do honestly know that there is no living writer whose aid I would desire to enlist in preference to the authoress of ‘*Mary Barton*,’ a book that most profoundly affected and impressed me. I venture to ask whether you can give me any hope that you will write a short tale, or any number of tales, for the projected pages.

“No writer’s name will be used, neither my own nor any other, every paper will be published without any signature, and all will seem to express the general mind and purpose of the journal, which is the raising up of those that are down, and the general improvement of our social condition. I should set a value on your help which your modesty can hardly imagine; and I am perfectly sure that the least result of your reflection or observation on the life around you would attract attention and do good.

“Of course I regard your time as valuable, and consider it so when I ask you if you could devote any of it to this purpose. . . . My unaffected and great admiration of your book makes me very earnest in all relating to you.”*

We take other illustrations of this trait in Dickens’ character, from other sources than these letters. Thackeray presided at one of the anniversary festivals of the General Theatrical Fund, in proposing his health, Dickens said—

“Actors, managers, and authors are all represented in this company, and it may be supposed that they have all studied the deep wants of the human heart in many theatres, but none of them could have studied its mysterious workings in any theatre to greater advantage than in the bright and airy pages of *Vanity Fair*. To this skilful showman, who has so often delighted us, and who has charmed us again to-night, we have now to wish ‘*God speed*,’ and that he may continue for many years to exercise his potent art.”†

When the Guild of Literature and Art visited Lord Lytton at Knebworth, Dickens, in proposing their host’s health, thus expressed his feelings as to Lord Lytton and his works:—

“Setting aside the orator and statesman—for happily we know no party here but this agreeable party—setting aside all this, you know very well that this is the home of a very great man, whose connection with Hertfordshire every other county in England will envy for many long years to come. You know that when this hall is dullest and

* Vol. i. p. 216.

† “*Dickens’ Speeches on Literary and Social Occasions*,” p. 150.

emptiest you can make it, when you please, brightest and fullest by peopling it with the creatures of his brilliant fancy.

"Let us all wish together that they may be many more—for the more they are the better they will be. I ask you to listen to their praises, and not to mine, and to let them, not me, propose his health."*

Considering Dickens' love of literature and his admiration of his literary contemporaries, it surprises us not to find in these volumes any mention of the most brilliant and most successful of them all. We mean Lord Macaulay. Macaulay's rejection at Edinburgh from sectarian prejudices, which Dickens could thoroughly appreciate; his unsolicited re-election; the unexampled success of his *History*; his elevation to the peerage as a tribute to literature; his sudden death, all pass unnoticed. We know that Macaulay knew and admired Dickens. Mr. Trevelyan tells us that "he knew his '*Pickwick*' almost as intimately as his *Grandison*."† and in a letter to Mr. Mavey Napier, Macaulay, expressing a wish to review Dickens' "*American Notes*," says, "I have never written a word on that subject (America), and I have a great deal in my head. Of course I shall be courteous to Dickens, whom I know and whom I think both a man of genius and a good-hearted man, in spite of some faults of taste."‡ It is to be regretted that Macaulay did not carry out his intention of reviewing the "*Notes*."

Although we find no reference to Macaulay or any of his writings in these letters, we cannot imagine that Dickens was either ignorant of them, or did not admire them or the author. In one of his speeches we find a passage which, if it be not inspired by, or an imitation of, one of Macaulay's most brilliant passages, is a remarkable instance of coincidence of thought and expression.

In Macaulay's review of Mitford's "*History of Greece*," originally published in Charles Knight's *Quarterly Magazine*, occurs the magnificently-expressed tribute to the literature of Greece:—

"From which has sprung all the strength, the wisdom, the freedom, and the glory of the Western world. It is a subject," Macaulay continues, "in which I love to forget the accuracy of a judge in the veneration of a worshipper and the gratitude of a child. All the triumphs of truth and genius over prejudice and power in every country and in every age have been the triumphs of Athens. Wherever a few great minds have made a stand against violence and fraud in the cause of liberty and reason, there has been her spirit in the midst of

* Vol. i. p. 197.

† "*Life*," vol. i. p. 462.

‡ "*Mavey Napier's Correspondence*," p. 398, published in 1824, and reprinted in Macaulay's "*Miscellaneous Writings*."

them inspiring, encouraging, consoling, by the lonely lamp of Erasmus, by the restless bed of Pascal; in the tribune of Mirabeau, in the cell of Galileo, on the scaffold of Sidney; but who shall estimate her influence on private happiness? who shall say how many thousands have been wiser, happier, and better by those pursuits in which she has taught mankind to engage; to how many the studies which took their rise from her have been wealth in poverty, liberty in bondage, health in sickness, society in solitude? Her power is, indeed, manifested at the bar, in the senate, in the field of battle, in the schools of philosophy. But these are not her glory. Wherever literature consoles sorrow, or assuages pain—wherever it brings gladness to eyes which fail with wakefulness and tears, and ache for the dark house and the long sleep, there is exhibited in its noblest form the immortal influence of Athens."

Compare with this the following extract from Dickens' address at the Soirée of the Manchester Athenæum, in 1843, the only occasion, so far as we know, on which he stood on the same platform with Richard Cobden and Benjamin Disraeli, both of whom spoke on that occasion:—

"The man who lives from day to day by the daily exercise, in his sphere of hands or head, and seeks to improve himself in such a place as the Athenæum, acquires for himself that property of soul which has in all times upheld struggling men of every degree, but self-made men especially and always. He secures to himself that faithful companion, which, while it has ever lent the light of its countenance to men of rank and eminence who have deserved it, has ever shed its brightest consolation in men of low estate and almost hopeless means. It took its patient seat beside Sir Walter Raleigh in his dungeon study in the Tower; it laid its head upon the block with More; but it did not disdain to watch the stars with Ferguson, the shepherd's boy; it walked the streets in mean attire with Crabbe; it was a poor barber here in Lancashire with Arkwright; it was a tallow chandler's son with Franklin; it worked at shoemaking with Bloomfield in his garret; it followed the plough with Burns; and, high above the noise of loom and hammer, it whispers courage even at this day in ears we could name in Sheffield and in Manchester."*

Equally amiable was the kind consideration Dickens showed to young writers, and the pains he took in revising and improving their compositions. For instance, he writes to a young lady, on her first contribution to *Household Words*:—

"I have devoted a couple of hours this evening in going very carefully over your paper (which I had read before), and to endeavour to bring it closer and to lighten it, and to give it that sort of compactness which a habit of composition and of disciplining one's thoughts like a regiment, and of studying the art of putting each soldier into his right

* "Dickens' Speeches," p. 79.

place, may have gradually taught me to think it necessary I hope, when you see it in print, you will not be alarmed by my use of the pruning-knife I have tried to exercise it with the utmost delicacy and discretion, and to suggest to you, especially towards the end, how this sort of writing (regard being had to the size of the journal in which it appears) requires to be compressed and is made pleasanter by compression. This all reads very solemnly, but only because I want you to read it (I mean the article) with as loving an eye as I have truly tried to touch it with a loving and gentle hand”*

On the appearance of that powerful, if somewhat disagreeable, book, Wilkie Collins’ “Basil,” Dickens wrote the author a letter, from which we make an extract for the sake of the advice it contains to would-be writers —

“The story contains admirable writing and many clear evidences of a very delicate discrimination of character. It is delightful to find throughout that you have taken great pains with it besides, and have ‘gone at it’ with a perfect knowledge of the jolter-headedness of the conceited idiots who suppose that volumes are to be tossed off like pancakes, and that any writing can be done without the utmost application, the greatest patience, and the steadiest energy of which the writer is capable”†

In prospect of the General Election of 1868 it was proposed to Dickens that he should allow himself to be put forward as a candidate for the representation of Edinburgh and so, as we gather from the following extract, for Birmingham also —

“I am much attached to the Edinburgh people. [He writes to the friend who made the proposal] You may suppose, therefore, that if my mind were not fully made up on the Parliamentary question I should waver now. But my conviction that I am more useful and more happy as I am than I could ever be in Parliament is not to be shaken. I considered it some weeks ago when I had a stirring proposal from the Birmingham people, and I then set it up on a rock for ever and a day”‡

Of the wisdom of this decision there can be no doubt. Had Dickens been elected for Edinburgh he would have undergone like unpleasant experiences to those endured by the great man of letters who once represented the Northern metropolis

“I am surrounded (writes Lord Macaulay from Edinburgh to his sister) by the din of a sort of controversy which is most distasteful to me. ‘Yes, Mr Macaulay, that is all very well for a statesman, but what becomes of the headship of our Lord Jesus Christ’ And I cannot answer a constituent quite as bluntly as I should answer any one else who might reason after such a fashion”||

* Vol. I. pp. 245, 246.

† Ibid i p 294

‡ Ibid ii p 390

§ The non-intrusion question was at its height in 1841, when this letter was written

|| “Life,” vol. ii. p. 92.

How little suited Dickens was to represent a Scotch constituency appears from the following ironical account of an Edinburgh Sunday :—

“ You know (he writes to a friend) the aspect of this city on a Sunday, and how gay and bright it is. The merry music of the blithe bells: the waving flags; the prettily-decorated houses, with their blinds of various colours, and the radiant countenances at the windows and in the streets. How charming they are! The usual preparations are making for the band in the open air in the afternoon; and the usual pretty children selected for that purpose are at this moment hanging garlands round the Scott monument preparatory to the innocent Sunday dance round that edifice, with which the diversions invariably close. It is pleasant to think that these customs were themselves of the early Christians—those early birds who *didn't* catch the worm and nothing else, and choked their young with it.”*

Our available space is filled and we must bring our extracts to a close. Our study of these letters has greatly increased our affectionate regard for Dickens' memory, and we trust we may induce such of our readers, if such there be, as have not read these volumes, to make themselves acquainted with their contents. We cannot leave our subject without expressing our thankfulness to the editors for having thus given us “another book from Charles Dickens' hands.”

ART. VI.—ANIMAL INTELLIGENCE.

1. *Mind in the Lower Animals in Health and Disease.* By W. LANDER LINDSAY, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.L.S.
2. *Presidential Address to the Biological Section of the British Association.* By Professor ST. GEORGE MIVART, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S. Sheffield. 1879.
3. *Animal Intelligence.* A Lecture delivered before the British Association by GEORGE J. ROMANES, M.A., F.L.S. Dublin. 1878.

“ **A** NIMAL intelligence,” says Mr. Romanes, in his admirable lecture on the subject, delivered before the British Association in Dublin, 1878, “is a subject which has always been of considerable interest to philosophical minds, but the interest attaching to it has of late years been greatly increased by the significance which it has acquired in relation to the theory of Descent.”

We cannot be surprised that the doctrines of Darwin, so clearly and forcibly enunciated as to have convinced the vast majority of scientists of the fact that life, common alike to man and the lower animals, may be traced backwards to its source in the very lowest protoplasmic forms, should have likewise revived the ancient controversies of schoolmen and philosophers, with regard to the proper psychological position of the whole of animated nature, as viewed from the standpoint of civilized and philosophic man who now finds himself placed indubitably at the head of the whole. Do the lower animals, in sharing with man vitality and all its accompaniments of pain, disease, and death, share with him also that indefinable unknown quality or essence denominated mind? Do the actions of the lower animals proceed from internal consciousness and reflection akin to that of man although differing in degree, or are they simply automatic movements, directed by instinct, or necessity, or by the superior will of man the master? These are the problems which have occupied the minds of philosophers in all ages. The Rev J. Selby Watson, in his very interesting book on the "Reasoning Power in Animals," gives an epitome of the opinions of various writers upon the subject from Aristotle downwards.

'That beasts had no real thought or feeling,' he writes, "but only seemed to have, is a doctrine or notion as old as the days of the cynics and stoics, and is ridiculed by Plutarch in his discourse on the Sagacity of Animals. Aristotle too, author of the most ancient work on Animals which has come down to us, expresses himself of much the same persuasion. He is unwilling to concede that any other animal than man regulates his actions in any degree by reasonable considerations. Seneca, a stoic, in conformity with the doctrines of his sect, declared that the homogeneity of the actions of men and beasts is merely apparent, their natures being altogether different.

What we call the feelings of beasts, whether good or evil, are, he thinks, feelings only in appearance. Descartes may be said to have adopted this opinion, for he intimated in his 'Discourse on Method' that all the lower animals are mere unreasoning machines as much as a clock or a watch, that all their actions may be explained by the laws of mechanism. Montaigne, on the contrary, is inclined to extol beasts to the disparagement of man. Buffon grants them everything possessed by man except thought and reflection. The opinion of Leibnitz was not very different from that of Buffon. Rameau is inclined to admit that there is intelligence in the lower animals. Condillac asserts that the beaver builds his rampart and the bird its nest from forethought and judgment. Helvetius, Humboldt, Darwin, and Smellie asserted that the actions of brutes are the result of reasoning similar to that of man. Salmasius was of the same opinion. Frederic Cuvier, brother of the Baron and keeper of the Jardin des Plantes, not only declared that they had intelligence of the

same kind as that of man, but endeavoured to distinguish the different degrees of it in different species of animals. Lord Brougham ('Dialogues on Instinct,' iv.) says, 'I know not why so much unwillingness should be shown by some excellent philosophers to allow intelligent faculties and a share of reason to the lower animals.' **

Looking only to the summary here given, it might be assumed that the balance of opinion among philosophers and naturalists inclined to the rejection of the hypotheses that the lower animals are endowed with mental faculties similar to those of man, but against this must be placed the universal testimony of men in all ages, who, although neither philosophers nor naturalists, have yet been attentive observers of such of the lower animals as may have fallen in their way, and have, moreover, as hunters, been compelled to study the habits of their prey with greater attention and more minuteness, and with far more abundant opportunities, than the philosopher, seated in his study, aided only by books, or perhaps the dry skeleton of the animal whose mental powers he undertakes to measure, supplemented by an occasional visit to a menagerie, where the same animal is seen at its worst, in a wholly artificial and degraded condition. With regard to domesticated animals, which alone usually fall within the scope of ordinary non-scientific observers, we shall have much to say later, meanwhile, let us just glance at the position occupied by the lower animals in the mythologies, traditions and fables of the ancients and of modern savages, as indicative of the esteem, independent of philosophy, in which they have been and are held by the vast majority of mankind.

It is among the cultured Egyptians that we find veneration for the various good qualities of animals degenerating into absolute worship, and into that strange weird conception of the transmigration of souls, a belief which could only have originated among those who saw no insuperable barrier between man and other animals. The same feeling has led uncivilized man in all ages to look upon certain animals with reverence as representing in some manner their deceased ancestors. More especially is this the case with regard to serpents and birds, which seem to be almost universally looked upon as the abodes of departed human spirits; but in addition to these, almost every tribe has adopted some especial animal as a symbol or totem, an object of reverence representing in a peculiar manner the head of the tribe, and which therefore may not be killed or eaten by that tribe, although free to every other; and there can be little doubt that it is to this capricious selection of tribal totems that we must attribute the undeservedly bad character assigned to certain animals, and

* "Reasoning Power in Animals," by Rev. J. Selby Watson, p. 2, *et seq.*

the perhaps equally undeserved good character attached to others. In Egypt, every town had its special divinity regarded with aversion elsewhere; and the same feelings may probably be traced through Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, and through Europe, even to our own shores, existing in the present day in the national emblems adopted or assigned, and which occupy so prominent a position in the various comic papers. We remember the time when, during the French occupation of Rome, to crow like a cock was an Italian challenge, leading frequently to bloodshed.

We cannot doubt that it was some observed resemblance between man and beast which led to the adoption of the totem, although the selection was in most cases the result of accident or of a dream, for we believe that among many savages each man has, in addition to the tribal totem, his own individual symbol, which is either the first animal he meets after the probationary fasting which accompanies his admission to manhood, or some animal revealed to him in a dream during the same period. In like manner, observation, based upon near acquaintance with the habits of the lower animals, joined to that poetic and imaginative temperament which characterizes the infancy and youth of humanity, whether as races or individuals, was doubtless the foundation of all those fables and legends which form the folklore of so many nations, and have degenerated into our own nursery tales, in which, as a rule, animals are endowed not only with human reason, but with human speech, and almost invariably outwit their human adversaries.*

In all these cases imagination has magnified an observed peculiarity or natural characteristic, but there is no scientific deduction, no reasoning as to the possibility or probability of animals having assumed the *role* assigned to them. The savage notes the cunning of the fox or the jackal in escaping the snare of the hunter, and does not stop to consider whether that cunning is the result of instinct or of intelligence, but assumes him to be endowed with reason equal to or superior to his own, seeing that under similar circumstances he would gladly have acted with the same foresight; he consequently sees no difficulty in believing that the spirit of some chief famed for sagacity has assumed the form of the fox, and acted in and through him. The same holds

* The superstitions derived from this infantine stage of human society have hardly yet died out among civilized mankind. The belief in were-wolves can hardly yet be said to be extinct, and in the last century many an unlucky wretch doomed as a witch was gravely accused of having metamorphosed herself into a black cat. Among African tribes to the present day, men are said to turn themselves at will into leopards and jackals.

good with regard to other animals and their characteristics, whether of speed, strength, ferocity, or gentleness.

But this minute insight into the habits and special characteristics of the lower animals, and their consequent undue exaltation, does not satisfy the needs of modern scientific inquiry. If the fox is cunning, the scientist desires to have the cause of that cunning demonstrated, he must know whether it is a natural or acquired characteristic. Whether all foxes placed in the same position would act in precisely the same manner, or whether they would show individuality and independent reasoning powers? Now, many naturalists of the present day, and notably Darwin, Huxley, Lubbock, and many foreign naturalists, have done much to throw light upon the numerous difficult problems with which the subject of animal intelligence is surrounded, but we can hardly imagine that the book which we have placed at the head of this Article ("Mind in the Lower Animals," by Dr. W. Lander Lindsay) will greatly advance the cause of science; for, although the author has shown unwearied zeal and industry in collecting from all sources anecdotes illustrative of the mental capacity of the lower animals, and in arranging them under certain heads more or less appropriate, he is so plainly the advocate rather than the judge, and takes up the cause of his clients so injudiciously, as to invest the whole subject with an air of unreality likely to cast ridicule and contempt, rather than respect and admiration upon his advocacy. He seems in truth to have entered upon his task with a foregone conclusion: starting from the platform of the savage rather than that of the man of science, seeing something extraordinary, if not almost supernatural, in the most ordinary actions of the lower animals, and giving to these acts a significance far greater than if they had been performed by man, he avows that "The general scope of the present work is to show how *superior* certain animals are to whole races or classes of mankind, both morally and mentally, and how essentially alike moral and mental influences and operations are in man and other animals."*

Now, it is the latter part of this proposition which is at present a matter of dispute between naturalists and philosophers, and we imagine there are few, if any, cautious and candid investigators who would be willing to concede an innate *superiority* to the mental powers of the lower animals, although it may be conceded that many of them show extraordinary sagacity and powers of adaptation which can hardly be relegated to that very vague but convenient term *instinct*, which is supposed to be so much more powerful in the lower animals than in man. We do not

* "Mind in the Lower Animals," vol. i. p. 187.

hesitate in ranging ourselves among those who regard the mind of animals as differing from that of man in *degree* rather than in *kind*, looking upon it as capable of development by education, and varying in individuals even as in the human race, but we do not believe this view is likely to be advanced by such sentences as the following, taken almost at random from the book before us :—

“The most promising of all animals on whom to try the effects of *moral education* are the anthropoid apes, such as the orang and the chimpanzees. We know how human-like has been their behaviour when they have been civilized by man, made his servants or companions on board ship or in his household. We know how in them politeness or refinement of manners may be developed, and all the usages of good society; how they can behave at table and take their meals; how they can act as substitutes for the negro in various kinds of domestic or other service. But we do not yet know how good they can be made, to what extent or in what directions their moral nature can be developed. I believe that, could only they be induced to bestow them, the patient efforts of our missionaries in this direction—on our anthropoid poor relations instead of on their fellow-creatures and countrymen the negro—might produce results of a startling character—results that might put an end, once and for all, to current sneers as to the psychical connection between men and monkeys.”*

Again, in the chapter entitled “Religious Feeling in other Animals,” Dr. Lindsay says :—

“*Church attendance* by dogs is, and has long been, a common phenomenon in the pastoral districts of Scotland. Scotch shepherds, both in Highland and Lowland, are a devout, church-attending race; and, so far at least as concerns regularity of attendance upon the ordinances of worship and demure and decorous behaviour thereat, their dogs, or ‘collies,’ are equally devout. These Scotch collies frequently have particular seats or pews—or at least their equivalent lairs or crouching places—in church; and there, when no attempt is made by them—as it sometimes is—at psalm-singing, the animals rest quietly and sedately until the completion of the service. It may be, and probably is, the case, that they frequently coil themselves comfortably and compose themselves to sleep as soon as the service has begun; but that a similar process is quite as common and much more conspicuous and inexcusable in men, I have no room for doubting, inasmuch as I have over and over again myself seen in country—aye, and in city—churches in Scotland, people, mostly males, be it in fairness explained, deliberately composing themselves for a good sound sleep before the service begins.”†

Such writing as this is surely inconsistent and ludicrous in a professedly scientific treatise and although Dr. Lindsay acknow-

* “Mind in the Lower Animals,” vol. i. p. 230.

† Ibid.

ledges the desirability or necessity of verifying as far as possible the truth of the incidents quoted, he yet appears to have allowed himself to be too easily convinced, or to have been led by his love of the marvellous to accept as literally true those minute details which have only been added as embellishments by facetious narrators. Take, for example, the tale of the rats satirized by the *Saturday Review*. Dr. Lindsay quotes, from the "Animal World," an incident given in an American paper which, says, that veracious journal, "may well put Christians to the blush."

"A young rat had fallen into a pail of pig-food. Six older ones held a consultation so earnest in its character as to lead them to ignore the presence of human onlookers. They decided on an ingenious scheme of rescue, and successfully carried it out. Entwining their legs together, they formed a chain hanging downwards over the edge of the pail. The foremost or downward rat grasped the drowning—and as it subsequently proved drowned—young one in its fore-paws, and both rescued and rescuer were then drawn up and out. When found to be dead, the rescuers gazed at their young comrade in mute despair . . . wiped the tears from their eyes with their fore-paws, and departed without making any attempt to resuscitate it."*

We quote this passage because Dr. Lindsay has himself laid special stress upon it, by reiterating it in another chapter (on Laughter and Weeping).† "Some old rats finding a young one dead by drowning, wiped the tears from their eyes with their fore-paws"—thus proving himself incapable of distinguishing between the probable and the improbable, or absolutely absurd; for, although rats might possibly attempt to rescue a drowning comrade in the manner described, the particular incident of wiping the tears away with the fore-paws, which Dr. Lindsay has so gravely reproduced, stamps the whole episode as unreal and unworthy of credit. Nevertheless, Dr. Lindsay has collected together from the writings of naturalists of world-wide repute a mass of evidence not easily to be gainsaid in favour of the high mental powers of the lower animals, but for the origin and bounds of that mental capacity we must turn to the investigations of others.

The subject of Animal Intelligence has specially occupied the attention of the British Association during the two last meetings, for although the Biological Section has always devoted itself more or less to the investigation of questions leading to comparisons between man and the lower animal kingdom, it has been chiefly concerned with bodily structure, rather than mental development. But at the Dublin Meeting Mr. Romanes was selected to give an Evening Lecture upon this subject, and last

* "Mind in the Lower Animals," vol. i. p. 94.

† Ibid. p. 324.

year at Sheffield, Professor St. George Mivart made it the subject of his Opening Address as President of the Biological Section. Particular interest attaches to the utterances of two men so well known to science, not only because of the thorough character of their investigations, but because they represent the two modern schools of thought, the one confessing himself a thorough Evolutionist, a disciple of Darwin, believing "that mind is everywhere one," the other professing himself a follower of Buffon, distrusting or disbelieving the doctrines of Evolution, and consequently seeing a fundamental distinction between the mind of man and that of the lower animals. "The obvious difference," says Professor Mivart, "between the highest powers of man and animals has led the common sense of mankind to consider them to be of radically different kinds, and the question which naturalists now profess to investigate, is whether this is so or not?"

He then goes on to say :—

"But we may doubt whether many who enter upon this inquiry do not enter upon it with their minds already made up, that no such radical difference can by any possibility exist. . . . Surely, however, if we profess to investigate a question, we ought in honesty to believe that there is a question to investigate, and if evidence should seem to show that intellect cannot be analysed into sense but is an ultimate, it ought to be accepted, at the least provisionally, as such, even at the cost of having to regard its origin as at present inexplicable."*

It is, however, evident that Professor Mivart does not enter upon his task free from bias; he has made up his mind that the mental differences between man and the lower animals are radical, and he undertakes to prove his theory by a complicated method of reasoning which we certainly cannot look upon as convincing.

Starting with the hypothesis that man possesses two sorts of faculties, the higher and the lower, he goes on to say :—

"It is, of course, impossible for us thoroughly to comprehend the minds of dogs or birds, because we cannot enter into the actual experience of such animals, but by understanding the distinction between our own higher and lower faculties we may, I think, more or less approximate to such a comprehension. It may, I believe, be affirmed that no animal but man has as yet been shown to exhibit true concerted action, or to express by external signs distinct intellectual conceptions—processes of which all men are normally capable. But just as some plants simulate the sense, perception, voluntary motions, and instincts of animals, without there being a real identity between the activities thus superficially similar, so there may well be in animals, actions simulating the intellectual apprehensions, ratiocinations and volitions of man, without there being any necessary identity between the

* "Presidential Address," by Professor St. George Mivart.

activities so superficially alike. More than this, it is certain, *a priori*, that there must be such resemblance, since our organization is similar to that of animals, and since sensations are at least indispensable antecedents to the exercise of our intellectual activity. I have no wish to ignore the marvellous powers of animals or the resemblance of their actions to those of man. No one can reasonably deny that many of them have feelings, emotions, and sense-perceptions similar to our own; that they exercise voluntary motion and perform actions grouped in complex ways for definite ends; that they to a certain extent learn by experience, and can combine perceptions and reminiscences so as to draw practical inferences, directly apprehending objects standing in different relations one to another, so that, in a sense, they may be said to apprehend relations. They will show hesitation, ending apparently, after a conflict of desires, with what looks like choice or volition, and such animals as the dog will not only exhibit the most marvellous fidelity and affection, but will also manifest evident signs of shame, which may seem the outcome and indication of incipient moral perceptions."*

Now, we fail to see why the same feelings expressing themselves by similar outward signs should be assumed to be *real*, the outcome of the higher intellectual life in man, and only *simulated* in the lower animals. Take, for instance, shame, which Professor Mivart allows is sometimes exhibited by dogs, why should the moral perception, which causes shame in the human species be supposed to be wanting in the dog when exhibiting the outward tokens of that confessedly mental quality, and which therefore can hardly be accounted for by instinctive perceptions apart from mind? Again, Professor Mivart says:—

"That we have automatic memory, such as animals have, is obvious; but the presence of intellectual memory (or memory proper) may be made evident by the act of searching our minds (so to speak) for something which we know we have fully remembered before, and thus intellectually remember to have known, though we cannot now bring it before our imagination."

And he quotes from Mr. Clarke, as follows:—

"When the circumstances of any present case differ from those of any past experience, but imperfectly resemble those of many past experiences, parts of these and consequent actions, are irregularly suggested by the laws of resemblance, until some action is hit on which relieves pain or gives pleasure. For instance, let a dog be lost by his mistress in a field in which he has never been before. The presence of the group of sensations which we know to indicate his mistress is associated with pleasure, and its absence with pain. By past experience an association has been formed between this feeling of pain and such movements of the head as tend to recover some part of that group, its

* "Presidential Address," by Professor St. George Mivart.

recovery being again associated with movements which, *de facto*, diminish the distance between the dog and his mistress. The dog, therefore, pricks up his ears, raises his head and looks round. His mistress is nowhere to be seen; but at the corner of the field there is visible a gate at the end of a lane which resembles a lane in which she has been used to walk. A phantasm (or image) of that other lane and of his mistress walking there, presents itself to the imagination of the dog; he runs to the present lane, but on getting into it she is not there. From the lane, however, he can see a tree at the other side of which she was wont to sit; the same process is repeated, but she is not to be found. Having arrived at the tree he thence finds his way home. By the action of such feelings, imaginations, and associations—which we know to be *vera causa*—I believe all the apparently intelligent actions of animals may be explained without the need of calling in the help of a power, the existence of which is inconsistent with the mass, as a whole, of the phenomena they exhibit.”*

Surely the writer has drawn largely upon his own imagination in this definition of a dog’s imagination. If a man lost his way in a large open plain, and there should be neither sun nor stars to help him, his first idea would be to raise his head and search diligently for some landmark to guide him, and this action would be regarded as intelligence of the first order; why, therefore, should that be intelligent action in a man which is only *apparently* so, consisting of a group of feelings, imaginations, and associations, in a dog? Philosophers seem to delight in hiding, beneath a mass of verbiage, truths which common sense might otherwise discover and bring to the light of day. If a dog has feelings, imaginations, and associations, and a man has feelings, imaginations, and associations, and these groups of sensations in both animals lead to similar actions, who shall dare to assert that there is a radical difference between these same sensations in the higher and in the lower animals?

“Animals,” says Professor Mivart, “apprehend things in different relations, but no one that I know of has brought any evidence that they apprehend them as related, or their relations as relations. A dog may feel shame, or possibly (though I do not think probably) a migrating bird may feel agony at the imagination of an abandoned brood; but these feelings have nothing in common with an ethical judgment such as that of an Australian, who having held out his leg for the punishment of spearing, judges that he is wounded more than his common law warrants.”†

And he proceeds to give instances of errors of judgment in birds, who sometimes build upon houses which are being pulled down, &c. It may be readily conceded that the judgment of animals is often at fault, even as the same quality is frequently deficient in men.

* “Presidential Address,” by Professor St. George Mivart. † Ibid.
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The cleverest architects frequently err with regard to the position, strength, and convenience of the buildings they erect, and more frequently still with regard to the materials they employ ; but birds, even if they do occasionally err, certainly use a considerable amount of judgment and foresight in the erection of their nests, and frequently abandon a half-erected nest if it appears to them unsuitable in position, or deficient in strength, whilst the material employed is certainly varied according to circumstances. Wood tells us of some swallows who selected a warm spot over a baker's oven for their nest, but finding that the ordinary mud employed by them crumbled and fell from the heat, they sought a more tenacious clay, which became hardened and half-baked by the fire, thus forming a secure habitation.* Many instances of this change of material might be given : thus, the kapock vogel (a kind of oriole) of South Africa, which, before the introduction of sheep into the colony, used the silky down of a kind of wild cotton-plant to make its nest, began afterwards to mix the down with wool, and now generally uses wool only—as more easily obtainable and felting together more densely than the cotton down ; sometimes it takes a little of the latter as a lining. The following incident, related, by an eye-witness, of another of the oriole tribe, called in South Africa the yellow finch, or golden oriole, will illustrate not only the judgment exercised by these birds in the selection of a suitable position for their nest, but also the difference in the judgment of two birds of the same species. Most people are familiar with the nest of the oriole, and know that it is constructed so as to depend from a branch overhanging a stream, and has a long passage at the bottom ; both the passage and the position of the nest being, as is supposed, for the purpose of avoiding snakes, which are the natural enemies of small birds. Our informant having been attracted by the chattering of these birds at pairing time, watched them for some days attentively. After a considerable amount of apparent consultation they seemed to have selected an appropriate bough, and the male commenced to build the nest ; he had proceeded as far as the passage, when without ceremony the female came and deliberately pulled the whole to pieces. The nest was recommenced, and the passage placed in an opposite direction ; but when all but finished, the hen again pulled the whole edifice to pieces, not leaving a single thread on the bough. The male at this appeared angry, but after considerable altercation selected a fresh bough and again began his labour, and this time was allowed to complete it without interruption, and in due time it was occupied and the

* See "Man and Beast," by Rev. J. G. Wood.

young successfully hatched and brought up. The reason of the hen's apparent caprice being that the first bough was too stiff and unyielding, strong enough probably to support a snake, whilst the second, although sufficiently strong for the nest, swayed readily to and fro, and would have been unapproachable by snakes.

The judgment displayed by sporting dogs in refusing to follow a bad shot is well known; and as regards punishment, the sagacity of the dog is at least equal to that of the Australian referred to above, for although he will come unwillingly to receive a well-merited blow, yet all masters know that an unmerciful punishment will provoke obstinacy or retaliation from the best and most obedient of dogs;* whilst the horse and the ass are equally discriminating, for to beat either to excess will generally induce sullenness or restiveness in an animal of spirit, this being their only mode of showing their knowledge that they have not deserved the punishment inflicted. The judgment of the elephant also would seem to be peculiarly acute, leading often to acts of vengeance for an injury received so long ago as to be forgotten by all but the recipient; whilst the incident related by Watson† of an elephant in captivity which, in order to recover a sixpence which had fallen out of his reach, blew with his trunk against the opposite wall until the current of air thus produced brought the coin near enough to be picked up, would show an amount of intelligence certainly not inferior to that of many men.

With regard to concerted action, which Professor Mivart denies to the lower animals, Sir John Lubbock has proved its existence in the case of ants, which certainly combine both for attack, defence, and the seizure and storage of their prey; and we should have imagined that the concerted action of innumerable animals had been too well known to admit of doubt or dispute. Even animals of different species will combine for purposes of hunting or of plunder, whilst tame or domesticated animals undoubtedly enter into the wishes of their human masters, and act in concert with them, in order to bring them to pass—as, for example, tame elephants, as described by Sir Emerson Tennant and other writers, who will carry out man's wishes in making captives of

* We cannot refrain from giving the following interesting instance of a dog's conscience which comes to us from a trustworthy source:—A pet dog given to killing young ducks was punished for the crime by being made to stand on his hind legs in a corner of the room. One day he came in and placed himself unbidden in this position, and upon search being made it was found that he had been up to his old trick of duck killing, and had thus shown his sense of deserving punishment. Could a child do more than this in confessing a fault?

† "Reasoning Power in Animals," Rev. J. Selby Watson, p. 52.

their wild brethren ; and shepherds' dogs which seem in a marvellous manner to comprehend their master's intentions, and to combine with him in carrying them out. "If," says Professor Mivart, "animals were capable of deliberately acting in concert, the effects would soon make themselves known to us so forcibly, as to prevent the possibility of mistake."* We suspect many travellers have been unpleasantly convinced of the possibility of the concerted action of wild animals, both in the caution observable in their avoidance of the snares of the hunter and in the boldness with which they will sometimes descend in a body on the unprotected.† The practice so well known of posting sentinels to warn off danger, and of choosing leaders who are implicitly obeyed, surely denotes combined action and discipline incompatible with that mere blind instinct which writers of Professor Mivart's school alone allow to the lower animals.

A somewhat ludicrous example of concerted action among domesticated animals came under our own immediate notice some years ago in Ireland, and we give it here because we can vouch for its absolute truth. At a house in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where a good deal of poultry was kept, a hen with a young brood was allowed to take possession of a quiet corner under the boiler in the back kitchen, to be secure from rats which were very abundant in the outhouses. To this select society was also admitted a young duck, the sole remnant of a brood which had been given to the nurse, and by her consigned to the care of the hen. These lived happily together until the duckling had attained almost to full duckhood, when one evening there was a great outcry in the back kitchen, the hen, in a state of great agitation refusing to retire to rest as usual with her progeny, whilst she assailed vigorously with beak and claw her fellow-lodger the duck, who occupied apparently her accustomed place. Many efforts were made to reconcile the hen, but in vain. The nurse was at last called, who after looking at the scene for a few moments, exclaimed "Why, that is not my duck !" So the cheat was brought out and examined, it proved to be of nearly the same size and colour, but a stranger, whilst the true duck was found quietly reposing with its fellows in the outhouse, and on being brought into the back kitchen, was immediately welcomed by the hen, who retired quietly to rest with her as before, whilst the intruder, being ignominiously dismissed, went off probably to its own abode. That there must have been concerted action

* "Presidential Address," by Professor St. George Mivart.

† The Indian papers some time since gave particulars of many villages having been depopulated in consequence of moukeys having come down in great bands, driving out the human inhabitants.

here is evident, otherwise how could the two ducks have agreed as to their respective positions, but how, supposing the act to have originated from a desire of casting off leading strings and occupying its own position in the duck world, the duckling could have found another so nearly like itself, and have induced it to come in and occupy its deserted place in the back kitchen is certainly incomprehensible; and but for the conduct of the hen the cheat would not have been discovered. It is somewhat singular that another instance of mutual understanding, although perhaps not so decidedly illustrative of concerted action as the former, has also come under our notice with regard to tame ducks, birds which are seldom much noticed. In a village, or rather hamlet, in Wiltshire, was a farm-house where many ducks and fowls were kept, and at a short distance a cottage, the occupier of which had a little poultry and two ducks only. These every morning wandered away from home and joined the stock in the farm-yard, returning every evening escorted by a drake belonging to the farmer. The three would waddle together to the gate which shut off the cottage grounds from the road, and there, after many bowings and quackings, the two ducks would creep under the gate, the drake remaining outside and watching his late companions until they reached their resting-place, he would then quack loudly, as much as to say, "Are you all right?" and on receiving an answering quack would turn and run off quickly to his own harem, and this, which in human beings would be called a "polite act of seeing the ladies safe home," was repeated night after night as long as we continued to watch, and how much longer we know not, but the remarkable thing was that the drake never attempted to go beyond the boundary gate, and the ducks never thought of going to rest with their day companions, but voluntarily retired in an orderly manner to their solitary quarters.

These instances we have selected from our own experience, in preference to anecdotes already published, because we feel sure that every observer of animals may in like manner add to the authenticated instances of animal intelligence, and that every such incident will increase the observer's appreciation of the power of thought in creatures, which ignorance has denounced as stupid and devoid of sense. How far acts of this kind can be accounted for by that blind instinct which is supposed to be the sole guide of such animals, we must leave philosophers to settle to their own satisfaction, if not to that of ordinary observers; for ourselves, we confess that we see in them the same reasoning faculty possessed by the human race, though lower in degree, as it must necessarily be, when we consider not only the difference in external circumstances, arising from their being the

absolute slaves of man, but also the shortness of their lives, which prevents the accumulation of that knowledge which results from experience, and the differences of physical structure, which render many of the actions of man impossible to the brute. The mental capacity of the lower animals can never be compared with those of CIVILIZED man, who has accumulated the acquired knowledge of innumerable generations, but, as Dr. Lindsay has shown, it may in many instances compare favourably with that of some savages, and even with that of young children; for when Professor Mivart says, quoting from Mr. Lewes, "If we see a bud, after we have learned that it is a bud, there is always a glance forward at the flower and backward at the seed . . . but what animal sees a bud at all except as a visible sign of some other sensation?"* We cannot fail to observe that the whole argument is invalidated by the words, *after we have learned that it is a bud*, for the child untaught cares as little (as the lowest animal) for the bud "except as a visible sign of some other sensation," and the savage, until he has attained to the agricultural stage (which is one of semi-civilization), will certainly not look backward to the seed when seeing a bud, even if experience has taught him to expect therefrom first a flower and then a fruit, and in this case the bud would in like manner be regarded as "a visible sign of some other sensation"—i.e., of hunger. There can be little doubt that alike in the child, the savage, and the lower animals, the chief and primary sensation is that of hunger, and the means of gratifying that natural craving, so necessary in order to sustain and increase the vital force, becomes instinctive in all animals. The simple act, therefore, of seeking for and seizing food within easy reach can hardly be regarded as an act of reason, for, says the Rev. J. G. Wood, "Reason differs from instinct in the widest possible manner, the former being an exercise of the will, and the latter independent of it. Instinct is implanted at birth, while reason is an after-growth of the mind."† When, therefore, the young animal, whether human or not, seizes the first thing which presents itself, and devours it if eatable, whether good or bad, the act is one of instinct, but when it learns to reject some things, and to choose others, the choice denotes reason; and when an animal shows a sagacity equal or superior to that of the savage in the methods he employs for entrapping his favourite prey, we certainly cannot refuse to him in this particular instance reason equal to that of his human competitor. But here we are met by the great and at present unanswerable question, Where are

* "Presidential Address," by Professor St. George Mivart.

† "Man and Beast," by Rev. J. G. Wood, p. 50.

we to fix the bounds of this faculty of reason? what is its origin? and how low in the scale of animated Nature can it be traced? Darwin has shown that some plants have movements which would appear sentient. Not only do they lay snares for insects, but when caught they hold them securely by what would seem to be voluntary motion, and, moreover, have to a certain extent the power of choice, since they reject unsuitable objects when presented. Therefore, Professor Mivart says truly:—

“A science which should include the impressionability and reactions of a rhizopod, and exclude the far more striking impressionability and reactions of Venus’s fly-trap, and of other insectivorous plants, the recognised number of which is greatly on the increase, must be a very partial and incomplete science. If psychology is to be extended (as I think Mr. Spencer is most rational in extending it) to the whole animal kingdom, it must be made to include the vegetable kingdom also.”*

At present naturalists would hesitate to allow that the apparently voluntary motions of plants were the result of incipient reason; nevertheless, if asked to define the precise boundaries of the animal and vegetable world, and where automatic action ends and reason begins, they would confess their utter inability to do so, for in the lowest forms the two kingdoms shade off so gradually as to become intermingled and inseparable, and if reason should be held to commence with animal life, we know not where to seek it.

Automatic action, which we take to be synonymous with instinct, and which is common to both man and the lower animals, is thus analysed by Mr. Romanes:—

“All mental processes are accompanied by nervous processes; or, to adopt the convenient terms of Professor Huxley, psychosis is invariably associated with neurosis. The nature of this association, according to the best lights of our present knowledge, is probably as follows:—Nerve-tissue consists of two elementary parts—viz., nerve-cells and nerve-fibres. The nerve-cells are usually collected into aggregates, which are called nerve-centres, and to these nerve-centres bundles of nerve-fibres come and go. The incoming nerve-fibres serve to conduct stimuli or impressions to the cells in the nerve-centre; and when the cells thus receive a stimulus or impression they liberate a discharge of nervous energy, which then courses down the outgoing nerve-fibres, to be distributed either to other nerve-centres or else to muscles. It is in this way that nerve-centres are able to act in harmony with one another, and so to co-ordinate the action of the muscles over which they preside. This fundamental principle of neurosis is what physiologists call the principle of reflex action; and you will perceive that all it requires for its manifestation is an incoming nerve, a nerve-centre, and an outgoing

* “Presidential Address,” by Professor St. George Mivart.

nerve, which together constitute what has been called a nervous arc. Now, there can be no reasonable doubt that in the complex structure of the brain one nervous arc is connected with another nervous arc, and this with another almost *ad infinitum*; and there can be equally little doubt that processes of thought are accompanied by nervous discharges taking place now in this arc and now in that one, according as the nerve-centre in each arc is excited to discharge its influence by receiving a discharge from some of the other nerve-arcs with which it is connected.”*

After going on to show that these nervous discharges tend to follow the same course when started from the same origin, and become more easy by repetition, or that “lines of reflex discharge become more and more permeable by use,” and that, therefore, “the most fundamental of psychological principles—the association of ideas—is merely an obverse expression of the most fundamental neurological principles—reflex action,” he goes on to say :—

“All reflex action, or neurosis, is not attended with ideation or psychosis. In our own organization, for instance, it is only cerebral reflexes which are so attended; and even among cerebral reflexes there is good reason to believe that the greater number of them are not accompanied by conscious ideation; for analysis shows that it is only those cerebral discharges which have taken place comparatively seldom, and the passage of which is therefore comparatively slow, that are accompanied by any ideas or changes of consciousness. The more habitual any action becomes, the less conscious do we require to be of its performance; it is, as we say, performed automatically, or without thought. Now, it is of great importance thus to observe that consciousness only emerges when cerebral reflexes are flowing along comparatively unaccustomed channels, and therefore that cerebral discharges which at first were accompanied by definite ideas may, by frequent repetition, cease to be accompanied by any ideas. It is of importance to observe this fact, because it serves to explain the origin of a number of animal instincts. These instincts must originally have been of an intelligent nature; but the actions which they prompted, having through successive generations been frequently repeated, became at last organized into a purely mechanical reflex, and therefore now appear as actions which we call purely automatic, or blindly instinctive.”†

This analysis of what Mr. Romanes terms “the physiological basis of mind,” appears both comprehensible and satisfactory up to a certain point, but, as Mr. Romanes himself has pointed out, it does not account for all the observed facts, and he therefore goes on to show that, although we may in this manner “be able to explain all the more complicated among animal instincts as cases of ‘lapsed intelligence,’ on the other hand, a great many

* “Lecture on Animal Intelligence,” by George J. Romanes. † Ibid.

of the more simple instincts were probably evolved in a more simple way. That is to say, they have probably never been of an intelligent character, but have begun as merely accidental adjustments of the organism to its surroundings, and have then been laid hold upon by natural selection and developed into automatic reflexes." And among these he reckons that shamming of death, so common among insects in presence of danger, and of which Mr. Darwin says, that in no case did he find that the attitude in which the animal shammed dead resembled that in which it really died. This, however, we imagine can hardly be extended to those cases in which some animals, and especially foxes, sham death in order to ensnare their prey, for this would appear to us to be a distinctively intelligent action.

But in drawing attention to these different kinds of instinct, the one originally intelligent action, but becoming automatic by frequent repetition, and the other developed from actions never intelligent, but surviving because of benefit to the animal which first performed them, Mr. Romanes points out that, "although there is a great difference between them if regarded psychologically, there is no difference between them if regarded physiologically; for, regarded physiologically, both kinds of instincts are merely expressions of the fact that particular nerve-cells and fibres have been set apart to perform their reflexes automatically—that is, without being accompanied by intelligence."*

Thus far we have spoken only of those automatic actions or instincts which certainly are common alike to man and the lower animals, although probably more numerous and highly developed in the latter, not only because their genealogies are longer and their generations shorter, thus allowing for a greater accumulation of inherited mechanical reflexes, but also because we believe that *conscious* cerebration has a tendency to check *unconscious* cerebration, and that, therefore, the mental development of man has caused him to lose many of those instincts possessed by the lower animals, and still retained by the lowest races of mankind, as, for example, that peculiar *homing* instinct which exists in many insects and animals, and is possessed in a far higher degree by the savage than by the civilized man, and in which there would seem to be a combination of intelligence and instinct which Dr. Lindsay has properly classed among "unsolved problems."

The wonderful way in which bees and pigeons will find their way home from immense distances is well known, and the anecdotes told of the same faculty in dogs and cats are innumerable and too well authenticated to admit of dispute. Instances have

* "Lecture on Animal Intelligence," by George J. Romanes.

been known in which dogs have found their way home even across the ocean. Wood relates that a dog found its way from Calcutta to Inverkeithing, Scotland, coming in a ship from Calcutta to Dundee, and thence in a collier to Inverkeithing; and Watson tells of one coming to Northumberland from America, another to England from Bremen, and another to Edinburgh from Rome. Such instances might be given *ad infinitum*, but they are not confined to dogs and cats, bees and pigeons. Horses, mules, asses, and cattle possess the same power in a greater or less degree. We have been informed that wild cattle and horses bred in the Orange Free State will find their way back several months after having been taken some hundreds of miles into the Cape Colony, and so well is this known to the colonists, that in buying cattle or horses from long distances they always go to the same spot to seek them if lost. Sometimes as many as forty or fifty per cent. will find their way back by twos and threes to their old quarters; and the most singular thing is, that they will not retrace their steps by the way they came, but will generally strike across country in a direct line, although horses will sometimes follow the road. That migratory birds will return year after year to the same spot for building is well known, and it is a fact truly marvellous, when we remember the vast distances traversed by these little wanderers, and the perils encountered by the way. The development of this same quality among savages has been recorded by many travellers, and, although probably much depends upon minute observation, yet it seems evident that both with savages and the lower animals a certain sense or instinct is called into use for this particular purpose, which is either wanting or in abeyance among civilized men.

If Mr. Romanes be correct in affirming that only cerebral reflexes are attended with ideation, it is obvious that animals devoid of brains can possess no intelligence, and that sense would become developed in exact proportion to the size of the brain; yet we find that, next to man, the most indubitable proofs of intelligence are to be found among insects. "Looking at the nervous system of insects," says Wood, "in whom there is no definite brain, but merely a succession of ganglia united by a double nervous chord, many physiologists have thought that reason could not be one of the attributes of the insect race. Yet nothing is more certain than that they are able to converse with each other and communicate ideas, this fact showing that they must possess reason."* "The first animals in which, so far as I can ascertain," says Romanes, "we may be quite sure that reflex action is accompanied by ideation, are the insects," and he goes on to give

* "Man and Beast," by Rev. J. G. Wood, p. 165.

the observations of Darwin and Sir John Lubbock with regard to the teachability of bees, adding, "These observations would seem to prove that the grade of intelligence is higher in some articulata than it is among the lower vertebrata."* It would, in truth, appear that the hymenoptera, which include bees, wasps, and ants, have attained to the same rank among insects as man among mammals; and the wonders related by competent observers of the habits and customs, division of labour, industry, and laws of these social insects seem absolutely incredible. The ants, especially, seem to have attained to a perfect Utopia, according to Belt, who describes their various communities and the order observed in them; their wars and capture of slaves; their agricultural and engineering works; their tenderness towards their young, and care of their domestic cattle; their methods of communication and of combination for the common weal—until we are almost tempted to believe that man is himself inferior to these little ingenious, self-sacrificing insects. Belt makes the following comparison between the two:—

"The hymenoptera standing at the head of the articulata, and the mammalia at the head of the vertebrata, it is curious to mark how in zoological history the appearance and development of these two orders (culminating in the one in ants, and in the other in the primates) run parallel. The hymenoptera and the mammalia both make their first appearance early in the secondary period, and it is not until the commencement of the tertiary epoch that ants and monkeys appear upon the scene. There the parallel ends; no one species of ant has attained any great superiority above all its fellows, whilst man is very far in advance of all the other primates."†

It seems, however, difficult to decide how many of the attainments of ants and other insects are to be attributed to inherited instinct, and how much to pure mental processes; and this inquiry becomes more complicated when we consider that the greater part of these communities consists of sterile females and neuters, and differing greatly in form, size, and colour in the same community, who could not hand down their experiences to their descendants, whilst a great portion of their short lives is passed in a state of metamorphosis, in forms, and with instincts totally different from those of their adult state. So great was this difficulty felt to be by Darwin, that he assures us he at one time believed it fatal to his theory of natural selection;‡ and even now Sir John Lubbock confesses that the metamorphosis of insects seem to him one of the greatest difficulties of the Darwinian

* "Animal Intelligence," by George J. Romanes.

† "Naturalist in Nicaragua," by Thomas Belt, F.G.S., p. 28.

‡ "Origin of Species," chap. viii.

theory :—" In most cases, the development of the individual reproduces to a certain extent that of the race ; but the motionless, imbecile pupa cannot represent a mature form." It does, indeed, pass our comprehension how the acute instincts and undoubted reasoning powers of these most interesting creatures can become so rapidly and fully developed through so many different phases ; nevertheless, in the adult form the cerebral development is such as we might expect in accordance with the theory of Mr. Romanes. Belt says, "The cerebral ganglia in ants are more developed than in any other insect, and that in all the hymenoptera, at the head of which they stand, "they are many times larger than in the less intelligent orders, such as beetles."*

If there should seem a difficulty in admitting intelligent action in plants, and in insects and other articulata so differently constituted from ourselves, there would not appear to be the same difficulty in allowing cerebral reflexes, and consequently thought, in animals possessing brains like our own, conjoined to bodies presenting more or less similarity of structure to the "human form divine ;" but, as before stated, intelligent actions are less distinctly developed in the lower vertebrata than in the higher articulata, even as they would seem to be less marked in the lower articulata than in some insectivorous plants. Until recently, fishes were probably the least known, and therefore believed to be the least intelligent of the vertebrata ; but recent researches show that they are by no means so stupid as we have commonly supposed them to be, and that, in the construction of their nests, care of and affection for their young, and skill in ensnaring their prey, they are quite equal to many terrestrial animals, whilst there can be no doubt that they are equally amenable to instruction, coming to be fed at a call, &c. Of course there is, doubtless, much difference in the mental power, not only of different species, but also in individuals* of the same species. It is well known that some fish will allow themselves to be caught more than once in precisely the same manner, which does not seem to denote a high degree of intelligence : and Mr. Romanes relates the experiment of Professor Möbius to show how slowly a pike learnt that certain minnows were protected from him by a glass partition, and how the association of ideas thus established became so fixed, that when the glass was removed, the minnows still remained unmolested.

Of reptiles, toads and frogs have been most narrowly observed, and are more especially interesting from the fact of undergoing many remarkable metamorphoses before attaining the adult state.

* "Naturalist in Nicaragua," by Thomas Belt, F.G.S., p. 28.

Professor Mivart has studied these creatures, and described them exhaustively in a small volume of the "Nature Series," in which all their peculiarities of structure are minutely described ; but their mental characteristics are less clearly defined, and are probably not of a high order, being confined to their own defence and the capture of prey, although Wood, as quoted by Dr. Lindsay, assigns to them the power of measuring holes and distances, and a compassionate care of their maimed.*

In birds the instincts are very strongly developed, and it has often been said that they are invariable ; this, however, we believe to be quite untrue. We have already given some instances of a change of material in nest-building by wild birds in accordance with circumstances, and birds, when domesticated or in captivity, lose many of their wild instincts, and acquire habits totally at variance with those to which they were once accustomed. The acquisition of human speech by the parrot is certainly a proof of the bird's imitative powers, and of its general intelligence, although perhaps few would agree with Dr. Lindsay in supposing that the words are uttered by the bird with a full understanding of their meaning. Nevertheless, it must be allowed that they are often used very appropriately. We have often heard a parrot call the dog or a servant in the precise tones of the master, and laugh derisively when its summons was responded to ; but how much of this was simple imitation, and how much spontaneous mental effort, it would be impossible to decide. We have not space to repeat the numerous anecdotes given by Dr. Lindsay of the mental powers of birds, as culled from the works of naturalists, but it seems to us indubitable that reason, as well as instinct, must be attributed to the interesting denizens of the forest.

When we come to the rodents, we find tales innumerable of the cleverness of rats and mice, tales which almost every house-keeper might supplement by others equally remarkable. Their ingenuity in escaping snares rivals that of the fox, whilst their mutual understanding and combination for obtaining food, and sometimes for attack and defence, are well known. Watson speaks of their care of the maimed and blind, and gives, on the authority of Dr. Henderson, a confirmation of the fact observed by an older traveller in Ireland, of from six to ten mice collecting in parties, selecting a piece of dried cow-dung, placing upon it berries, &c., and using it as a raft in crossing a stream ; they launch it, embark upon it, and range themselves round the edge, their heads in the middle, their tails pendant in the stream

* *Mind in the Lower Animals,* pp. 71-98.

to serve as rudders.* The same author also gives instances of rats carrying potatoes in the manner so often ridiculed, but which an eye-witness has assured us he has seen done in the case of eggs—viz., that one rat will lie down, hold the egg or potato between his four paws, whilst his companions drag him and his burden along by the ears. That they are remarkably fertile in expedients cannot be doubted, and that their actions cannot be explained by any theory of inherited or acquired instinct is equally certain, since they are the result of unforeseen and constantly varying circumstances.

“As regards the association of ideas by the higher vertebrated animals,” says Mr. Romanes, “it is only necessary to say that in all these animals, as in ourselves, this principle of association is the fundamental principle of their psychology; that in the more intelligent animals associations are quickly formed, and when once formed are very persistent; and in general, that so far as animal ideation goes, the laws to which it is subject are identical with those under which our own ideation is performed” †

In proof of the great reasoning power possessed by some animals, Mr. Romanes gives two observations made by Dr. Rea, the one on a domestic and the other on a wild animal, which are so curious and important as to deserve repetition. The first was of a dog in Orkney, “which, being allowed to accompany its master to church on alternate Sundays, had to swim a channel nearly a mile wide, and, before taking to the water, used to run a mile to the north when the tide was flowing, and a nearly equal distance to the south when the tide was ebbing, almost invariably calculating his distance so well that he landed at the nearest point to the church.” ‡ The other instance is even more remarkable, as a proof of strong reasoning power in a wild animal:—

“Desiring to obtain some Arctic foxes, Dr. Rea set various kinds of traps; but as the foxes knew these traps from previous experience he was unsuccessful. Accordingly he set a kind of trap with which the foxes in that part of the country were not acquainted. This consisted of a loaded gun set upon a stand pointing at the bait. A string connected the trigger of the gun with the bait, so that when the fox seized the bait he discharged the gun, and thus committed suicide. In this arrangement the gun was separated from the bait by a distance of about thirty yards, and the string which connected the trigger with the bait was concealed throughout nearly its whole distance in the snow. The gun-trap thus set was successful in killing one fox, but never in killing a second; for the foxes afterwards adopted either of two devices

* “Reasoning Power in Animals,” by Rev. J. Selby Watson, p. 307.

† “Lecture on Animal Intelligence,” by George J. Romanes. ‡ Ibid.

whereby to secure the bait without injuring themselves. One of these devices was to bite through the string at its exposed part near the trigger, and the other device was to burrow up to the bait through the snow at right angles to the line of fire, so that although in this way they discharged the gun, they escaped with perhaps only a pellet or two in the nose. Dr. Rea adds that in that part of the world traps are never set with strings; so that there can have been no special association in the foxes' minds between strings and traps. Moreover, after the death of fox number one, the track on the snow showed that fox number two, notwithstanding the temptation offered by the bait, had expended a great deal of scientific observation on the gun before he undertook to sever the cord. Lastly, with regard to burrowing at right angles to the line of fire, Dr. Rea justly deemed this so extraordinary a circumstance that he repeated the experiment a number of times, in order to satisfy himself that the direction of the burrowing was really to be attributed to thought and not to chance."*

In accordance with the principles of evolution, we should expect to find the size of the brain increasing in proportion to the intelligence of the animal, and this seems to be at least partially the case. Watson gives the following table of the proportionate size of the brains of certain animals:—"The weight of man's brain, in proportion to his body, averages about 1 to 27; that of long-armed apes, about 1 to 40; fox, 1 to 205; horse, 1 to 400; elephant, 1 to 500."† Here we see the ape ranking next to man, but with a great interval between, whilst a very much wider interval intervenes between the ape and the fox, which, as we have seen above, often shows exceptional intelligence, the horse and the elephant ranking far below the fox, although we should have been inclined to assign to the latter a very high place in the scale of intelligence. But, in truth, it is well known that mere weight of brain is not always to be depended upon in gauging intellectual power; for the weight of an idiot's brain will often exceed that of a philosopher. The form, quality, and the various convolutions have all to be taken into account, and, with regard to the inferior animals, we do not think that, as yet, sufficient data exist for establishing that gradation which our own observation tells us certainly exists in the scale of animal intelligence.

If we desire to judge of the natural capacity of animals, we must observe them in their wild state, and find out how far they have become organized, or we may say *civilized*, without the aid of man. In thus judging, we shall find that many of them have established laws, offenders against which are punished; that their leaders are chosen for strength and courage, often by single

* "Lecture on Animal Intelligence," by George J. Romanes.

† "Reasoning Power in Animals," by Rev. J. Selby Watson, p. 281.

combat, and that the conqueror is obeyed, and sometimes blindly followed even to death ; that upon this leader devolves the duty of posting sentinels, of conducting foraging parties, and of providing for the safety of the young and feeble in case of attack or retreat from the enemy. Such combinations exist among insects and birds as well as among mammals, and certainly prove the existence of something above blind instinct, for such combinations could not exist without some means of intercommunication, some power of choice, some association of ideas.*

But it is among our domestic animals that we should expect to find the natural intelligence developed to the highest point of which it is capable, for upon these man has bestowed his care for innumerable generations, he has guided and controlled natural and sexual selection, and has succeeded in producing varieties to suit his tastes and caprices, but it seems doubtful whether he has in all cases raised the *mental* standard of the animals under his control. The domestic fowl has nearly lost the power of flight and capacity for defence ; the sheep has become timid and blindly dependent upon the shepherd, incapable of taking care of itself and its young excepting in those countries where from geographical difficulties it has reverted to a state of semi-wildness ; the same may be said of the pig, the goat, the ox, the horse, and to a certain extent of the deer ; and what have they gained by their association with man ? a fine form, an abnormal amount of flesh, and a slavish fear and dread of the enslaver. In most cases the organization and order proper to them in their wild state are in abeyance, and although in every herd there is still a leader, it is no longer the strongest and most courageous, but either one appointed by man, or an old experienced animal, knowing in the ways of the human master.

When, however, we come to the dog, which has for so many ages been the chosen friend and companion, as well as the trusty

* We have not said so much as we should like to have said with regard to the apes and monkeys, the limits of a Paper like the present preventing full details. Travellers all agree in crediting them with wonderful prudence and cunning, great affection for their young, and care for their wounded, combined, however, with a singular absence of abstract reasoning power. They will never put a stick on a fire to warm themselves, and may often be caught by most simple expedients, as, for instance, by cutting a hole in a melon, the monkey will thrust in his hand, grasp a handful of seeds, and being unable to withdraw it thus filled, will suffer itself to be taken rather than relax its hold. Yet in crossing streams they show wonderful intelligence, forming of their bodies a swinging bridge, and allowing the young and infirm to pass over them ; and in hunting under stones for scorpions or other food, they find a stone too heavy for one, others will come to assist in raising it. Also in feeding upon prickly pears, they deliberately rub them in the sand to free them of prickles. All these acts are indicative of reason.

servant of man, the case is different; here the efforts of man have been directed to the development of mental rather than bodily qualities, or to the perfection of some especial inherited instinct, and hence in the different breeds of dogs we get every imaginable quality, and added thereto as consequent upon the familiarity of intercourse subsisting between them and their masters, a docility, teachableness, fidelity, and wealth of affection far above that of any other animal. Our various breeds of dogs Mr. Darwin believes to have been derived from several wild species, yet at the present day we have little opportunity of judging of the qualities of the wild dog, since few now exist. There was a breed at the Cape, great brindled creatures with erect ears, which were the terror of the early settlers, from their habit of rushing among a flock of sheep, biting them beneath and devouring the intestines, leaving the sheep to die of the horrible wound; but these have been exterminated or driven into the interior; they seem always to have hunted in packs like wolves, which they somewhat resembled. The semi-wild dogs of Constantinople, so well known to travellers, have made for themselves laws and customs which speak much for the natural capacity and high intelligence of the race, and show what excellent material man had to work upon when bringing these intelligent creatures under his control; whilst the extent to which education may be carried is exemplified in the various performing dogs, and particularly in Mimos, that little cross-bred terrier, which has for some years past astonished the public by his attainments. It is claimed for him that he understands the first four rules of arithmetic; but whether he really understands figures or simply obeys a given sign from his mistress in picking up the right card without hesitation, the quickness and intelligence displayed are wonderful, as also in his choice of photographs, and in the correct spelling of a given word. We watched his proceedings with great interest, and fancied that the clue was given by fixed words used by the mistress to point out a certain row of cards; but he gave us the impression of certainly knowing some of the letters, and particularly "S;" in any case it would be impossible to deny to such an animal a great amount of intelligence over and above natural or acquired instinct; and it would be equally impossible to suppose the attainments of the Scotch collie to result from instinct alone. One of the most remarkable signs of the acuteness of this intelligent breed of dogs is their power of counting as well as collecting a flock of sheep. It is well known that if sent to bring together a flock from the hills, they will do so without leaving one; that they will separate their master's sheep from others with which they have become mingled, and if told to bring them two or three at a time will do so

without fail. We cannot suppose it possible that they could do all this without some knowledge of numbers, and some comprehension of the meaning of human speech; indeed, it appears certain that dogs, and other animals also in an inferior degree, do understand the meaning of words addressed to them by man, and do very frequently also hear and understand that which is *not* addressed to them, it would otherwise be impossible to explain those cases in which dogs so frequently anticipate their masters' intentions, getting out of the way when they overhear they are to be shut up, appearing far in advance on a road they have heard their masters speak of following, &c. Numerous other authentic instances of canine understanding might be given did space permit, but for these we must refer our readers to the works of naturalists, merely pointing out in this place as a proof that dogs do really comprehend the meaning of language, the fact that a dog brought up in one country does not understand the language of another country, but if transferred, say, from England to France, has slowly to learn to understand French, even as a child would do. There is, as every one must have observed, a vast difference in the mental capacity of dogs, and it is not generally among those of the purest breed that the greatest capacity is to be found; on the contrary, mongrels often show the highest mental power. We once knew a very handsome Blenheim spaniel, which, having been taken very early from her mother, seemed to show an arrested mental development; she never could learn to pick a bone as other dogs do, by putting the paw or paws upon it to hold it steadily, but would stand holding it in her mouth by a bit of skin, and shaking it till it dropped. If called or whistled to, she would always run *with* the sound and could not be taught to do otherwise, for in fact it requires a certain mental effort to enable a dog to understand that he must come *towards* a sound instead of following after it; and so hopeless was the effort to teach this dog, that we found the only way to make it understand was by signs, which she would obey slowly; yet she was not deaf, for she would always prick up her ears and run after a sound. The marvellous way in which dogs and other animals will find their way over utterly unknown tracts has been already referred to; in this the dog is certainly not guided only by scent (although that is something extraordinary and incomprehensible from its extreme delicacy), in many cases, such as those of animals crossing the sea, &c., and finding their way through London streets traversed for the first time, to the one vessel among so many in the docks from which they were taken; even landmarks can be no guide. Dr. Lindsay attributes it to a sense of polarity, but whatever it may be, it is one proof among many of wonderful

acuteness, and another may be recorded almost equally curious, which is the idea of time. Cases are recorded of dogs knowing the exact hour at which to meet their master, of their noting the recurrence of certain days year after year. That they should recognise Sundays and the time of meals is perhaps less remarkable; but among pet dogs, the bath-day is known long before any water is prepared, and we have often known them to hide away on that day, even when there was no intention of giving the bath, and when therefore there could not have been sights or scents to guide them. This sense of time is also shared in an inferior degree by other domestic animals; cats will wait at a certain time for an accustomed meal, and we have often watched with interest the long train of cows and goats returning at sunset in an orderly manner, unsought, from the mountains in Switzerland, and more particularly in the Tyrol; all following their leader, the cows first and the goats afterwards, each turning in to their respective homesteads without a call, or even a dog to collect them together.

There is one more subject which we must lightly touch upon with respect to animal intelligence, although space forbids us to discuss it at the length it deserves. Mr. Romanes attributes to the lower animals all the human emotions "except those which refer to religion and to the perception of the sublime."* With regard to religion, Sir John Lubbock seems half-disposed to attribute the germs of it to his favourite insects the ants, since he is unable to account for the presence of certain blind beetles in some ants' nests, unless they are retained as objects of superstitious veneration. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that among the higher vertebrata, especially dogs, superstitious fear is a feeling more fully developed than among civilized man. This feeling was finely portrayed by Rivière in his picture in last year's Academy, in which the horse and dogs are represented as cowering in mortal terror at the entrance of a deep cavern, whilst the knight sits erect and courageous, holding a cross before him as a safeguard. But it must be noted in this composition, which every one will recognise as truthful, that superstitious feeling—dread of the unknown—is alike in both man and beast, only in the one it is controlled, not by reason, but by faith in a power invisible, and utterly incomprehensible to the animals, because of its abstract nature. This strong feeling of horror at the unknown, which exists alike in children, savages, and the lower animals, and lurks in the heart of the educated and civilized man also, may be in a great measure instinctive; but it is evidently the germ of that which becomes developed into super-

* "Lecture on Animal Intelligence," by George J. Romanes.

stition, and later into religion. That some animals possess it in a very remarkable degree is evidenced by the popular belief in the power of horses and dogs to see spirits, and to foretell death. The baying or howling of dogs or starting of horses on moonlight nights is probably caused by the horror of the deep mysterious moving shadows, but that they have some unexplained sense of the approach of death seems to be demonstrated by many recorded instances, whilst the fact that sharks will follow for days a vessel containing one sick unto death, is certainly not altogether a sailor's superstition. These things are wholly inexplicable with our present imperfect psychological knowledge, but perhaps will some day yield to the light of science; and there is also another subject worthy of investigation, and upon which a most interesting book might be written—namely, the strange friendships subsisting between animals of totally different species, and even as it would appear between insects and plants; some of these are, of course, the consequence of mutual benefits, but with many this motive seems wholly wanting, as, for instance, that of the hermit crab with certain anemones, the pilot fish and the shark, and that of the prairie dogs and owls, of which Mrs. Brassey gives such an interesting account in "*The Voyage of the Sunbeam*." Among domestic animals, a sense of isolation may often be the cause of the strange friendships we see, but this can have no effect in such communities as those of the prairie dogs.

Mr. Romanes places the great dividing line between the intelligence of man and that of the lower animals in the possession, by the former, of the power of articulate speech. He says: "The only difference between animal intelligence and human intelligence consists in this—that animal intelligence is unable to elaborate that class of abstract ideas, the formation of which depends on the faculty of speech."* Yet it is certain that among many of the lowest savages speech is in a very rudimentary stage, consisting almost entirely of gesture language; whilst the complex dialects of civilized man have been slowly elaborated during countless ages of ever-advancing civilization, aided by ever-increasing intercourse; for there can be no doubt that the one chief thing necessary to advancement; either in civilization or in language, is intercourse, whilst isolation means stagnation in everything. As a rule, we find the intelligence of social animals much greater than that of those which live a solitary life; but with all there exists, if not articulate speech, yet such a power of inter-communication of ideas as serves instead of it, and there would seem to be in the lower animals also a greater aptitude for understanding the language of different

* "*Lecture on Animal Intelligence*," by George J. Romanes.

species, and of man himself, than exists in the human race. Much of the language of animals consists of gesture. Insects communicate with each other almost entirely by means of touches of the antennæ, but among the vertebrata there are various cries, the tones of which seem to convey certain emotions, not only to those for whose benefit they are uttered, but to all animals of every kind within hearing. The warning cry of a bird will cause all other animals to look to their own safety. Many of these cries are understood by man, and imitated by him for his own purposes; but we think it will be admitted that man, as yet, has never been able to enter so fully into the feelings of the lower animals, nor to comprehend their language so well as the dog, the horse, and the elephant have learnt to understand the language, and interpret the feelings of their human master.

We have seen that Dr. Lindsay claims for the lower animals an intelligence greater than that of the human savage; that Professor Mivart, on the contrary, denies to them all power of thought, regarding them as mere automata moved by instincts implanted in them at their creation, uncontrolled and uncontrollable by reason, whilst Mr. Romanes shows that both the instincts and reason of animals are similar in kind, though differing in degree from those of men, the grand distinction between them consisting in the possession of speech by the latter. We have endeavoured to place the views of each fairly before our readers, although we have not attempted to hide our sympathy with those of Mr. Romanes.

Upon one branch of the subject, that of mental disease and incapacity, as treated of by Dr. Lindsay, we have not time to say much: we believe that he has greatly prejudiced his subject by injudicious treatment, much that is really important being so intermingled with trivialities as to throw a suspicion of unreality and ridicule upon the whole. That animals should exhibit signs of insanity, of aberration and deficiency of intellect, is a strong proof that they do possess mind similar to that of man, whilst the fact that similar diseases affect both man and beast, are communicable from one to the other, and are curable by the same remedies, is another strong argument in favour of those who maintain the evolution of species, and the common descent of man and other animals from lower forms. Comparative psychology is at present in its infancy, but it is a branch of biology certain to advance with rapid strides, not only from its importance, but because the restless intellect of man is ever on the watch for a new outlet for its activities, and this we believe constitutes one of the greatest distinctions between the mental capacity of man and the lower animals. The intellect of the animal is centred chiefly in self or its own species, although the dog seems to rise above the general level,

in frequently making its master's interests its own, but man alone has the power to investigate, weigh, and consider facts relating to natures other than his own; nevertheless, we must in fairness admit that this quality does not exist alike in all men. In savages it is certainly wanting, or present in an infinitesimal degree, and the same may be said of idiots and very young children, therefore Mr. Romanes has justly drawn a parallel between animal intelligence and that of idiots, children, and deaf mutes, showing that whilst in the two former cases the analogy is not perfect, because we cannot fairly compare the immature with the mature, and arrested or imperfect cerebral development, with that which is perfect in its kind, yet in the third the analogy is much greater, since it is found that the human being deprived of speech is in mental capacity little above the more highly-gifted of animals, and in all three a graduated scale may be traced, bringing the mind of man more nearly to the level of the higher animals. Curiosity, one of the great levers of the human race, is wanting alike in savages, very young children, idiots, and the inferior animals, but becomes developed in the higher animals, and especially in man's nearest allies—the apes—being accompanied in them with very strong imitative powers; but invention is beyond the capacity of even the highest anthropoid ape, although existing to a limited extent in the lowest savage.

But in asserting that the mind of man and that of the lower animals is identical in kind though different in degree, psychologists and physiologists allow that the problem of what is mind and where we are to look for its origin, remains unsolved and probably unsolvable. “At the line where mind and matter meet,” says Mr. Romanes, “there rises, like a frowning cliff, a mighty mystery, and in the darkness of the place we hear the voice of true philosophy proclaim, ‘Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.’”*

Some amiable naturalists who would strongly repudiate the Darwinian theory, are yet so impressed with the mental qualities of the brute creation, their patient endurance and other moral attributes, that they endue them not only with mind, but with that ethereal, incomprehensible, and eternal essence denominated soul, and claim for them, equally with man, a future state. We need scarcely point out that this is mere sentiment. Seeing the inequalities of life both for men and animals, the hardships endured by the many, the luxuries enjoyed by the few, our instinctive sense of justice leads us to look to an unknown future for compensation. Moreover, the real lover of animals looks forward

* “Lecture on Animal Intelligence,” by George J. Romanes.

with a feeling of dismay to a future without those animal pets which have added so much to his happiness here, whilst the majority of mankind, mindful of acts of cruelty and injustice, would be filled with horror at the thought of meeting in another world the victims of their oppression here. It is, however, evident, that if we admit a community of origin in man and the lower animals, not only as regards bodily parts, but also in mental processes, and believe with Mr. Herbert Spencer and Darwin in the "necessary acquirement of each mental power and capacity by gradation,"* we cannot deny to the animal world the possibility of a higher and more perfect development of those qualities in the future; and even if we doubt for the lower animals the possibility of a "resurrection of the body and life everlasting," we may yet be certain that, "as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection."

ART. VII.—THE ISSUES OF THE ELECTION.

1. LORD BEACONSFIELD'S *Letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*
2. SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE'S *Address to the Electors of North Devon.*
3. LORD HARTINGTON'S *Address to the Electors of North-east Lancashire.*
4. MR. GLADSTONE'S *Address to the Electors of Midlothian.*
5. MR. SHAW'S *Address to the Electors of the County of Cork, &c. &c. &c.*

WITH the opening of Parliament came a lull in the political tempest which had raged so fiercely through the whole of the recess. Both parties seemed to resign themselves to the prospect of a working Session; and it was assumed that the Opposition would have time to consider the case they had placed before the country, and to amend their argument, if in any point it seemed to require amendment. So profound was the calm that even the announcement of the Dissolution failed to raise the temperature of public discussion to anything like the point at which it stood during the debates on the Eastern Question and the Afghan War. The addresses of the leading members of the House of Commons contain nothing that is new, and little that is exciting. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is almost

* "Origin of Species," chap. xv. p. 428.

apologetic ; Lord Hartington is moderate, and even generous ; and Mr. Gladstone has not made the shadows in his picture of the Government quite so black as they were in the picture exhibited last November. We do not propose to make an elaborate examination of these documents, or of that strange literary portent, the Prime Minister's Letter to a Noble Duke. Soon after these observations are published, the contest will be over ; our destinies for some years to come will be decided ; and the Liberal party will either be endeavouring to discover how its programme may be carried out by a Liberal Government, or speculating on the reasons which may lead the country to repeat in 1880 the verdict of 1874. Considering the results of recent bye-elections Ministers have every reason to expect that they will still be in power when the new Parliament meets in May. If this should be the event, we believe they will owe the renewal of popular confidence not so much to any merits of their own as to the mistakes of the Opposition. On the eve of an election it might savour of disloyalty to dwell on such matters ; but when the election is over many Liberals may find themselves in a fit frame of mind to consider our view of the situation.

Any moderately observant politician could reproduce from memory the outlines of the Liberal case as it was presented by Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt during the recess. Liberal Governments are always wise, moral, and economical ; Tory Governments are always stupid, unprincipled, and expensive. January, 1874, marks the highest point of our national fortunes. At that date our services were efficiently and cheaply conducted ; our resources were abundant and well husbanded ; the roots of Irish discontent had been torn out of the ground ; The Colonies loved us and Foreign Powers respected us. Such was the scene on which Mr. Disraeli entered, like the Serpent in Eden, or like Don Giovanni among a virtuous operatic peasantry ; in a moment of weakness happy England forgot the authors of her happiness, and the powers of evil triumphed for a season. Since that time, what has happened ? Exactly what we told you would happen. Every maxim of sound finance has been cast to the wind ; every consideration of public law and public honour has been trampled under foot ; Ministers have violated the Constitution at home while the attention of the country was fixed upon their blustering and filibustering foreign policy. But the country is at last alive to its danger ; public feeling is so hostile to the Government that Lord Beaconsfield is actually going to inflict upon us a seventh Session of the Beer-and-Bible Parliament. Be it so ; the longer the day of reckoning is delayed, the more terrible it will be when it comes.

Moderate politicians may be, as Sir W. Harcourt seems to

think, a contemptible class of persons ; but they decide the fate of elections ; and moderate politicians are apt to be prejudiced against any proposition which is made too clear to them. A party which has no faults to confess, and no lessons to learn, cannot speak the language which appeals most powerfully to the English mind. Lord Beaconsfield, who knows our weaknesses, never pretends to absolute wisdom ; indeed, he has more than once made a profit out of the candid confession of a failure. What, on the other hand, was the effect upon the country of the unmeasured invective and self-gratulation of the Liberal leaders ? The answer to that question was given at Sheffield, at Liverpool, and at Southwark. At Sheffield, with every point in their favour, the Liberals barely held their own ; at Liverpool, with perfect organization, and with the aid of the Home Rule vote, they were unable seriously to shake the Tory supremacy ; at Southwark, the indifference and the positive ill-will of a large body of Liberals handed over the seat to an uncompromising supporter of the Government. There are many ingenious ways of accounting for these events ; but no amount of ingenuity will convert a defeat into a victory. We may as well acknowledge that a genuine feeling of alarm was produced throughout the country by the Liberal speeches of the recess. If our deeds, when we should come into power were to match our speeches in Opposition, the country was threatened with instant and immediate reversal of English policy at home and abroad. *Entente cordiale* with Pan Slavism ; abandonment of the Turkish Empire to its fate ; unsparing reductions in our military expenditure ; announcement to all mankind of England's conviction that she is already overburdened with work and must begin to bring her imperial responsibilities within the strictest limits—such was the programme suggested to the popular imagination by those speeches which enthusiastic party managers were distributing broadcast among the electors. The mismanagement of Lord Ramsay and the Liverpool Nine Hundred added a new item to the programme ; a new phrase enriched the not very extensive vocabulary of Conservative speakers : “ The Liberals are coquetting with Home Rule.” When we add that the uncertain language of Lord Hartington and Mr. Gladstone in regard to the Church of Scotland has excited the alarm of the Church and State party throughout the island, and that the unmeaning phrase, “ Local Option,” has redoubled the Conservative zeal of the publicans, we get some notion of the facts as they presented themselves to the impartial minds of election agents.

It would be easy to show that the popular distrust of Liberals and their policy arose in large measure from ignorance. Few Liberals have accepted the doctrine of the Manchester School ;

very few would have anything to do with Home Rule ; we are not admirers of Russian despotism ; we are not indifferent to the maintenance of our Indian Empire. Why, then, are we misunderstood on all these points ? The answer is written plainly enough in the history of the last ten years ; but if we resort to that history only that we may throw the faults of the Tories into appropriate depth of shade by contrasting them with the brilliant virtues of Mr. Gladstone and his colleague, we shall omit to notice some facts of cardinal importance. At the risk of being written down Moderate Liberals, we must try to call the attention of the party to some of these facts. In our own interest we should beware of forgetting that our virtues are not the only causes of our misfortunes. The late Administration fell, not only because it offended and alarmed certain classes of the community (as every reforming Government must), but because it disregarded some of the deeper political instincts of the nation. The easy solution—"harassed interests"—will not account for the portentous fact that Mr. Gladstone lost command of the House of Commons in less than five Sessions. If the late Prime Minister has really retired from the leadership of the party, may we not acknowledge the fact that Mr. Gladstone, great in legislation and administration, unapproachable in debate, was one of the worst party managers ever known ? He did not conciliate undecided politicians ; he did not attract to himself the rising talent of the House of Commons ; he could not assume that "studied illogical moderation" which a shrewd observer has declared to be necessary to the success of a party leader. He required, and for a time commanded, the implicit obedience of his followers ; but when that failed, he could not build up his power anew out of the influence that remained to him. There was nothing personally disgraceful to Mr. Gladstone in the decline of 1873 and the catastrophe of 1874 ; but the manner of his fall should teach a variety of useful lessons to those who aspire to succeed him.

We may as well admit further that the foreign and imperial policy of the late Liberal Government was not to the liking of the English people. Mr. Gladstone found the Liberal party more or less divided between the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston and the foreign policy of Mr. Cobden ; and he did not make it sufficiently clear which of the two he preferred. But he eschewed, on principle, the Palmerstonian style ; and his Government acted more than once in such a way as to produce the impression that our policy, as well as our language, had undergone a change. They submitted the Alabama Claims to arbitration, which was wise and right ; but they accompanied the submission with concessions that were neither necessary nor fair. They released Russia from a restriction imposed by the

Treaty of Paris on the plea that high authorities had pronounced the restriction indefensible; but no authority justified them in allowing an important European Act to be set aside at a time when war was raging, and judicial consideration of the difficulty impossible. Even Liberals began to ask uneasily what Mr. Gladstone was going to give up next. Of course the Conservatives were ready enough to exaggerate and to turn to account the alarm of honest patriots; but even blameless Liberal Governments must be prepared for the ordinary incidents of party warfare. Mr. Gladstone had every opportunity of defending and explaining his policy; and the country failed to appreciate it. Reinforced by a great body of moderate politicians, the "harassed interests" triumphed in the General Election of 1874.

It is constantly asserted that the Disraeli Government came into power without a programme. Here, again, Liberal criticism overshoots the mark, and tends to provoke a reaction in favour of the party attacked. There was a Conservative programme, vague in some of its points, but fairly understood by the country. Local government was to be reformed, and local taxation lightened; the public services were to be strengthened; sanitary and other reforms of an unostentatious but widely-beneficial character were to be attempted; the integrity of the Empire was to be maintained by drawing the Colonies closer to the mother country, and by pursuing a spirited foreign policy. The awkward moment came when Ministers had to confess that they were *not* going to repeal the Education Act of 1870, and the Licensing Act of 1872; but there was still enough useful work for one Parliament; and the Conservatives set to work brimful of hope and good resolutions. It would be unfair to say that they failed altogether to fulfil the promises on which they came into power. They were in some respects more successful than most of their friends expected. The late Mr. Bagehot predicted that the greatest danger of a Conservative Government would be its want of administrative capacity; and there was some ground for the prediction. Lord Beaconsfield's mind, as his lieutenants have frequent and painful occasion to know, is "not parochial;" and most of his colleagues were new to their work. But Mr. Cross, Mr. Smith, and Lord Carnarvon turned out especially good administrators; and the rest have not committed a high average of blunders. Sir Stafford Northcote's finance certainly offers many occasions of adverse criticism; and we shall not push the moderation of our Liberalism so far as to defend it. If we may presume to offer a piece of advice to Liberal speakers and writers in connection with this part of the subject, our advice would be not to spoil a strong case by

overstating it. Let us carefully discriminate between natural or deliberate increase of expenditure and waste of public money ; let us avoid the absurdity of telling people who are perfectly able to pay their taxes that they are groaning under the burden laid upon them by the Government. Above all, let us beware of making the argument of expense too prominent in our discussion of questions of policy. From close personal observation of a recent borough election we are convinced that this mistake has done harm to the Liberal cause, especially among working men. The enfranchised of 1867 do not like to be told that they care more for good trade and light taxes than for imperial policy. They would appreciate highly the merits of a Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer who should carry out with zeal and energy the principles of finance which Sir Stafford Northcote professes but does not always practise. But they would not purchase the services of such a financier by any concession which would affect the safety or the dignity of the Empire. We do not say that such concessions are required of them ; but the undue prominence sometimes given to the subject of finance in attacks on the Government leads to misconception. Sound finance is, as Mr. Gladstone says, a condition of all good government ; but it is not the sole or the chief condition.

There is not much in the legislation of the Government which will affect the result of the Election. In this department their performances were respectable, and nothing more. Mr. Cross has consolidated the laws relating to Public Health, Factories, and Weights and Measures ; he has also carried the Artisans' Dwellings Act, which is a useful measure with a somewhat pretentious title. Lord Cairns is likely to be remembered as the author of a considerable number of draft Law Reforms, some of which will, no doubt, be very useful to his successors.* Ministers were content, for the most part, to proceed upon legislative lines already marked out for them. They did not make many concessions to the prejudices of their supporters. The Endowed Schools Act, the Public Worship Regulation Act, and a mildly reactionary Licensing Act, did not go far to satisfy the two great Associations which supplied so many Conservative canvassers in the General Election of 1874. But the whole of their legislative work is wanting in vigour and finish ; and they were prone to the weakness of undertaking far more than they could perform. Patent Laws, Bankruptcy Laws, the Law of Master and Servant, a Criminal Code, Copyright, County Government, Municipal Corporations—all these subjects received a certain amount of attention, and were always going to be dealt with, when Ministers could find time. Bills were introduced Session after Session, recommended to public notice in a lucid and conciliatory

speech by some member of the Government, and dropped at an early stage. But the ineffective reforms and unexecuted projects of the Conservative Government look almost real beside the measures they passed when any great interest or prejudice barred the Parliamentary highway. The Agricultural Holdings Act is a tenant-farmers' Bill, revised and rendered innocuous by the landlords; the Rivers Pollution Act has been framed with a careful eye to the susceptibilities of manufacturing magnates; and the new clauses of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1876 represent the result of a free fight between Mr. Plimsoll and the shipowners, waged during two Sessions over the helpless body of the late President of the Board of Trade. These are subjects which cry out for legislative treatment—the local government of London, for example—which no Conservative Government would dare to touch. Even the promised consolidation of the Licensing Laws had to be indefinitely postponed; that powerful body, the United Kingdom Alliance, and that indefinitely more powerful body the Licensed Victuallers' Association, were both on the watch; and Mr. Cross will not face them both again if he can avoid a meeting. The result of this legislative weakness is worse than stagnation; it amounts to positive reaction and declension. Abuses, and the people who profit by abuses, are only kept in check by the fear of "harassing legislation." We should be sorry to look forward to seven more years of legislation on the latest Conservative pattern.

There can be no better test of the resolution and common sense of a Government than their ecclesiastical legislation; and we know that Conservative Governments are supposed to have a special knowledge of that department of affairs. But if Lord Beaconsfield's fame is to be measured by the success of his ecclesiastical policy, his monument will not be an enduring one. His greatest achievement in this line is the Public Worship Regulation Act. The Courts had repeatedly condemned Ritualist priests on the ground that the law of the Church must be interpreted in accordance with the unbroken practice of the Church during two centuries. Their decision left some important points still doubtful; endless excuses were found for prolonging litigation and resistance. To the lay mind, it might have appeared desirable to begin legislation on such a subject by a clear declaration stating what the law of the Church was to be. To the ecclesiastical mind, however, such a course presented insuperable difficulties: the bishops wished to leave the law as it was, and to increase only the harassing powers of Church Courts and "aggrieved parishioners;" and this proposal was hailed with joy by the Protestant majority of the House of Commons. Instead of attempting to moderate their rage, Mr. Disraeli joined in the

No-Popery cry, put himself at the head of the No-Popery mob, and carried an Act to "put down Ritualism." We need hardly say that this Act has proved a conspicuous failure. The highest legal authorities differ, and even quarrel, over its provisions; the more sensible of the bishops themselves treat it as a dead letter; and it may be safely predicted that Lord Beaconsfield will not return to the subject. Nor was the Prime Minister altogether fortunate in his dealings with the Church of Scotland. The ministers of that Church had resolved to get rid of lay patronage, and when Mr. Gladstone was in office they sounded him on the subject. Mr. Gladstone, who knows something of Scottish ecclesiastical history, suggested that if such a change were to be made, something must be done for those dissenting Presbyterians who have at various times seceded from the Scottish Church on account of difficulties arising out of this very question of patronage. The ministers were taken aback for the moment; but, with less than the usual caution of Scotchmen, they renewed their proposal in 1874. Mr. Disraeli knew nothing of the subject, except the fact—first revealed to the world in the pages of "Lothair"—that the United Presbyterian Church was a creation of the Jesuits; but, to oblige his reverend friends from the North, he took their Bill and passed it for them without difficulty. The result has been more creditable to Lord Beaconsfield as a party leader than as a statesman. An immediate and powerful impulse was given to the Disestablishment agitation, which the Government aimed at counteracting. But the Church has been brought so near the precipice that she clings to Lord Beaconsfield as her protector; at the coming election the parish ministers of Scotland will, in all probability, range themselves with the Conservatives.

The object of the present criticism is not to exhaust the issues of the Election, but only to consider those issues with a view to the reduction of the Liberal party's case to a probable and satisfactory shape. We are therefore spared the necessity of arguing over again from the beginning those questions of foreign and imperial policy on which the Election has been made to turn. We have taken occasion to express our opinion on events as they arose; we have spoken with freedom of the Government when we thought them wrong. But we have refused, and still refuse, to join the discordant chorus of critics who agree in nothing except the belief that a Tory Government can never even by accident be in the right. If we are to believe the orators of our party, Lord Beaconsfield and his colleagues were the most warlike and the most cowardly, the most narrowly selfish and the most suicidally unselfish, the most foolishly sentimental and the most wickedly cold-hearted of English Governments. The source of this inconsistent and extravagant declamation is not

far to seek. English Liberals have never as a party been disposed to follow Mr. Gladstone implicitly on questions of foreign policy, or to adopt his peculiar doctrine in regard to our imperial responsibilities; but they have allowed him of late years to give the tone to Opposition criticism of the Government. Now, Mr. Gladstone has persuaded himself that our Government not only aggravated but actually created all the difficulties of the Eastern Question; that Lord Beaconsfield is animated by a love of despotism for its own sake, and a wanton desire to disturb the peace of Europe by untimely displays of the power of this country; and that the action of England in regard to Turkey and her subjects since 1875 has been invariably wrong. No moderate politician believes any one of these propositions; it is only among a handful of zealots that they are regarded as cardinal articles of the Liberal faith. The average elector knows very well that the Eastern Question was raised by events quite beyond our control; that Lord Beaconsfield has laboured, and laboured successfully, to keep us at peace; that the Government has made many attempts—unsuccessful, it may be, but unquestionably sincere—to redress some of the evils of Turkish administration. He knows further that the interests and the dignity of England have been, on various occasions during the past four years, seriously imperilled, and he sees that our interests have been protected and our dignity preserved in such a way as to command the respect of our neighbours. He may perhaps think that we have lost more than one opportunity of asserting our influence on the side of freedom; he may perceive clearly enough that the Anglo-Turkish Convention is an unbusiness-like document, and that our conduct in regard to the claims of Greece has not been altogether straightforward. Gratitude and common sense, however, dispose him to judge the Government leniently; he is only irritated and repelled by a style of criticism which affixes a moral stigma to errors of judgment. Even those Liberals who believe that Mr. Gladstone was right and the Government wrong are beginning to think that the question between them and their opponents is a question of fact, not of first principles. All the abstract rules of foreign policy, set out with unnecessary elaboration in Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian speeches, are recognised by Conservatives and Liberals alike. Lord Beaconsfield and his colleagues thought that the right application of those rules imposed on them a certain policy; they may have been wrong, but if they were, they did not become criminally but only politically responsible for the results of their mistake. To speak as if the excesses of Turkish officials or the burning of Afghan villages afforded some mysterious satisfaction to English Ministers is to forfeit the attention of every reasonable man. To

do Mr. Gladstone justice, he is accustomed to present charges of this kind from a lofty impersonal point of view; he did not attack the character of individual Ministers. But other members of the late Government allowed themselves considerably greater liberty. Mr. Bright told us that Lord Beaconsfield is indifferent to the shedding of English blood, because he has none of it in his own veins; and the Duke of Argyll has for some time past devoted his whole mind to prove that Lord Salisbury's word is not to be believed. Of course it is perfectly open to public men to make such charges against their opponents and to prove them if they can. But the wearisome iteration of charges which do not admit of strict proof is more likely to profit the accused than the accusers. It is time to be rid of much of the collateral and extraneous matter which has been imported into this controversy. The past has its own importance, but it is not wholly on the past that the Government and the Opposition will be judged. The question which the electors will ask of the Liberal party is not, What would you have done? but, What do you propose to do? To that question our leaders seem in no hurry to return an answer. Nobody has the faintest idea what the foreign policy of a Liberal Government at the present moment would be. It is understood that they wish to reverse a good deal that has been done by the Conservatives; the average elector is by no means certain that they would not give up the attempt to assert the influence of England in Eastern Europe altogether. It is understood that they wish to preserve peace and to promote the better observance of the Ten Commandments; but what specific means they will take to this end, what conception they have formed of the duty of England in the present state of the Continent, we do not know and none seems able to tell us.

In the General Election of 1874 one of the most effective of the Conservative cries was "the integrity of the Empire." There was a general impression among the electors that Liberal statesmen were indifferent to the maintenance of the connection between England and her Colonies, and not unwilling to surrender some of her imperial rights. This impression was produced by various speeches and articles of Mr. Gladstone's. Like his master, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Gladstone has always been deeply conscious of the heavy responsibilities thrown upon this country by the unexampled greatness of its possessions. He is anxious to "bring the Empire within bounds," to "keep some proportion between the back and the burden," and the smallest prospect of an increase to British territory raises in his mind the fear that the "weary Titan" is going to sink under the "too vast orb of his fate." Mr. Gladstone is a great orator, but he is sometimes singularly infelicitous in his choice of arguments.

The "weary Titan" ^{*}view of the question is extremely distasteful to most Englishmen. We feel that the governing energy of this nation is not a fixed quantity; the labours by which the Empire has been acquired, maintained, and reduced to order, have developed rather than decreased our powers. We feel that we are doing our best to manage our immense inheritance wisely and righteously; we are not anxious to retire from the high place we now occupy in the world. Neither our subjects nor ourselves would profit by our withdrawal. The benefits of the connection between this country and its Empire admit of indefinite extension and development: there is not one of our colonies which would not be injured by being sent adrift. Such is the common belief of English Liberals—not, indeed, that we can claim for Liberals any exclusive property in such ideas. Even the blindest partisan would hardly pretend that either Liberals or Conservatives, as such, have any peculiar vocation for colonial management. If the problems of Imperial Government are to be happily solved, they must be solved by methods which will commend themselves to practical politicians on both sides. The methods which we hope to see adopted have been set forth so recently in this Review that it is not necessary to return to the subject. We are looking at the matter now as one of party principles and party tactics, and we have endeavoured to show that in the matter of imperial policy the Liberal party stands now at a disadvantage. The Conservatives may not have a very clear idea of the benefits they would like to confer on the Empire, but on one point they are clear and consistent: they are all for the maintenance of our present position. They are not responsible for Mr. Goldwin Smith; they have not lent an ear to Mr. Gladstone's doctrine of limits; they are not troubled with visions of the "weary Titan;" and they can use without hesitation the kind of language which appeals most powerfully to the sentiment of our colonists and of our English citizens.

Let us now sum up the results at which we have arrived in the preceding pages. The Liberal party fell in 1874 because its internal discipline was destroyed, because certain great social interests had been harassed and alarmed, and because the nation generally did not like Mr. Gladstone's foreign and imperial policy. The Conservatives came into power with a substantial majority, and they maintained their majority intact during the six years of their power. Their conduct of our domestic affairs has been such as to supply their opponents with a strong case against Conservative legislation and Conservative finance. But this case, strong as it is, will not produce its due impression in the country, because the discipline of the Liberal party is worse than ever, and because the nation has received no assurance that the

weaknesses of Mr. Gladstone's Government* would not be found in a Government presided over by Lord Granville and Lord Hartington. How, then, is the condition of the party to be improved? Not, certainly, by going back upon the past: Opposition speeches do not remain long in the popular memory. We may as well leave the faults and the services of the last four years to be forgotten, for the moment. The question of the hour, we repeat is, What do we propose to do? If a Liberal majority is returned at the Election, in what respects will the policy of the country be changed? By what means, and with what allies will the new policy be carried out? To answer these questions, and to reduce to practical shape the domestic programme of the party, is the duty and privilege of our leaders. It is a duty which, to speak plainly, they have not hitherto performed to the satisfaction of the party. Lord Granville and Lord Hartington have led the Opposition in Parliament in a very able, honest, and gentlemanly manner. But Lord Granville has not made a single political speech out of doors since he became our leader; and Lord Hartington's public appearances have been few and far between. This kind of leading might have done very well even as late as the time of Melbourne and Althorp, but it is not what is wanted in this era of household suffrage. Political discussion out of doors is now as important as the discussion which goes on within the walls of Parliament; and the duty of an Opposition leader—which is, as we understand it, to restrain his followers from obstruction, and to direct their criticism to definite, well-chosen points—must be performed on the platform as well as on the floor of the House. Our leaders are not sufficiently known to the people; the place which they ought to occupy in the public mind is filled by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, who speak as irresponsible private members, and yet are taken to commit the whole party to what they say. Lord Hartington has the ability and force of character necessary to emancipate us from this difficulty; but the coolness of his temper verges on indifference; and he has not been treated in such a way as to confirm his trust in his followers. In every emergency "our Nonconformist brethren," and many who call themselves Advanced Liberals, call out for the leadership of Mr. Gladstone. It is plainly Mr. Gladstone's duty to put a stop to such demonstrations. His restoration would be an insult to our present leaders, and it would exclude, perhaps finally, from the Liberal party a large number of the Whigs and Palmerstonians now belonging to it. It would imply, moreover, a return to the system of government by popular mandate; for Mr. Gladstone is even less at home with the House of Commons than he was seven years ago, and would lead the Parliament only as the chosen of the people.

We are anxious to see this question of the leadership settled without delay, because we believe that on the union of the Liberal party depends the solution of important questions relating to our Parliamentary Constitution. English democracy is now some twelve years old, and should be beginning to understand its own character and mission. But it seems to be tacitly assumed that our political habits have not been affected by the change of 1867; the man who takes occasion of passing events to discuss the general principles of the Constitution is set down for a crotcheteer or a pedant. It might have been expected that the debates on the County Franchise would throw some light on the subject; but those debates were allowed to turn upon a superficial question of fact. It was asked whether the agricultural labourer is, or is not, qualified to vote? To which question the only candid answer is that the agricultural labourer is about as well qualified to give an intelligent vote as the unskilled labourers in towns. We are reminded at once, however, by Tory critics, that in such statements the word "qualified" has not much meaning. Even in the most restricted constituencies, few electors are qualified by study or by natural endowment to give a really valuable opinion on a political question. By the Constitution, as it stood before 1832, it was sought to neutralize the ignorance of the electors by placing a majority of constituencies under the influence of aristocratic managers. The managers understood the business of politics pretty well; but they were often narrow-minded, and often out of sympathy with the people whose representatives they elected, and therefore we got rid of them. Their influence still survives, but it grows weaker daily, and when the County Franchise has been lowered it will rapidly disappear. What influence is to take its place? How are the people to be guided in their choice of the men who shall manage public business and lead public opinion? Will there be enough of the material of which such men are made in a purely popular assembly? In other words, can a House of Commons elected by household suffrage retain its unique position as a body which not only legislates but governs?

These questions are not heard of on party platforms, but they are working in many minds. A confident answer has already been given to them by a school of politicians whom we may perhaps describe as the New or Educated Tories, whose prophet is Lord Beaconsfield. We are all aware that the Prime Minister has his faults as a party leader. His inaccuracy is trying; his taste is not perfect; and since he went to the House of Lords, and began to take himself seriously, he has even been dull. But he is one of the few men of original mind who have appeared in the English politics of our time; he has not learned

or inherited his opinions; he has made them for himself. For years he was obliged to suppress them, and even to simulate love and admiration for that Whig-Conservative oligarchy which he has done more than any man to destroy. Now he is in a position to act upon his own idea of the Constitution, and we begin to see what the idea is. Lord Beaconsfield seldom descends into the arena of Parliamentary strife; he does not fully explain himself in debate; his attitude is that of the Great Minister, whose duty it is to represent the People with the Sovereign, and to communicate the Sovereign's policy to the People: and for assuming this attitude he has been highly praised in certain manifestoes of the New Tory party, which have appeared in the most venerable organ of Conservative opinion. The impotence and confusion of government by the House of Commons have been ruthlessly exposed; the immense advantages which attach to the free exercise of the "vast, if undefined, prerogative" of the Crown have been set forth; we are warned especially that the foreign policy of England will never be continuous and dignified until it is left entirely to the Sovereign and to Ministers in whom the Sovereign has confidence. The articles in question have been chiefly remarkable for the extensive variety of their legal and historical blunders; and the party whose views they represent is not strong either in numbers or in intellect. So far as the discussion they have raised relates to the Sovereign, it may be disposed of very briefly. No practical politician denies that the Sovereign has and ought to have considerable influence on the course of public affairs: nor do we see any evidence that her present Majesty has ever claimed more than her due in this respect. But when we come to consider the position of the super-Parliamentary Prime Minister, as described to us by the New Tories, we must acknowledge that they have detected a natural tendency of modern politics. Universal Suffrage almost always finds its one Representative Man; it abhors real Party Government, which means government by compromises and committees. The merits of a compromise, the necessity of a private committee for distributing power, cannot be made apparent to popular constituencies.

We hope that it may be the mission of the Liberal party to uphold the true principles of Parliamentary Government against democratic Toryism. The old Whig-Conservative system was defective, in so far as it assigned paramount influence to a limited number of great families; but its method of conducting the national business was sound and practical. The affairs of this Empire cannot pass through the House of Commons unless a continual compromise is going on between the leader of the House and the leader of the Opposition. To make this possible, there must be further compromises between the members

of each party, that the leader may be able to speak in the name of all who sit behind him, and thus the action of each party, as a party, comes to be limited to those objects on which its members are agreed. The agreement of all sections of a party is the test of what is practical in politics. A measure framed by Liberal leaders, with the approval of their more Conservative supporters, will not contain anything which is too far ahead of public opinion, it will represent exactly that kind of reform which the nation is fitted to receive, and willing to carry out. We set forth these elementary considerations in full, because we are afraid that some of our Radical friends are prone to forget their importance. The Radical member is generally a vigorous and public-spirited person, but he is too apt to think that he enters the House of Commons, not to assist in working the machine of government, but to lay down sound principles for the benefit of those who are working it. He regards professional statesmen with a kind of contempt, his allegiance is rendered not to anybody in Parliament, but to the people outside. Mr Bright, for instance, who is a typical Radical, would never admit that a man could serve both the People and the Crown, until Mr Gladstone came into office to carry out the direct mandate of the electors of 1868. This exaltation of the people implies, as we think, a complete misconception of the nature of democracy. Disgusted by Tory abuse of the mob we rush into the opposite extreme, and declare that the People are essentially wise and virtuous, and should always be implicitly obeyed by their princes and governors. Democracy is not based upon any such absurdity. The real principle of free government is simply this, that if men are allowed to choose their own governors they will, on the whole, and in the long run, choose the wise rather than the foolish. But that they may learn to choose the wise they must be guided, sometimes commanded, in the right way by those who understand political questions, nor should any man who aspires to govern a free people shrink from doing his duty in this respect. As a specimen of the Radical weakness which we condemn, we shall take the ambiguous deliverances of Lord Hattington and Mr. Gladstone on the question of Disestablishment in Scotland. Neither of these professed statesmen would give any opinion on the merits of the question, whether Disestablishment would be good or bad for Scotland they really could not say. It was a matter, they said, to be considered by the people of Scotland which was as much as to say, "We cannot compromise ourselves by taking one side or the other at present, but if you can get up a majority for Disestablishment without us, we shall be happy to come in and take the credit of executing the popular will."

It is not surprising that a party whose leaders talk in this style

should have a programme thrust into its hands by bodies powerful enough to get up an agitation in the country on this or that point of political doctrine. The impression being once produced that the Liberal party waits for a "popular mandate" before making up its mind on any subject, a great impulse is given to the activity of those caucuses and associations whose business it is to manufacture such mandates. It is not for us to predict how many questions may be brought to the front in this way in the course of the General Election. But we desire to review the engagements into which the party has already entered, and to inquire how these engagements are to be met. The first item in the programme is the extension of the County Franchise—a measure of justice so obvious that we need hardly discuss it here. Then comes the reform of our Land Laws—a subject which has been almost removed from the field of party politics by the unexpectedly Liberal character of the Bills introduced by the Lord Chancellor in February last. The difference between Lord Cairns and Lord Hartington in regard to possible reforms in this department seems to be confined to the two points of the abolition of primogeniture and the creation of a peasant proprietary; and as no Liberal leader goes so far as to suggest that settlements should be abolished, or that any sweeping measures should be taken towards the division of land into peasant properties, the reform of our Land Laws, regarded as a party question, will resolve itself into a trial of skill between the lawyers on each side. It remains to consider three questions, in regard to which the Liberal party occupies at the present moment a somewhat doubtful position. The Nonconformists have announced that they will not break up the party by imposing the Disestablishment test on Liberal candidates in this Election: but it is understood that their demands will come before long within the field of practical politics. The Temperance party have induced some Liberal leaders to pledge themselves to the principle of Local Option. And the Irish Nationalists have come forward with a fresh set of demands, and a fresh claim on the English Liberal party. We propose to consider each of these questions, with a view not only to the immediate interest, but also to the permanent principles of the party.

Disestablishment may be said to consist of three parts: Exclusion of the Church from political power, Secularization of the State; and Redistribution of Church property fairly at the disposal of Parliament. The first two parts of this scheme have been already carried out. If the bishops were once out of the House of Lords the Church would have lost the last fragment of her direct influence on the State. If the Sovereign and the Lord Chancellor were freed from the necessity of becoming

nominal members of the Church, the State would be completely secularized. So long as society is pervaded by sectarian sentiment it will be politically advantageous to be a Churchman. So long as High and Low Churchmen retain the wholesome inaccessibility to ideas which keeps them united in one body, the Church will be the Church; and a Churchman will have a better chance of becoming a county member or a justice of the peace than a Dissenter or an unbeliever would have. But this is a grievance which legislation cannot touch. Complete Disendowment, therefore, is the chief part of the work of Disestablishment which remains to be done. We need not devote much argument to the preliminary question whether Parliament has a right to deal with Church property. If tithes belong to the Church *jure divino*, Parliament may well leave the Church to her remedy at Divine law for their recovery. If lands and buildings have been given by private individuals to the Church, they will be treated like other properties held on trusts of national extent and importance; Parliament will hold itself bound to see that they are administered in the best and fairest way. They are used at present to pay ecclesiastical persons to teach certain doctrines and to perform certain spiritual offices. In view of the divisions of religious opinion, and the desirability of avoiding coercion on the one hand and bribery on the other, it seems fairest to withdraw funds held on national trusts from all religions impartially, leaving each man to pay for such doctrines and offices as he finds necessary. The question of the moment for those who wish to see this done is, Are we now in a position to begin? We venture to answer this question in the negative. If Disestablishment were carried by the present race of Liberal statesmen, we should probably see something like the Education settlement of 1870—a partial measure, reflecting the uncertainty of the public mind. To establish equality among the Churches will require a firm and trenchant hand. The Dissenting Churches also have their endowments, and of these some are certainly within the scope of the principle which we wish to apply to the Church. But if Disestablishment were brought on at present, the Dissenters would be regarded as the winning party, and would be tempted to make good terms for themselves. The question will not be fully ripe until Liberals may avow the belief that no existing system of religious teaching deserves to be encouraged by the State. This means conflict, more or less severe, between all organized religions and the State; but the conflict is inevitable. The object of religious teachers is to acquire influence over their fellow-men, and they are all tempted to misuse their influence, from the Catholic priest who denounces secular education to the Nonconformist minister who preaches

that no Christian can consistently support the nefarious foreign policy of the Tory Government. It is the duty of Liberal statesmen to enter into conflict and competition with priestly influence by promoting secular education, which will help people to deal with their priests and ministers for themselves, and also by taking care that religious bodies which become social powers and exalt a mitred or unmitred front in current politics are kept within bounds in the exercise of their power. Before we can deal with religious questions as Liberals we must get rid of the notion that Churches may be safely flattered and favoured, and played off, one against another, we must stand on terms of complete independence in relation to our religious allies.

The debate of the 5th March last on Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Local Option Resolution leaves the position of the Liberal party in regard to Licensing Reform somewhat doubtful. Mr. Bright goes all the way with Sir Wilfrid, Lord Hartington and Mr. Gladstone condemn the existing law, but decline to adopt the principle of the Resolution; Mr. Lowe is supposed to be in favour of issuing Excise Licences to all respectable persons applying for them, and this system (conveniently but not correctly described as free trade in liquor) seems also to commend itself to Lord Hartington's judgment as abstractedly the best. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Cowen have schemes of their own, for which, up to the present time, they have not obtained much support. We shall not attempt to harmonize these conflicting opinions and proposals; but we may point out that there is sufficient agreement among reformers to form at least a basis of legislation. The first question we have to decide is, Shall the traffic in intoxicating drinks be subject to any restriction at all? We are disposed to think with Mr. Lowe that unrestricted issue of licences is the rule which the country ought ultimately to adopt. But the advocates of complete freedom are so few that we think they should be content for the present with asserting their principle, and that the practical discussion must be confined to the question, By whom, and in what manner, is the authority now vested in Licensing Sessions to be exercised? The authority in question is partly judicial, partly administrative. It is judicial, in so far as the renewal of licences is concerned. To withdraw a licence already granted, on the faith of which capital has been expended, is a severe punishment, which should not be inflicted except on legal evidence that the holder has committed an offence. This part of the work of Licensing Sessions should therefore be performed by some magisterial person or persons, acting with the forms of a court of law. But to lay down rules in regard to the issue of new licences and the general conduct of licensed houses is the business of an administrative body. Now, it is the opinion

of most Liberals that administrative work should be done not by Crown-appointed and practically irresponsible magistrates, but by persons elected by and answerable to their neighbours. If we put aside the visionary scheme of a plebiscite, embodied in the Permissive Bill, we may apply the principle of representation in three ways. We may adopt Mr. Cowen's proposal and set up Licensing Boards, elected by the rate-payers. It is easy to see that every election of such a board would be a trial of strength between the publicans and the teetotallers; and there are already so many boards concerned in local government, that we should hesitate to add to the confusion by setting up another. We turn to the second proposal, which is that the business of Licensing Sessions should be assigned to local elective bodies already existing or soon about to exist, that is, to the town councils, and to those county boards which are "the glory and the dream" of Mr. Sclater-Booth's political existence. The objection to this course is that the possession of so valuable a piece of patronage as the right of licensing would expose local representative bodies to corrupting influences, and increase the activity of the publicans in municipal elections. The third course—a course which would, we think, command the approval of almost all Liberals, if it were boldly and skilfully taken—is to treat this licensing question as part of the larger question of the reform of local government.

It is now quite evident that the legislation of the past fifty years has only postponed and complicated the difficulty of reconstructing the system of local self-government, which is the basis of our historical constitution. Instead of covering every failure of local government by setting up a new board, and a new central authority to control the board, we must attempt to create true municipal councils, capable of undertaking all administrative business within their respective districts, and to reduce the inspection and control of central authority to a minimum. London, for instance, affords ample materials for a metropolitan council, which might, with the assistance of the vestries, do all the work now done by the London and Westminster Corporations, the Metropolitan Board of Works, the London School Board, and the Water Companies. To such a body, or to a committee of such a body, the administrative part of the business of licensing might be safely entrusted. In the election of borough or county representatives in a council of this type publican and teetotal influence would not be more important than they are in Parliamentary elections; and the advantage of having a good council would be so apparent to every rate-payer that the temptation to convert a municipal election into a Liberal or Conservative demonstration would be counteracted. We have already given reasons for the opinion that the licensing difficulty

cannot at present be treated separately with any advantage to the public. Liberals are divided between conflicting schemes of reform, and Conservatives will not act at all, on account of the publicans. But the Liberal party has now a great opportunity of making the larger question its own ; and we are glad to observe in the addresses of Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen indications that the opportunity will not be neglected.

Among the boldest of the agitators now bidding for the support of the Liberal party must be reckoned the chiefs of the Irish party of Home Rule. It is well-known that several Liberal candidates have promised to vote for an inquiry into the "nature and extent of the demand for Home Rule;" and some recent speeches of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright have been quoted in Ireland as indications of the sympathy which English Liberalism regards the movement for Fixity of Tenure. Neither of these subjects need excite any Conservative prejudice in our minds. "Dismemberment of the Empire" is only a phrase ; and no phrases can dispose of the fact that Ireland suffers severely from the cumbrous, expensive, and dilatory methods of the Imperial Parliament. We may admit farther that the Land Question must be approached with all respect for Irish customs and ideas. We attach no peculiar sanctity to the rights of Irish landlords ; it is hardly disputed that the two measures by which those rights have been most boldly curtailed—the Encumbered Estates Court Act, and the Land Act of 1870—have been of substantial benefit to Ireland. But if Liberals and Home Rulers are to come to an agreement as to the legislation of the immediate future, we demand that it shall be a clear and unmistakable agreement. Let us have no half-understood compact, like that which bound O'Connell to the Whigs. It is the traditional policy of Irish Nationalists to play one English party against the other, and to sell their votes to the highest bidder. At the very moment when Mr. Gladstone was doing his utmost to satisfy their aspirations, they were negotiating with the Orange Lodges behind his back ; it is to the unholy alliance then concluded that the Home Rule party owes its origin. We are not disposed to run the risk of another disappointment of this kind, except on clear evidence that there is a real agreement of opinion between the Home Rulers and ourselves in regard to the Irish questions which will come before the next Parliament. But the more we study these questions the more firmly we are convinced that what English Liberals are prepared to grant is not what the Home Rulers and land agitators demand.

It is curiously characteristic of Mr. Gladstone that he should still profess at this time of day his inability to understand what Home Rule means. The late Mr. Butt took considerable pains

to construct a practical scheme of Home Rule; that scheme is still the only detailed exposition of the principles of the party, and its meaning is by no means difficult to discover. It is a scheme of Federal Union. There is to be an Irish Parliament, dealing with trade, land laws, education, and other local matters, but Ireland is to continue to send members to the Imperial Parliament, where (until England and Scotland have the sense to ask for domestic legislatures of their own) they will assist in deciding not only questions relating to the defence and government of the United Kingdom as a whole, but questions relating to the trade, land laws, education, &c, of England and Scotland. The Irish Parliament is to include a House of Lords; but no representative of an Irish peerage conferred as a reward for services unconnected with Ireland is to be allowed to sit in it. By what tribunal this curious clause is to be enforced Mr Butt does not say. The House of Commons is to consist of about 300 members, elected by household suffrage. We may perhaps assume that Mr Butt contemplated the appointment of an Irish Ministry and an Irish Privy Council. It will be for the Imperial Parliament to fix the amount of Ireland's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer, the Irish Parliament will impose the taxes out of which the contribution is paid. The question which occurs to every practical man on perusing this scheme is: By what authority are the two Parliaments to be kept within their respective provinces? Suppose the Irish Parliament thinks the Imperial contribution demanded of it too heavy, who shall compel it to impose taxes to the requisite amount? Suppose the Irish Parliament undertakes to arm the whole population by establishing volunteer corps, how is it to be restrained? To entrust the necessary power of control to the Imperial Parliament or to the English Ministry would be to destroy the independence of the Irish Legislature. In other words, Federal Union is impossible without a written Constitution, and a supreme authority to interpret the Constitution. This point is completely ignored in Mr Butt's scheme, it is equally ignored in Mr Justin McCarthy's able Article, entitled "The Common Sense of Home Rule." Moreover, the advocates of Home Rule seem to have thought as little about the working of an Irish Parliament as they have about its legal position. Mr McCarthy would fain persuade us that the members of an Irish Parliament would be shrewd, moderate men, no brawlers, not given to much eloquence, free from religious animosity and class prejudice. Now, we all know that an Irish Parliament of 300 members would contain many extreme Catholics, some extreme Orangemen, some representatives of the opinion that rent is "an unjust and immoral tax on industry," and a considerable number of practised obstruc-

tionists. We may perhaps add that, if there is anything in Mr. Mitchell Henry's complaints in the matter of taxation, an Irish Parliament would always be short of money; and, of course, one necessary result of establishing an independent Irish Parliament would be to throw the island on its own resources and stop all subsidies for local purposes from the Imperial Exchequer. The real obstacle to a fair consideration of these difficulties is simply this—that the Home Rule party has always been something of a sham. Its orators know that they could not obtain the votes and the applause of their countrymen by producing a scheme of Federal Union: their strength is in that “inextinguishable hatred of English rule,” which in Ireland is called Nationalism. The Home Rule member pleases his electors because they suppose him to be an enemy of England, one who will obstruct and annoy the English Government, and bully them into doing something for Ireland. At Westminster he may be a very plausible, constitutional person who speaks of the “Queen of Ireland,” and claims for his country only “the liberties enjoyed by Englishmen.” If the Home Rulers wish to ally themselves with English Liberals, they must have the courage to speak in Ireland as they speak in England, and to disavow the wild sentiment of those Irishmen who would “drive the English into the sea,” even if by doing so they condemned their country to perpetual anarchy. Let them accept their position as legislators for the United Kingdom and present us with a complete and practicable scheme for the reform of our Parliamentary system, and we shall be glad to hear what they have to say. Meantime our duty is plain enough. We know enough of Home Rule and of the “nature and extent of the demand” for it to be quite certain that we cannot grant it; and we ought honestly to say so at once.

The success of Mr. Parnell's autumn agitation among the Irish farmers has been a disappointment to many supporters of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act. That measure gave the tenant security for improvements, security against arbitrary eviction, and facilities for purchasing the land—the three improvements which Mr. Butt, writing in 1867, declared to be equivalent to “restoring the Irish land to the Irish people.” The value of Mr. Gladstone's gift to the tenant-farmer is variously estimated at from 30,000,000*l.* to 60,000,000*l.* sterling. It now appears, if we are to trust the statements made on behalf of the farmers, that two bad seasons are enough to destroy all this value, and that we must begin over again. The statements to which we refer are certainly exaggerated. There is dire distress in more than one quarter of Ireland; but there is no denying the improvement in the condition of the farmer which has taken place within the last generation. The agitation of the League is not directed

against specific grievances ; it is to a large extent quite unconnected with existing distress, it is conducted on general principles most of which are tolerably familiar to us. "The Irish land belongs to the Irish people"—that is, of course, to those of the Irish people who are now in possession of it as tenants. "The landlords' titles rest on confiscation," as almost all titles to land ultimately do. "It is the duty of the State to buy out the landlords, to create peasant proprietors, to set up relief works at the expense of the Imperial Exchequer"—in short, to find a living for every Irishman who cannot make one for himself out of the land under present conditions. It is useless to point out to those who use this kind of language that peasant proprietors will never succeed in a country of pasture, and that "the State," if forced into the position of landlord, will certainly require payment of the rent. But we may ask impartial persons to consider seriously whether any possible legislation will touch the causes of Irish agrarian discontent. It appears to us that the widest schemes yet proposed will do very little for the tenant while the south and west of Ireland are occupied by a population exclusively devoted to one industry, which multiplies without the least regard to its means of subsistence. Fixity of tenure at fair rents" is already within the reach of the Irish farmer, but the Acts to which he owes this and other benefits cannot have their full effect if there are a dozen eager competitors for every vacant holding. Farmers can contract themselves out of the benefit of any Act that can be passed, and nothing but the fear of being shot will prevent Irish farmers from doing so. If peasant proprietors were created by the thousand and every tenant in Ireland presented with the fee-simple of his holding, what would be the result? The improvident, unskilful, and unlucky among the new proprietors would soon be forced to sell to their more prosperous neighbours, the land jobber and the money-lender would again be busy, and in no very long time all the present evils would reappear. We are not therefore disposed to believe that legislation can do much for Ireland. What the country now wants is a thorough administration of the laws it already has. Let the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretaryship be given to experienced statesmen, let local authorities be carefully watched, let grievances be inquired into at once and on the spot, above all, let encouragement be given to every agency which will do anything to raise the standard of living among the Irish peasantry. Even if all this is done, we need not look for any sudden universal change for the better. Irishmen have perhaps more discursive intellect than Englishmen, but they have less energy and practical talent, they have had a most unfortunate history, and the majority of them are still under the influence of a Church which

is the declared enemy of social progress. For these reasons the progress of Ireland must be slow ; but it would be a mistake to attempt to accelerate it by exceptional and experimental legislation. It would be worse than a mistake to associate the Liberal party at this moment with the statesmanship of Mr. Parnell and the political economy of Mr. Michael Davitt. Reasonable Irishmen know that we will consider their proposals with a single eye to the good of their country ; we are not anxious to have the support of unreasonable Irishmen on any terms whatever.

We would not be understood to maintain that there is not legislative work to be done for Ireland. There are still disabilities and inequalities to remove, and partial reforms to complete ; and these would doubtless be among the first subjects to which a Liberal Government would turn its attention. The danger is that in pursuing such excellent objects we may lose sight of considerations which lie at the very root of Irish politics. First among such considerations we place the principle that self-dependence and not protection is the true position of the Irish farmer. The greatest injustice ever done by England to Ireland was the premature and forcible substitution of the system of contract for the system of status in regard to the tenure of land. But the injustice cannot now be undone ; the Irish farmer is now a contracting party ; it would be the reverse of kindness if the State were to fix his rent for him, or to force the landlord to sell as soon as he shall declare his wish to purchase. Already the State interferes at more than one point, lending money and creating or recognising exceptional rights, helping Irish agriculturists to conduct their own business. The greatest benefit that could now be conferred on the farmers would be the clear intimation that there is a point at which such benevolent interference must cease. Irish discontent now sees no limit to the help which the State may give ; and the result is that many who would be prosperous and peaceable, if left to depend on themselves, are hurried into senseless agitation. A single instance, for the details of which we have good authority, may illustrate our meaning. An Englishman bought a farm in the south of Ireland, valued by Sir R. Griffiths at 67*l.* a year ; resided on it some years, spent several thousand pounds in draining, fencing, and building ; and returned to England, after letting it to an Irishman at a rent of 170*l.* The same land in the same condition would have commanded in England a rent of 230*l.* The Irish tenant prospered, had money in the bank, and seemed contented with his position until the recent agitation began, when he was forced or persuaded by some of his neighbours to write to the landlord a letter in which he declared that the rent fixed in Griffiths' valuation was the "fair rent," and that he could

not or would not pay any more. On the landlord's refusal to admit this preposterous claim the tenant realised his effects, left the farm, and has not since been found. No other farmer will take the land; and the place is falling into neglect. This is one of many instances of the way in which political agitation affects the social condition of Ireland. Agitation, when its ends are well understood and its means constitutional, is good; but the purposeless and impotent agitation kept up by Mr. Parnell and unwillingly countenanced by the more respectable Home Rulers is an unmixed evil, which every Liberal is bound to condemn. In the face of such a movement it is our duty, as a party, to reduce all our proposals in regard to Ireland to a clear and definite shape, and to let it be known that beyond those proposals we cannot and will not go.

It may be that our way of dealing with the issues of the Election will not be satisfactory to many good Liberals. We have not tried to imitate the moral fervour of Mr. Gladstone or the biblical vigour of Mr. Bright's invective. We have admitted some merits in our opponents, and we have indicated what seem to us the weaknesses of our own position. Our excuse must be the necessity incumbent on the Liberal party to examine its own principles and methods with scrupulous impartiality. It is a party composed of Whigs and Radicals, Palmerstonians and Cobdenites, State-Churchmen and Voluntaries. There are many objects of first-rate importance in regard to which all these are united; but we shall not find out how far and to what end we are united by leaving the questions which divide us, unsolved and unattempted, in the background of politics. Already the Radicals pride themselves not on being with their party, but on being ahead of it; while the Whigs grow alarmed and talk of "falling back into the arms of a progressive Conservatism." We believe that both might be recalled to their allegiance by leaders who will take the trouble of making plain to us not only what the immediate objects of the party are, but also by what means they are to be attained. A great party cannot be kept together by mere criticism of its opponents and mere glorification of general principles. It is sometimes possible to snatch a victory by this kind of strategy, but in the eyes of any man who values the traditions of English political life such a victory would be little less disastrous than a defeat.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

CENTRAL ASIA AND THE AFGHAN QUESTION.

The meagre official accounts of the fighting which immediately preceded the retirement to Sherpur suggested doubts and anxieties which the sanguine assurances of General Roberts did little to allay. While critics friendly to the Government suggested the immediate despatch of reinforcements to India, and expressed a hope that no false regard for economy would induce them to ignore the gravity of the situation; others, who had uniformly, if not consistently, condemned every step taken in the conduct of Afghan affairs, affected to see in what had happened the fulfilment of their reasonable fears. One journal which by an affectation of omniscience has acquired a certain authority among lovers of "definite" views, thought it superfluous to discuss any other possibility than this, whether General Roberts could save his force from destruction by cutting his way through to Jelalabad. The full and independent accounts which after too long an interval of suspense at last reached England showed that in this as in other cases where the truth of the declarations of Government were impeached the official account was right, and factious or fanciful surmise was wrong. The fortified cantonment of Sherpur is a huge rectangle 2200 yards long by 1200 yards broad. It had been commenced by Shir Ali as part of the vast preparations for war—offensive or defensive—which occupied the later years of his life. The northern side was formed by the Bemaru heights, an isolated ridge in the Cabul plain, divided in the centre by a deep gorge. When our troops first occupied it, the eastern side had not been commenced. Happily, the work of converting it into winter quarters had been energetically pushed forward. The village of Bemaru, lying on the east at the foot of the heights, was brought within the lines of defence to serve as the cantonment bazaar. The outlying buildings were destroyed or converted into outworks. The newly-erected barracks for the native troops formed the east face, but it had no permanent parapet, and depended for defence almost wholly on a village roughly fortified as a redoubt. A shelter trench had been excavated along the windings of the ridge. The gap between

the heights and the western wall was closed with a stockade of captured guns and other improvised means. Twenty-four captured guns (in addition to twenty with the force) were used in the defence. All round were gardens and the high walls of orchards and villages, fortified, as Afghan villages always are. Such was the state of Sherpur when the final assault was delivered. But first, we have to record the events of the 14th December. Parallel with the west face of the cantonment, at an interval of about a mile, are some heights called the Koh-i-Asmai. Early in the morning, masses of the enemy were descried on these, General Baker moved out against them and took up a position below the north end of the heights. A body of troops ascended the hill from the west and drove the enemy, who obstinately disputed every step of way, back toward the city. At the summit a small body of Ghilzais made a desperate stand and perished fighting to the last. The rest streamed towards the city, our mountain guns being placed on a "conical hill" (connected with the Koh-i-Asmai), and our cavalry swept the plain. Meanwhile British troops had occupied the Bala Hissar, whence some descended, and crossing the Cabul river joined those on the Koh-i-Asmai. But soon fresh bodies of the enemy swarmed on the hills to the north of Koh-i-Asmai. From this they gradually came down to attack our guns on the "conical hill." Our men, who from below struggled up the steep ascent to support the defenders of the guns, had hardly gained the top, when the pressure of the enemy compelled the defenders to retire. The withdrawal over the rough ground became a confused retreat, and two mules carrying guns being shot, the guns were taken by the enemy. The Koh-i-Asmai itself was successfully held against their surging masses. But as night was now coming on and it was clear that no impression could be made on the "overwhelming" numbers of the Afghans, General Roberts decided to withdraw the whole of the troops into Sherpur, and "undertake no more offensive operations until the arrival of another brigade from below." The difficulty, in fact, of holding distant and isolated positions was apparent, and the advantage of doing so was not. The troops on the Bala Hissar and Takht-i-Shah were therefore at once brought in. The retreat from the Koh-i-Asmai was harassed by the fire of the enemy who occupied the hill. But by nightfall all were safe in Sherpur. The loss of the enemy had been very heavy, and they were dispirited by the death of several of their leaders. Our loss had been 28 killed. Sherpur was said to be well supplied with everything necessary for a prolonged defence, but recent accounts lead us to believe that ammunition was not abundant. The Afghans occupied the heights over the city, and rarely descended into

the plains On the 17th they appeared on the Siah Sang range—a position which gave them command of the road by which the reinforcements expected from the Khaibar line would arrive. General Roberts therefore decided to dislodge them, and the ease with which he did so showed with how little truth his force was described as “beleaguered” On the 19th there was again a slight skirmish with the enemy.

While General Roberts is still waiting “to renew operations with a larger force,” or to attack the enemy with the force he had if a “favourable opening” offered, we may attempt to summarise the result of subsequent inquiries as to the special cause—or rather antecedents—of the outbreak Of late it has been the fashion to compare the methods followed by General Roberts at Cabul with those followed by General Stewart at Candahar, and since almost unbroken peace has been maintained in the Durani province, to infer that if the policy followed then had been followed at Cabul, the difficulties which General Roberts had to surmount would never have arisen. But those who argue thus forget that the tribes which dwell round Cabul are as notorious for their inveterate turbulence as those round Candahar for their (comparative) tractability. Cabul was the very heart of the political and military resistance It was the objective point of our attack, and just because we were in a special sense regarded as enemies at Cabul we were welcomed as friends at Candahar. The conception of Afghan nationality has taken no root in the feelings of the people which make up what Opposition newspapers describe as the Afghan nation. The Duranis are the true Afghans and these form the bulk of the population of the province of Candahar Recent Amirs of Cabul—Dost Muhammad, Shir Ali, Yakub Khan have indeed been Duranis, but the seat of their power was at Cabul They surrounded themselves with Ministers who were not Duranis, and the true Duranis felt themselves oppressed and slighted by a power they regarded as alien. They preferred the peace of English rule to the arbitrary exactions of Cabul. They preferred a Government of foreigners to the Government of a ruler of their own blood, who ruled them from a city they detested. All then that Sir D. Stewart had to do was to avoid blunders in administration Happily he had not only the sound common sense of the old school of soldier civilians, but that intimate acquaintance with native character and command of the native tongue which under the modern administrative system is every day becoming rarer. At Candahar there was little of that theatrical show in which English diplomatists, who fancy they have a peculiarly Oriental imagination, delight. There were no proclamations disguising simple facts under flimsy assumptions, which no

Afghan would be simple enough to believe or sensitive enough to appreciate. There was, in plain English, neither "coddling" nor "humbug." Sir D. Stewart was able to publish his power by maturing it, and to reassure the people as to his intentions by leaving the civil power as far as possible in the hands in which he found it. The result was soon apparent in the peace and prosperity of the region. The local ruler did not labour under the disadvantage of being our nominee. We gave him strength, he gave us authority; and as we shall see, many matters of political and military importance were, with admirable judgment, left to his management. Sir F. Roberts' position was far more difficult. He came not to assist, but to supplant. In his management of the province of Cabul he was hampered by his duties as arbiter of the destinies of Afghanistan. He had not to govern, but to try a series of experiments in governing; not so much to rule himself as to determine the mode and instruments of future rule. Future policy was complicated by the measures necessary for present safety. In the very centre of turbulence and intrigue he stood as a mark at which the turbulence and intrigue of the whole country aimed. Of all the Afghan pretenders and intriguers who asked him for support, none could promise anything worth having. To gratify one, was to alienate the rest. He had to confront, too, a watchful and uncharitable spirit of criticism among his countrymen; and, there is reason to believe, a control not always judicious from his political inferiors. He has been accused, on the one hand, of having deliberately and systematically executed men charged with no other crime than that of having fought against us; and, on the other, with having in his desire to conciliate, refrained from necessary measures of precaution and reprisal. From the statements published it appears that of eighty-seven persons executed after trial by the military commission, the majority were executed for the following offences:—Dishonouring the bodies of officers of the Embassy, being found in possession of property belonging to the Embassy, participation in the attack on the Residency, treacherously killing wounded soldiers. The most virulent humanitarian would hardly, we think, contend that these offences did not deserve the last penalty. But a small proportion are of a more questionable type. Six persons were executed because they were found armed within five miles of the camp, four because they attacked escorts with a view to releasing prisoners, others—how many is not clear—for inciting people to rise. Whether executions in such cases are consistent with the rules of ordinary war we do not pretend to say; but in the judgment of most sober men on the spot, they were absolutely neces-

sary under the circumstances. Whatever was the assumption of the proclamations, the fact clearly was that we were at war with the people. And they fought not "according to the rules of war," but as opportunity offered. Guerilla warfare would be a most inadequate term to describe their methods. They murdered stragglers, they fired on our troops when engaged even in peaceful missions, from behind every stone and tree that offered shelter. If General Roberts had allowed them all the prerogatives of soldiers, and all the immunities of civilians, he would have sacrificed the safety of his force. Happily his humanity was tempered with good sense, and the result is that murders have been comparatively rare. The order forbidding the possession of arms in Cabul and neighbourhood was widely circulated. Few suffered for infringing it, and none who could prove that they were ignorant of it. It would be too much to assume that in every case the finding of the commission was just. But that punishment was not indiscriminate appears from the fact that while eighty-seven prisoners were executed, seventy-six were released after trial. The most odious charge against General Roberts is that he hanged men merely for having fought against us, and in justice to those who bring it we must say that it seemed to be supported by the offer of rewards for the arrest of such men, and by passages in the Cabul correspondence of Indian newspapers, in which the writers describe, in language of approval, wholesale executions. But General Roberts himself asserts that in no instance were the men brought in owing to the offer of rewards executed unless they were proved to have committed one of the offences which, as we have said, every one admits deserved death. If this be so, it is unnecessary to discuss at what point it became unreasonable and unjust to treat those who opposed our advance as rebels against the Amir; and how far the fact that the opposition was part of the same set of transactions as the attack on the Embassy justified us in assuming that those who fought at Charasiah were guilty of "complicity"—a dangerously elastic term—in the outrage that immediately preceded the renewal of hostilities. The policy of "retribution," if it was pursued at all, was, it is clear, pursued within very narrow limits, and before the outbreak of December it had given place to a policy of conciliation. One feature of this was the deputation of leading sirdars in our interest to the districts round Cabul. It failed absolutely. The fine old Afghan who went as governor to Maidan was murdered simply because he was our nominee. The normal disaffection of the headmen of the villages had been whetted by the constant requisitions for supplies, and by the seizure of the disbanded soldiers and "dangerous characters," who

were in some cases their kinsmen or their friends, and in every case were living under their protection. The old system, too, of bribing them into good behaviour had given place to that of simple display of force. The defeated soldiers, many of whom were still lurking in the neighbourhood of Cabul, felt that their failure was due to want of numbers, or co-operation, or skilful leadership. They longed for yet another chance. The tribesmen, who were not soldiers, had memories of the first Afghan War to animate them. All their habits of thought led them to see in human affairs the workings of an inexorable destiny, and as practical observers they inferred the future from the past. A grand old fanatic at Ghazni—known as “The World’s Perfume”—had for months past been preaching a religious war against the infidel and foreigner, and had sent his emissaries far and wide to fan into a flame the sparks of religious and patriotic feeling. With him was Muhamad Jan—who, in Shir Ali’s days, had been a simple officer of artillery, but whom, in these troublesome times, ambition and capacity had brought to the front. In him the party of resistance found, or fancied they had found, the leader they sought. In Kohistan, in Logar, and other districts, local chiefs put themselves at the head of the local insurgents. And in the city of Cabul itself the wife of Yakub Khan—a granddaughter of the Akbar Khan, who played so prominent a part in the first Afghan War—fired by the wrongs which the British had done to her husband, and to her father, Yahiya Khan—both had been deported to India—joined heart and soul in the conspiracy. To the power of intrigue which every woman, and notably every Afghan woman, possesses, she joined a rarer power—that of money. She is said to have spent 20,000*l.* in organizing the rising. And now, in December, everything was ready: for the suspension of agricultural operations left the tribesmen free to act. From what followed it is clear that the hope of plunder and ransoms was not the least of the inducements which operated on them. Muhamad Jan’s plans were, no doubt, well laid. While he, with the force he had organized at Ghazni, and the soldiers and the tribesmen of the districts round Cabul, was to keep the English shut up in Sherpur, the Ghilzais, under Asmatulla Khan—the great chief of the Lughman Valley—and farther east, the Mohmands were to cut off the reinforcements which would, without doubt, be pushed forward. Among a people like the Afghans, the great difficulty in such undertakings is to secure concert. In this case Muhamad Jan’s plans miscarried. The Ghilzais made their great effort after the insurgents before Sherpur had been dispersed, and the Mohmands did not rise till a month later. The first appearance of Muhamad Jan’s bands near Cabul was in some

degree a surprise to General Roberts. For, though the Hindu traders had given him information that a great rising was imminent, Wali Muhamad and other sirdars were of opinion that nothing unusual was to be anticipated. (The air of Afghanistan, it must be remembered, is *always* thick with rumours of impending troubles.) The combination was, however, not only powerful, but the most powerful that has in recent years been formed in Afghanistan. It is possible that General Roberts, by advancing to meet the separate bands, precipitated their united action, and thus marred their plans. But from the detailed accounts it appears that his movement might have ended in grave disaster. The cantonments were left almost undefended, and might have been taken by a *coup de main* had the forces of the enemy been sufficiently alert. Indeed, to the brave defence of the Cabul gorge by a handful of our men may be attributed the fact that General Macpherson was able to return in safety. The city, of course, was at the mercy of the enemy. "The World's Perfume" made a feeble effort to institute some show of government. But his patriotic followers devoted themselves to pillage and vengeance on all those who had given help or comfort to the foreigners. Tumult is a normal condition of life at Cabul, and the various quarters of the town are in fact a series of contiguous fortresses. Some of the hardier races managed to keep the insurgents from entering the wards in which they dwelt, but the Hindus suffered terribly—partly because they were aliens and infidels, but chiefly because as traders they had supplied the English with necessaries, and had given them information. Even the dispensary, which, established soon after our occupation, had rapidly grown in favour and been made use of by the most scrupulous of the townspeople, was wrecked. Meanwhile the inevitable dissensions had broken out among the insurgents. Elated by their brief success, they aspired to determine the new Government. But they could not unite in the choice of a ruler. Muhamad Jan was good enough to send messages to the English announcing the terms on which they would be permitted to withdraw and escape extermination. His object, of course, was to keep his followers together, and either tempt the defenders of Sherpur into the plain, or, by a prolonged investment, reduce the place. But the tribesmen depended for supplies on such provisions as they had brought with them from their homes. A regular commissariat department is, of course, unknown in Afghan warfare, and had there been any it would have laboured in vain, for General Roberts' requisitions had drained the country of supplies. In any case he would probably have found it impossible to curb the impatience of his followers. On the 22nd they made a series of desultory

attacks, and General Roberts learned that the kindling of a beacon on the Koh-i-Akmal the following morning would be the signal for a general assault. All the villages to the east and north-east were known to be occupied by the Kohistani insurgents. At 4 A.M. on the 23rd our men were on the alert. The gorge, the heights and the village of Bemaru were all strongly held. At 6 A.M. the blaze of the beacon was seen, and soon there was a sharp musketry fire all round the parapet. From the orchards and other cover on the south and west front the enemy kept up a steady fire. But the chief attack was on Bemaru, on which the Kohistanis, having occupied a village beyond the defences, poured a heavy musketry fire. To dislodge them from their point of vantage General Roberts pushed four guns through the gorge, which soon brought a cross fire to bear. The insurgents, driven from this point, began to stream homewards from the villages they had occupied. General Roberts sent the cavalry in pursuit, and many fugitives were cut off before reaching the shelter of the hills. Then the enemy in the other villages to the east, fearing—as Afghans always do—that their retreat would be cut off, made for the Siah Sang heights. Our troops occupied the chief villages on the south and east before dark. Before morning broke again all the insurgents had dispersed. A heavy fall of snow is said to have rendered effective pursuit impossible.

The brief success of the enemy and the sudden collapse of their organization illustrates the inconstancy of Afghan valour. But their precipitate retreat rendered our success incomplete. The insurgents carried off from Cabul much treasure, and in Afghanistan, more even than in other countries, money forms the sinews of war. Muhamad Jan and "The World's Perfume" not only escaped, but took with them to Ghazni Musa Jan, the young son of Yakub Khan, of whose claim to the Amirship Muhamad Jan professes himself a supporter. Of the "Perfume of the World" little is clearly known, but there is reason to believe that for a time at any rate, disgusted with the worldly greed of his followers, the high-spirited old priest refused any longer to act with them.

The news of the investment of Sherpur found the troops on the Khaibar line neither strong enough in numbers nor provided with the necessary carriage and commissariat for an immediate advance. General Bright had, in fact, denuded himself of nearly everything in order to facilitate General Roberts' march from the Kuram to Cabul. His own advance had been in consequence very slow, and thus the joint movement on Ghazni which had been originally proposed, and which, had it been carried into effect, would have rendered the

combination against us in December impossible, was given up. In the campaign of 1878-9 we had lost 60,000 beasts of burden, and the camel was said to be all but "extinct" in Northern India. Nevertheless, the Government made strenuous efforts to push reserves and transport to the Khaibar line. General Gough was soon able to advance from Gandamak with over 2000 men. The attacks by which Asmatulla Khan harassed his advance were nowhere serious. At the Lataband he picked up the little garrison whose presence there had enabled heliographic communication to be kept up with Jelalabad, and soon after the dispersion of the insurgents he reached Cabul in safety.

Thereafter the peace of Cabul was undisturbed, save by rumours of preparations elsewhere. All the buildings round Sherpur which interfered with efficient defence were soon destroyed and roads were opened in every direction. After an interval—as reports of impending attack gathered consistency—new fortifications were constructed and posts established on the Bala Hissar, the Siah Sang range, and other heights around. Finally, when the rigour of winter abated, preparations were made for abandoning the cantonments altogether. In March the apprehensions felt as to the weakness of the garrison were relieved by the despatch of strong reinforcements of native infantry. But there is reason to believe that among the Hindus, the Hazaras, the Kizilbashis, and others who had actively befriended us, much concern was felt regarding the prospect of another siege, and that many left the city.

Though the withdrawal to Sherpur was an acknowledgment of weakness, yet the successful defence was so far an evidence of our strength that it was considered politic, on recovering control of the city, to introduce or resume a *régime* of conciliation and clemency. A proclamation was at once issued granting a pardon to all persons concerned in the late outbreak who would at once come in, the only exceptions being a few of the leaders of the rising and the murderers of the Maidan Governor. Great numbers of chiefs and headmen notoriously implicated came in under the terms of the amnesty, and were received, in some cases, not only with friendship but with consideration. Padshah Khan, whose influence was paramount among the Ghilzais between Cabul and Ghazni, and who, having previously professed friendship for us, and, indeed, given us substantial help, had nevertheless countenanced the rising, came grinning into the darbar at which General Roberts discoursed to the assembled magnates on the power of the British Government and the kindness of its intentions. The military governorship of Cabul was abolished and Wali Muhamad was appointed to the civil control of the city and neighbourhood. As he was at the time regarded as a probable nominee for the Amirship his new office was

supposed to be probationary. But in the discharge of his duties he showed no very encouraging amount of energy and intelligence. With the exception of Ayub Khan, Abdurrahman Khan, Sghir Kahn (who was with Muhamad Jan at Ghazni) and Nek Muhamad (who after his defeat at Charasiab, had fled to Tash Kent), all the sons and grandsons of Dost Muhamad were with General Roberts. Yet not one of them felt, or professed to feel, that he could rule Cabul or the country once our support was withdrawn.

Immediately after the victory at Sherpur a small force was sent to clear Kohistan. It found the fort of Mir Bacha, the insurgent leader, deserted, and having destroyed it, returned on the 30th December to Cabul. No further military operations were considered necessary or prudent.

The experiment of sending Governors to the outlying districts was tried once more. The Siidar sent to Kohistan managed, at least, to hold his own, in spite of many rumours to the contrary. A son of Wali Muhamad's, with a suitable escort, reached the borders of Afghan Turkestan as our representative, but does not seem to have influenced affairs within the province. Emissaries from Ghazni were soon active again in Logar and Maidan, and Muhamad Jan's men controlled the road to Ghazni. During the winter our troops had, at least, good food and shelter. Regular communication was soon re-established with India, and the wished-for supplies of warm clothing came at last. But pneumonia, and other diseases arising from exposure in a cold climate, were fatally prevalent; and there is reason to fear that in this campaign, as in the last, the loss by disease far outnumbered the loss in fighting.

Elsewhere on the line of the Khaibar there was a happy absence of startling incidents. Towards the end of January the Mohmands—excited, no doubt, by the deportation to India of Yahiya Khan (the ex-Amir's father-in-law)—rose, and to the number of 5000 attempted to cross the river near Daka. But they were easily repulsed by the small detachment on the spot. Other troops sent hastily from Lundi Kotal made their rout complete. Since then we have installed a new chief at Lalpura, and symptoms of unrest have shown themselves.

The once turbulent Afridis and Waziris have given no trouble. The cause is due in part to the successful issue of General Tytler's punitive expedition (undertaken from the Kuram valley) against the Zaimukhts—and partly to the excellent arrangements, political and military, in the Khaibar Pass. An excellent road now traverses its once dreaded defiles, protected at intervals by posts. Traders even in these troubled times pass freely, and the tribesmen, content with their

subsidies, and the wages they have earned as labourers, have ceased to molest, and soon may be as peacefully disposed as the Povindas. The pacification of the Khaibar was one of the objects, but by Opposition orators is never reckoned as one of the results, of the Government policy.

Near Jelalabad—by a melancholy coincidence—some Carabineers crossing the stream were swept away, almost at the spot where last year a similar accident—as yet (officially) unexplained—befell the Hussars.

The great object of General Bright has, of course, been to perfect communication. At once to clear out the elements of trouble from the Lughman valley, and open out a new route between Jelalabad and Cabul, he marched in January with a flying column into the valley. He found that Asmatulla Khan had abandoned his fort—that is, in Afghan estimation, become a dishonoured fugitive. Everywhere he was well received by the people and headsmen, who “came in” in great numbers, and a new road has been opened out to Jagdalak.

Whatever may be the strategic advantages of possessing the Kuram valley as a means of repelling invasion, it is obvious that as a basis for aggressive acting it is practically worthless. Operations there have been confined to the Zaimukht expedition, brought to a most successful close by Lieut.-Gen. Tytler (by whose death soon after we lost one of our ablest frontier commanders), and some minor measures of coercion against local tribes. The murder, in his own tent by robbers, of an English officer illustrates the police difficulties with which (apart from political ones) we shall have to deal. Much, indeed, of the resistance elsewhere which is called patriotic may quite as reasonably be called criminal. Considerations of this kind are ignored by those who condemn the use of the lash in Afghan warfare.

Of the system of management pursued at Candahar we have spoken already. For a time the prospect of an unfavourable season caused anxiety, but all apprehension has now been dispelled. Even in the present unsettled state of things the prosperity of the people increases, and with it their content. There has been a great demand for labour for the construction of the railway from Sakkar to Quetta. This work has been energetically pushed forward. In February engines ran to the 139th mile. The extension to Candahar has, we believe, been sanctioned, and when it is complete the mere commercial results will, we trust, be a satisfactory answer to those who ask for the “fruits” of our Afghan policy. Its strategic uses will hardly be disputed by those who consider that a Russian occupation of Herat could not be tolerated. In the number of these, by their own explicit declarations, must be reckoned the Duke of Argyll and Lord Northbrook. It is to

be remembered that while the strategic railway to Candahar is of great commercial value, the strategic railway which would have been necessary to render our old frontier safe would have been of no commercial value. It has, we believe, been decided also to push on a frontier line to Jelalabad, or at any rate the Khaibar, but the works have not hitherto been energetically prosecuted.

Some isolated outrages by religious fanatics at Candahar have only served by contrast to emphasize the general acquiescence in our rule, and Sir D. Stewart's troops have sighed for the stirring times which fell to the lot of their comrades at Cabul. The news that Ayub Khan with his demoralised battalions was marching from Herat to attack them was hardly likely to string their nerves. But later it became clear that a march on Ghazni would be necessary to break up the combinations under Muhamad Jan. We may say here once for all that the prolonged occupation of Afghanistan has proved distasteful to all the troops engaged, English as well as native, and that the latter, especially, suffered in an uncongenial climate, destitute of many of the necessaries of ordinary Indian life, and a prey to that longing for home and return to their families which is characteristic of Sepoys. They had suffered, moreover, much by sickness and the long march through rock and desert from the Indus. The announcement then was most welcome that the Bengal troops at Candahar were to be relieved by troops from Bombay. At the same time it was announced that Gen. Phayre was to succeed Sir D. Stewart; and it was understood that the Bombay troops were, if necessary, to be employed to capture Ghazni on their way home.

We have now to revert to Muhamad Jan. He was, it must be remembered, a Wardak, and while he with his clansmen was absent, investing Sherpur, the Hazaras, their neighbours and enemies (and to that extent our friends), attacked and destroyed their villages. The Hazaras are even said to have held Ghazni for us for a time. Defeated at Sherpur, Muhamad Jan and some of the other leaders made their escape to Ghazni. The fortress was sacked by their followers. Then ensued continued fighting between the Wardaks and the Hazaras. The Ghilzais had been dispirited by the severity of their loss in the fighting round Cabul, but little by little Muhamad Jan began to collect a new army or armed rabble around him. His agents and emissaries were said to be everywhere—with Ayub Khan at Herat, with Abdurrahman in 'Turkestan, with Gholam Haidar at Balkh—in the Zamindawar province near Candahar—in Kohistan, in Logar, in Maidan, the old seats of disaffection. Certain it is that insurgent bands formed themselves in Logar, and that in Kohistan was a great

gathering of malcontents which it was thought troops from Turkestan would join. It was believed that on the 24th February there would be a renewed attack on Cabul. But, if it ever was contemplated, the design was not carried out. In the middle of March, however, there was again a general belief that Muhamad Jan, with 20,000 men, was marching to attack General Roberts.

Meanwhile, that commander had made every effort to come to an understanding with the leader of the resistance. The chiefs at Ghazni professed to be acting in the interest of Musa Jan—the young son of Yakub Khan—whom they had brought with them from Cabul. At first the only condition which Muhamad Jan would accept was that Yakub Khan should be brought back and reinstated. General Roberts, in accordance with his previous declarations, was understood to offer to recognise any Amir whom the representatives of the Afghan people might choose. Soon it became evident that Musa Jan was weary of the tutelage in which he was kept. One of Shir Ali's ministers—the Mustafi Habibibulla—who had for some time been suspected of complicity in the September outbreak, but had purged himself of the suspicion by his zeal in our behalf at Cabul, and by the substantial assistance he rendered, was sent to negotiate with Muhamad Jan. Reports that he had succeeded in inducing him to accept our terms were succeeded by the report to which we have referred above, that Muhamad Jan was marching on Cabul.

There was, of course, during the whole period we are reviewing, constant discussion as to the nature of the final settlement. On the one hand, it was pointed out that it was impossible to reconstruct the shattered fragments of Shir Ali's kingdom into a "strong and friendly Afghanistan." No leader of capacity and authority was forthcoming. The Sirdars of each province were concerned for the future of that province only, and heedless of the fate of all that lay beyond. Even for the sovereignty of Cabul there was no claimant who could fairly hold his own and whom we could accept. On the other hand, it was alleged that the pride of the Sirdars demanded the restoration of the Amirship, and that Afghanistan could be effectively controlled only through some central authority. Several schemes of settlement were published as official, but were declared by Government not to be authoritative. They were probably authoritative suggestions. All these, it is to be remarked, contemplated the dismemberment of Afghanistan, or rather its relapse into its normal condition. From official announcements little was to be inferred. Sir Stafford Northcote declared that the "general policy" of the treaty of Gandamak was to be maintained; Lord Lytton, that we were to get "solid, self-acting

guarantees," for the good behaviour of our Afghan neighbours. From the acts of Government something may be inferred. The pains taken to improve the road to Jelalabad, to build barracks, &c., indicate that we shall keep garrisons at Jelalabad, and perhaps Cabul. We shall certainly keep Candahar, though we may leave the civil government in the hands of Shir Ali, and recognise him as ruler of any outlying districts he can make good his power over. The cheapest and easiest way of maintaining that hold on Afghanistan which it was the "principle" of the Gandamak settlement to secure is, in our opinion, to keep garrisons wherever it is expedient to keep residents or agents. Such an arrangement alone would give the solid, self-acting guarantees of which the Viceroy spoke. Russia at present is not in a position to effect much in the direction of Herat and Balkh, and is not likely to be in a position to attempt anything for some time. Much has been written lately of the resources of these provinces—especially of Herat—but it is certain that to occupy them now would involve for many years an exhausting drain on the Indian Exchequer. Indian finance cannot afford such an investment of capital just now. It would be better far, if we must advance, to advance slowly, and consolidate what we gain at each step before taking the next. The expense of maintaining communications with a garrison at Herat, which is reasonably regarded as deterrent in the present state of Afghanistan, will appear comparatively trifling, when a stable base of English authority is at Candahar or Girishk or Farah. It must be remembered, too, that Russia has its reasonable sensibilities as well as England, and that an English occupation of Herat would put Russia at nearly as serious a disadvantage in an Asiatic struggle as a Russian occupation would put England. We say nearly, for Russia at Herat would practically control, as far as influence goes, Afghanistan, and would have a splendid base from which to attempt the conquest of the country, or to organise it against India. And in defence of the opinion that Russian influence must be kept—at any cost—out of Afghanistan, we can now happily cite, not only Lord Lawrence, as our practice was, but statesmen so sober as Lord Northbrook and the Duke of Argyll. But to precipitate the struggle would be folly. Russia will advance to Herat as soon as she sees we flinch from our resolve to keep her out of it, but while that resolve is known to be firm, she will halt at a safe distance. Therefore we say that Herat and Balkh may provisionally be left to native rule of any kind, provided only it be not the rule of a dependent, or possible dependent, of Russia. But the heart of Afghanistan we must hold. It would be simpler and cheaper to hold it ourselves than to help a puppet Amir to hold it. The civil government may be

left as long as possible in any native hands that are capable of maintaining decent order; tribal independence may be recognised as far as possible, but military control of the important positions, and such control of the resources of the country as may enable us to pay the cost of military occupation, should be stipulated for. It is impossible to predict beforehand at what point interference in the internal affairs of the people may tend to peace, and at what point it may produce avoidable disaffection. The future development of administration must be left to the future administrators. But at present it is clear the limits of interference should be very narrow.

Whatever may be the policy ultimately decided on, every one is agreed that a definite declaration of what we intend to do would immensely lessen the difficulties of the moment. The uncertainties of the situation attract no one, and repel many. Those who fear we may take what they wish to keep, remain aloof. Those who, if they were assured of the moderation of our wishes, would gladly help us to carry them out, now regarding all our plans with vague suspicion, try to frustrate them. We have acquired an unfortunate reputation for leaving our friends in the lurch. In spite of the amnesty clauses of the Gandamak treaty, many of our partisans suffered at the hands of Yakub Khan. If we say we mean to remain at Cabul, hundreds will come forward as our friends who now possibly join in Afghan plots because they fear to be abandoned to Afghan revenge on our departure. Yet candid observers, knowing how many obscure elements have to be considered, do not think that the delay in announcing our intentions has been without ample excuse. There seems to be a vague hope that some definite expression of Afghan will may evolve itself from the chaos of agitation which now exists in the country—if only the elements be allowed time to “mature.”

The great disturbing elements are, of course, the question of Herat—of the provinces north of the Hindu Kush—and the claims of Abdurrahman to the Amirship. And complicated with these are the state of relations with Russia and Persia. As the position of Russia is the dominant factor, we may conveniently turn from Afghan affairs to review the proceedings of Russia—*so far as they are known*. After the disastrous retreat from Denghiltepe, the remains of the Russian force were for the most part transported to the western shores of the Caspian. A small garrison was left at Chikislar. Meanwhile, the Khan of Merv had collected a large army which it was believed he intended to lead against the Russian post. The expected assault on Chikislar did not take place, but there were successful Tekke raids to the very outskirts of that place and Krasnovodsk. At first it was authoritatively

announced that a great Russian expedition was to advance on Merv from the Oxus, to co-operate with the intended expedition from the Caspian. It was clear that the existing Russian garrisons in Turkestan could furnish no material for such an enterprise, and soon—whether because the St. Petersburg Government became aware that the capture of Merv would precipitate an English occupation of Herat—or because it received assurances that we did not contemplate an advance on that stronghold—or because the threatening attitude of China on the Kashgar border, or the uncertain state of relations with Germany, or Nihilist troubles at home, convinced them that the resources of the Empire could bear no fresh strain—or finally—and this we believe is the official explanation—because they had reason to believe that the Tekkes would advance to meet them, and that thus an attack on Merv would not be necessary as a measure of coercion, the project of operating from Central Asia was declared to be abandoned. General Skobelev, who, it was understood, desired to avoid “complications,” was appointed to the command of the expedition from the Caspian. The troops—drawn from the Caucasus army—were not to exceed in numbers those employed last year. But the mistakes of the past were to be avoided. They were not to be brought on the ground till ample transport and supplies had been collected. It was even said that operations might be extended over two seasons—the first being devoted to establishing communications, forming depôts, &c. Already, in March, it was announced that the Russian outposts had again been pushed forward to Dusulolum—the line between, *viâ* Chatte, being strongly held. But a large Tekke army had established itself at an admirably chosen central position between Chikislar and Krasnovodsk, and some obviously successful attacks by it on Russian convoys were reported. The previous successes of the Tekkes had done much to weaken the prestige of Russia among the Yomuts and Goklans in their immediate neighbourhood. They clearly, too, had their effect on the attitude of Persia.

Of the general relations between that Power and Russia we spoke in January. It is obvious that while consciousness of inability to cope with Russia would dispose the Shah to obsequiousness—any fear short of despair would dispose him to obstruct her designs. The contrast between the successful activity of England in Afghanistan and the failure of the Russians in the Tekke country, probably encouraged him to assume a more independent attitude. Herat was a prize he coveted. It might be offered to him by either Power, and for the moment it seemed that it was in the gift of England. That there were long and serious negotiations between the English Government and that of

Teheran, with a view to the release of Persia from the treaty stipulations which bind her not to occupy Herat, is admitted. The Turcomans appealed to him for help in their struggle against a common enemy. They had been, however, rebellious subjects, or rather, bad neighbours of the Shah, and their prayer does not seem to have been favourably entertained. But there was a well-founded belief that the Shah intended to send a special mission to Europe to protest against the violation by Russia of neutral rights in the Attrek Valley. There certainly seemed no disposition to concede to Russia the facilities she had claimed in language of menace. Persian contractors did, indeed, furnish supplies, but they were furnished in disregard of the formal orders of the Shah. Soon it was announced that the Shah intended in the spring to proceed—with an army of 10,000 men—"on a pilgrimage" to Meshed. The objective of this pious display of force was, of course, Herat. The views expressed in the Russian press (which were, of course, the views of the Government, or rather such views as Government thought it proper to have made public) regarding a Persian occupation of Herat in the interest of England, were such as might have been expected. Russia, it was contended, would have a claim to establish itself at Meshed on precisely the same footing as that on which England established herself at Herat. And in addition to the general "menace to Russian repose" in Central Asia [*Russian*, for "barrier to Russian advance"], and "exclusion of Russian trading enterprise" [*Russian* for "prevention of Russian monopoly"], which an English occupation of Herat would constitute, it was pointed out with unwonted frankness that an English protectorate of Persia would thwart the legitimate aspirations of Russia to push onward till it found a port on the Persian Gulf, "by which," we were told, "and not by Merv or Balkh, lay the easiest way to India."

Though the plan of maintaining a belt of protected Mussulman States—Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, between India and Russia as the true frontier of Indian interests—recommended itself by its thoroughness and definitiveness to many minds, yet it cannot be denied that in India, at any rate, opinion was averse to purchasing the precarious friendship of Persia by the cession of Herat. It would be, in the first place, a reversal of recognised policy, for we had twice gone to war to prevent the Shah from taking it. Then, as it assumed the disruption of Afghanistan, it was opposed by all those who saw in a "strong" Afghanistan the salvation of India, and who did not despair of making it at once "strong" and "friendly." Then the results of the policy of "protection" in Asiatic Turkey were distinctly dis-

couraging. It was foreseen, too, that the task of defending Persia against the inevitable resentment of Russia would be even more difficult than the task of holding Herat ourselves without Persian co-operation. Persia is exposed over a long and weak frontier to Russian attack, and her army, in spite of the exceptions of European officers, is a mere rabble. Unless, further, we took the foreign relations of Persia as unreservedly into our own hands as we are about to take those of Afghanistan, it would be impossible to prevent the Shah from giving the Czar some decent pretext for aggression. Even the boldest advocate of the policy of advance hesitates about entangling ourselves in such onerous and obscure engagements. We know, of course, nothing of the real course of negotiations. The Russian Government had assured us that it did not intend under existing circumstances to take possession of Merv. Probably our Government was reluctant to give them a pretext for doing so. Under no circumstances could it ever have been contemplated to put Persia in possession of Herat without adequate guarantees that it would be held in our interest. Persia has till lately been a creature of Russia, and may be so again. Possibly the Shah could not give the guarantees we required. Probably he asked from us help in men and money and promises, which we did not care to give. At all events, though a Persian army was said to be assembled in Khorasan, the idea of tolerating a Persian occupation of Herat is now regarded as definitely abandoned. The Shah probably knows that within certain limits he may, while our present policy is pursued, rely on our protection against Russian aggression. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that the extension of the Poti-Tiflis railway to Baku is to be at once proceeded with, and that Russia has concluded a treaty with the Khan of Khiva under which it can send ships of war from the Aral up the Oxus.

The history of events at Herat and on the Persian frontier may be briefly told. Ayub Khan has not relaxed his attitude of hostility or indifference. He has, we believe, made no overtures to us, and disregarded all communications sent directly or indirectly by General Roberts. It is doubtful, indeed, whether he has any authority, except in name. A body of 5000 Cabuli soldiers, who were stationed at Herat, under an able leader of obscure origin, overpowered the other troops and gained possession of the town, which they plundered for three days. Ayub was described as a mere puppet in their hands. Sanguinary contests followed between the Cabuli troops on the one hand and the Herati troops and people on the other. The strangers seem in each encounter to have won the day. Meanwhile, plans were

laid for an advance on Candahar, and the force is even said to have made a few marches, when it had to return owing to want of supplies. When news of Persian designs reached the town, the garrison and people made vigorous preparations for defence. Yet Ayub Khan is said to have arrived there at first as a recognised representative of Persian interests! But as the passage of caravans was interdicted, our knowledge of events is confined to the vague rumours which reached Candahar. As to Farah, our old enemy Mir Afzul, abandoned it in disgust when "the march on Candahar" was abandoned. It soon fell into the hands of the aged chief of Chaknesar—notorious even in Afghanistan for his misdeeds—and our governor of Candahar, Sirdar Shir Ali Khan, is collecting troops of his own, with our approval, to seize the province.

Lastly, we have to speak of Abdurrahman, and in connection with him, of evidence recently made public which tends to show that Russian agents have had more to do with recent events than many Englishmen have been willing to admit. Yakub Khan, in conversation with General Roberts, said that since 1873, when his father failed to obtain from the English Government all he expected, his thoughts were directed to an alliance with Russia. In 1878 the letter from the Viceroy announcing the despatch of the Mission reached the Amir when he was in Darbar—the members of the Russian Mission being present. The Russian Envoy at once urged the Amir to prevent the English Mission from coming, and promised to secure Russian intervention in his behalf. This is confirmed by a proclamation of Shir Ali's, in which a letter from Colonel Stolieteff is given *verbatim*, urging the Amir to keep the English out, and promising that a Russian army would come to his assistance. We do not cite these facts as evidence of Russian faithlessness—for war, or a state of relations hardly distinguishable from war, puts an end, of course, to all engagements—but they prove that Government was right in regarding the Amir as the creature of Russia. The "Papers found at Cabul" have not yet been published, and we can, of course, draw no inference from newspaper surmises as to their contents. But it is certain that in the house of Nek Muhamad, Shir Ali's brother, who commanded the enemy at Charasiab, was found a testimonial from the Russian Government "for services rendered, 1879." This Nek Muhamad, after his defeat, managed to escape to Tash Kent, and soon after he arrived there Abdurrahman was said to have "obtained leave to visit his relatives" in Ferghana. But it was notorious that he had really gone to try his fortunes in Afghanistan. Of Abdurrahman we have had much to say in previous discussions of Afghan affairs. He was far the ablest of

the rivals with whom his uncle, Shir Ali, had to struggle. When the fortunes of the uncle triumphed, the nephew did not accept the English offer of an asylum, but went to Russian Turkestan, where he has since remained as a guest, a protégé, and a possible tool of the Russians. How skilfully General Kaufman used his presence to play on Shir Ali's fears, we have pointed out elsewhere. (WESTMINSTER REVIEW, Jan. 1879, p. 134.) He received, of course, a pension, and, when he disappeared from Task Kent, he took with him not only 200,000 roubles, the savings of his allowance, but 400,000 roubles in addition "from Russian sources." Of his movements up to the middle of March there was absolutely no certain information. He was said now to be at Maimene—now at Balkh—now in Badakshan. The probability is that he had not crossed the Oxus at all. His "escape" can only be attributed to the wish of the Russian officers to embarrass us. They could easily have detained him, having detained him so long. It would be childish of us to complain because Russia uses such means as she possesses to thwart a settlement which will certainly not be to her advantage, and in which we have expressly declined to allow her to have a voice. But the fact of the escape should be remembered when Russian moderation is ascribed to anything but Russian sense of weakness. Abdurrahman is undoubtedly a pretender to the crown of Afghanistan. Alone of possible claimants, he has energy and capacity enough to give him a chance of success. His appearance on the scene has undoubtedly unsettled the minds of Afghans everywhere, and, in the trans-Hindu Kush provinces, there is reason to believe that he will be received with enthusiasm. He is related by marriage to the ruler of Badakshan, and no doubt the Afghan governor of Turkestan will assist him. His emissaries are said to be active as far south as Zamin-dawar, and both Ayub Khan and Muhamad Jan have made overtures to him. But, as we write, Mr. Lepel Griffin, lately Secretary to the Panjab Government, and now Political Officer for Northern and Eastern Afghanistan, is expected at Cabul, and his arrival, it is hoped, will soon put an end to the prevailing uncertainty. The Commander-in-Chief is on his way to the frontier, and renewed military operations will support diplomacy. Abdurrahman is suspected as a protégé of Russia, but there is no reason why, if we recognise and even support his rule in Afghan Turkestan, he should not be a loyal ally of England. We can throw him into the hands of that Power only by making him doubt our will and our ability to defend him against possible aggression. But by a firm yet friendly attitude towards Russia we can, we believe, save it from the absorbing tendencies which have hitherto proved fatal to its good intentions.

Russia and China.—When the provisions of the Kulja treaty were made public the Mussulman inhabitants of the portion of the province to be restored to China, remembering the barbarities of Chinese rule and the prosperity they had enjoyed under that of Russia, petitioned that, if the retrocession were inevitable, they might be allowed to emigrate to the adjacent Russian territory. Their prayer was granted, and the Russian papers, commenting on it, suggested that the restoration of the province should be gradual, in order that there may be time to see whether the Chinese, on their part, would give proper effect to the provisions for commercial facilities and consular agencies within the Chinese border. Soon, however, these modest journals had a far different aspect of the case to discuss. The Chinese ambassador who negotiated the treaty was, on his return to Peking, thrown into prison and sentenced to death for his shameful sacrifice of the interests of his country. The Government, it was announced, refused to ratify the treaty. The St. Petersburg Government protested against this breach of the usages of civilized nations, and induced the Western Powers to join in representations on behalf of the disgraced envoy. Official journals announced that Russia would submit to a revision of the stipulations. But meanwhile Russian troops were hurried to the frontier of Kashgar. The Chinese, on their side, were known to be making preparations, and commercial intercourse across the border was almost at an end. Russia attributed the *contretemps* to the influence of Western Powers; and it must be admitted that it came at a peculiarly critical time. As to the probabilities of a struggle, Russia had a powerful fleet in the Pacific, which could harass the Chinese sea-board. It could rely, too, on the disaffected Mussulman element in Kashgar. China, on the other hand, had a vast army of soldiers, who had lately been armed with weapons of precision.

Burmah.—The Burmese ambassadors, undismayed by their unexpected detention, remained cheerfully on board their steamer at Thayetmo while they were awaiting fresh instructions from Mandalay. After some weeks they were able to say that they had been authorised to negotiate a treaty. But the Chief Commissioner had soon to inform them that the Royal order they produced was not satisfactory. It only authorised the discussion of preliminaries and did not convey plenary powers. The embassy had, in fact, no authority to propose any treaty likely to be acceptable, for many of the proposals in the draft treaty could not possibly be entertained by us, while no reference was made to the matters which the British Government had declared to be causes of dissatisfaction. Unless there was a prospect of early and substantial

overtures the embassy had better return. With characteristic tenacity it remained where it was, begging to be informed explicitly what we wanted. There is unfortunately some reason to believe that King Thibaw is only playing at negotiations, and that his prestige among his people has been increased by his short and easy method of dealing with the outer barbarians. He proposes, it is said, to send missions to several European countries. Meanwhile the Government has not thought it safe to withdraw the troops sent to British Burmah, and the Rangoon merchants ask for immediate action of some kind. The Burmese are said to have lately attacked the protected State of Manipur. If so, hostilities may be unavoidable before long.

The Naga War.—One factor in the Afghan question—too little regarded by those who urge the extension of operations over a wider area—is the strain which the prolonged occupation of the comparatively small area we at present hold has put upon the resources of the native army. Notwithstanding the recent increase of numbers, its strength has been severely tried. The financial condition of the country would hardly permit of further increase, except as a measure of absolute necessity, and the force now left for garrison purposes in India is, in the opinion of competent authorities, dangerously weak. What seems at first to be the languor shown in the prosecution of the Naga war may, indeed, be attributed with more justice to the inadequacy of our present available army. After the capture of Konoma desultory skirmishes were reported between small parties of hill men and detachments of the Assam regiments. The enemy had established themselves in a strong position on the higher range of hills, and our object seemed to be to starve them if possible into surrender. Meanwhile the planters of Cachar complained that no sufficient preparations had been made to protect their gardens from the raids their isolated position seemed to invite. The apprehensions felt were soon to be justified; for, on the 27th of January, a party of Angamis—the belligerent clan—descended by lonely jungle paths on the tea-garden at Baladhan. They killed the manager and fifteen coolies, burnt the buildings, and laid the plantations waste. The attempt made by the hastily-collected local force to cut off their retreat was, of course, unsuccessful. A panic among the coolies employed on the estate was the natural result. Confidence was restored by the arrival of reinforcements of police and soldiers, and the announcement that Government was organizing, in Calcutta, a coolie corps, led to the hope that the difficulty of transport being thus got over, energetic measures would be taken. But the only news received since is that a body of Nagas attempted to

capture one of our posts in their country, and that some men of Konoma successfully attacked a convoy. Three men were killed, and the coolies at once began to desert.

The Pampa Outbreak.—From the Rampa country there has at least come better news. Though the rebels made some successful attacks on villages, yet in a night attack on his village, Amalreddi—Chendria's second in command—was made prisoner. Soon after the head of Chendria was brought in. A reward had been offered for his capture ; but it seems he fell in an ambush laid for him to avenge some private wrong. Meanwhile prisoners were brought in in great numbers, and the movement was believed to have wholly collapsed. To render the recurrence of its cause impossible must be the next concern of the Madras Government. It is well, in the case of these primitive people, to relax the rigidity of our revenue system, but that ought not to mean a complete surrender of them to the exactions of a Native Middleman.

THE COLONIES.

The most salient feature of the past quarter, in connection with the colonies, and the feature of most direct use to all concerned with both home and colonial industries, is the marked revival of trade throughout the Empire. Plentiful are the signs that both India and China have materially recovered the evil effects of their recent famines. To this has been added the revival of prosperity in the United States, consequent on the period of retrenchment and of work, which has followed on the collapse in 1873 of the inflated and overstrained enterprise and expenditure of previous years. And again, the "comparative" peace that has obtained in Europe of late years has further aided to develop a better consumptive demand for products. Meanwhile the somewhat drastic setting to rights of the native troubles in South Africa, the absence of drought in the wool-growing districts of Australia, the splendid harvests of the wheat-growing districts of the Australias and of the North American Continent have continued steadily and surely to brighten the prospect of producers.

It is pleasing to record not only this kindness of Nature in one part of the world arising to mitigate the bad effects of her unkindness in other parts ; but also the kindness of human nature, assisting in the same good work, evinced in the very generous subscriptions from Australia and North America that have poured in to alleviate the distress in

Ireland. The Dublin Mansion House Fund has already acknowledged nearly 50,000*l.*, contributed by the generosity of the Australian colonies alone.

The rise of the British Empire has, this quarter, been commented upon in other nations. *Le Moniteur*, in France, and the *New York Herald*, in the United States, have both recently discussed the question in detail. * The magnitude and coming importance of our Colonial Empire is thus forcing acknowledgment on the Continent of Europe as well as in America. Both these high authorities acknowledge the immense power and prestige of such an Empire permanently united, and, while willingly recognising the variety of its component elements, the practicability of permanent union nevertheless wins their thorough support. A Paper on the ancillary detail of an Empire's Parliament was read and discussed at a recent meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute. And the fact that the Paper was by so prominent a public man as Mr. Staveley Hill proves the growing hold this question is obtaining on the statesmen of England.

The emigration returns for 1879 afford further proof not only of the benefits but of the necessity of the possession of undeveloped portions of the earth's surface, in the force of that surplus human energy which is produced by periods of prosperity, and which, nevertheless, fails to find opportunities of useful existence within the frontiers even of prosperous countries. There was, during the year, a marked increase of foreigners passing through England—a result, no doubt, of that pressure of “bad times” that Englishmen are too liable to overlook in neighbouring countries. There was considerable increase, too, of emigration from the British Isles, notably from Ireland. An item of somewhat novel importance was the inauguration of a Women's Emigration Aid Association. It is to be hoped that this society will not confine its energies to women of superior education. Servant girls, as well as governesses, are always in great request in all new colonies; and chiefly by reason of the fact that their career is usually cut short by marriage.

The many earnest persons in England who are at their wits' end to devise and popularise employment for women should bear this fact in mind, and remember that in England there is a great surplus of women, while in the colonies there is a great surplus of men, and that a course of action which tends to restore the balance is not only of high benefit to the individuals concerned, but of incalculable advantage to the prosperity of the whole State.

The Canadian Dominion.—During the past quarter more has been

heard of the various plans in progress to bring our fellow-countrymen in North America into closer commercial communion with Europe. An American Archangel—a summer wheat-port handy for the great North West—is to be opened at Port Nelson, in spite of the somewhat serious apprehension that the sea is, in its neighbourhood, retiring fast, at a rate visible even in a generation. Recent explorations in the wilds of Newfoundland, hitherto regarded as barren and unprofitable deserts, have brought to light extensive agricultural areas, as well as most hopeful mining indications. These discoveries enhance the value of the projected railway which is to cross the Belleisle Straits, and connect the mainland with the port of St. John's, making this the summer port of the Dominion, and shortening the regular passage to Europe by one-third.

The problem of the immediate future is the doing away with all obstacles to the free interchange of the surplus products of Canada for those products which other countries supply with greater ease and certainty. The recent lapse of Canada to Protection is well known to be due to political rather than economic motives, and, in the main, is the result of the neighbourhood of the United States. Two States, in territory contiguous, and each dependent for revenue on Customs' duties, must necessarily live in a state of continual fiscal collision. Recently the tax on malt has been reduced by the Canadian Government, for the sole reason that retaliation on the part of the United States seemed imminent.

Meanwhile this newly-adopted policy of Protection is already having evil economic effects in Canada itself. Much comment has been attracted by the reports of bankruptcy cases for the year 1879. The liabilities amount to 6,000,000*l.*, being an increase of no less than 1,200,000*l.* on the previous year. And again, vigorous smuggling has reared its head along the lakes.

On the other hand, the success of the "National Policy" in Canada, not, indeed, as a Protective, but as a political move, is shown by the effect already produced in the United States. The latest Official Report states, "Our present commercial relations with Canada are most unsatisfactory. The figures show a falling off from 18 to 20 per cent. in our exports to Canada for the year ending June 20, 1879, as compared with the preceding twelve months, while the imports remain the same."

Thus, while the evil economic effects of this Protectionist policy are showing themselves, so, too, are there signs that its desired political effect is being accomplished, and in these two classes of reasons is visible the doom of the policy. The notion that the Imperial Govern-

ment would in any way interfere in the fiscal policy of a "self-governing" colony, is, of course, at once antiquated and out of all question. And yet, when Canada, in 1865, immediately before the Canadians became leagued in a commercial union, strove for commercial union with the West Indies, it was the Home Government, the crown of the West Indian Crown colonies, that hung back and barred the way to success. It is certain that now the Home authorities will be ready and willing to join with the Canadian authorities to secure, wherever their influence extends, an entire absence of obstacle and restraint on the interchange of products and commodities.

Nor is it only in the making of treaties and in commercial dealings that the Canadians incline to closer action with the Old Country. The Dominion has put itself forward, not as the mere well-wisher, but as the actual and powerful auxiliary of the Empire at large in time of war. It has now transpired that, in addition to her large and well-equipped military forces, Canada has organized with signal success the manufacture of cannon and of small arms, and that she was significantly ready and prepared, *proprio motu*, to quash the energetic and extravagant Russian attempts to organize cruisers in the United States during the late "scare." The Imperial Government is about to lay down a telegraph to Bermuda. Canada will appreciate the benefit of this aid to a successful sentineling of her seas.

The lucky escape from the dangerous accident to the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne, while out driving in a sleigh, has been the subject of hearty congratulations among all classes, culminating in the congratulatory resolutions passed by the two Houses of Parliament and the various Local Legislatures.

The West Indies.—The fine crop of sugar in the West Indies, coupled with the rise in price consequent on the comparative failure of the beet crop in Europe, has made glad the West Indian heart. Increased exports are the rule; nor is the increase confined to sugar. Trinidad, indeed, can boast the somewhat unique item of export of 25,000 tons of asphalt during the last year from the celebrated "pitch lake" of La Brea—an item which twenty years ago barely reached 1000 tons.

The tour through the West Indies of Messrs. Peters and Monteith, the delegates of the English Sugar Trades, has brought to a head the question of the Foreign Sugar Bounties, which is now being investigated by Mr. Ritchie's Select Committee.

Messrs. Peters and Monteith assume that bounty-supported sugar is taking the place of all others, and declare the true remedy to be a

countervailing duty. But, in the first place, it is not so certain that bounty-paid sugar is accomplishing all this; and, in the second place, even if it were, there may be other and better means than the suggested policy of retaliation.

It is worth while remembering that the exports of sugar from the West India Islands have steadily increased during the last twenty years, being now actually double to what they were in 1860. And then, again, in regard to the alleged destruction of the English industry, there lies the fact, that while the exports in France, supported by the bounty system, have remained stationary during the last five years, in England, on the contrary, the export of raw sugar is three times, and the exports of refined twice as great in 1877 as it was in 1873. It is true there has been, in England, some local transference from one centre to another, and from one style of manufacture to another, but there is a considerable net increase in the trade in sugar.

This bounty system is a type of that "aggressive Protection" by which Napoleon I. sought to undermine English commerce, but its success is not very visible if we take a comprehensive view. Messrs. Peters and Monteith visited Martinique and Guadaloupe; and the French colonists were equally warm in their reception of the delegates, and in their desire to abolish the bounty given to their countrymen at home on the export of beet sugar. And the people in France have always professed their desire to do without bounties provided other nations did without them too. To Englishmen it does seem strange that the French nation should continue still to pay an annual tribute, which has been reckoned at many hundred thousands sterling, to the English. Frenchmen have even remarked that French refined sugar is actually sold cheaper in London than in Paris. The English consumer can hardly hope that such illogical advantages for him can last long. And the growers of cane sugars, who have already successfully competed with the bounty-fed beet sugar, can see temporary alleviation in the higher prices consequent on the poor beet crop for the year, and fix their more permanent hopes on the recognition by the French taxpayer of his false present position.

Jamaica has given us another of those test cases that mark, from time to time, the legal idea of a Governor's functions and position. The case arose from the detention by the Governor of a vessel laden with munitions of war that put into Kingston for repairs. The Local Courts as well as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upheld the established idea that outside the limits of his commission the Governor is no longer Viceroy.

The Straits and the East.—The great sugar colony of the *Mauritius* is this year not so well off as the West Indies. The late crops are reported short, and the past year has seen a considerable falling off in the exports. But prospects are far brighter for the next crop. Meanwhile the droughts that have been one of the causes of all this have again brought forward the important question of replacing the destroyed forests. An Indian forest officer is to be consulted, and it is now at last acknowledged that a vigorous system of planting will prevent the great waste of rainfall that robs the soil every year of the benefits of a permanent supply of moisture.

Ceylon is entering upon a period of prosperity. A lively demand has arisen for tonnage to carry away the good coffee crop. At the same time a considerable shock has been given to faith in the new remedy for the coffee leaf disease, owing to the entire failure of its application in one large plantation. In the rising market for tea which Australia affords, tea from Ceylon has now acquired a recognised footing, and there is prospect of a large and profitable trade.

The much deprecated ecclesiastical troubles are not yet at an end. The Bishop of Colombo has, indeed, paid his visit to England. He has appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops; but his appeal is not to the Primate, but to the Council of the Church Missionary Society. The decision, it is thus supposed, must be binding on the missionaries of that Society. It is now suggested that the creation of a special new bishop, for the native churches alone, would offer the best prospects for the future. The Native Council, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, has passed a strong resolution to this effect.

H.M.S. *Wivern* has departed to act as guard-ship at *Hongkong*, and she is probably as powerful a type of vessel as is necessary just at present. Such are the changes and advances of scientific naval warfare that she is already considered antiquated in Europe. And the fact that she is of great use to Hongkong demonstrates the true economy of making the question of Imperial defence a question for the whole Empire. Ironclads no longer fit for ocean cruising may prove most excellent harbour defences; and ironclads too weak to be of much use near the arsenals of a European enemy are invincible when stationed in distant waters, to which only lighter armed cruisers have access. Trade with China is rapidly reviving, and the opening of several new ports in China has stimulated the Hongkong carrying trade, to the material benefit of the English trading community.

The High Commissioner for *the Pacific* has lately been occupied in

two prominent tasks. The one is the proposed annexation to the British Empire of the Island of Rotumah—an island lying 250 miles to the north of Fiji. This Island, though only boasting an area of some twenty square miles, is important as a type of what is now proceeding in the Pacific. It is highly fertile, and its male population is in great request as sailors in the local carrying trade. For several years past the whole population has been divided into two factions, living in a state of open warfare. These two factions result partly from tribal, but in the main from religious, differences, the one party having long ago adopted the Wesleyans, and the other the Roman Catholics, as their leaders. The natives have made some curious assertions of the missionaries. If these are corroborated, much light will be thrown on missionary work in the Pacific. The natives complain greatly of the despotic rule of the missionaries, and assert that it is the cause of the exodus of natives from their own island. They complain, too, of the very heavy contributions they are compelled to make to “support” the missionaries.

No less important in regard to the state of affairs in the Pacific is the case of the Rev. George Brown. In April, 1878, this Wesleyan missionary organized and led an armed expedition against the natives of “New Britain,” who had murdered and eaten four Wesleyan teachers. He destroyed several villages and killed some 60 natives. Subsequently Mr. Brown was summoned before the High Commissioner’s Court for manslaughter. The day previous to the trial, Mr. Brown was summoned by Sir Arthur Gordon, and he virtually acquitted him on a professed study of the evidence, with the proviso that in so doing he would be the better enabled to complete his official investigation of the case. Next day, in consequence of this action on the part of the High Commissioner, the Judicial Commissioner declined to proceed with the case.

It is to be presumed that the British Commissioner is only to exercise his authority over British subjects; but even this involves the extension of a species of protectorate over all the islands of the Pacific, which will, at all events, give ample employment to our men-of-war; and it may be doubted whether the British taxpayer has not the right to ask whether this expenditure of his contributions is strictly for the purpose of protecting his commerce, or whether it is not rather an expenditure to compensate the evil result of misguided zeal of irresponsible missionaries or self-constituted teachers.

The Australias.—In connection with *New South Wales* the event of the past quarter has been the successful transference to England of a

cargo of fresh meat. This fact, though of very great importance, has been much misjudged both at home and in Sydney. It has been maintained that, according to the *lowest* estimate, Australian fresh meat can be placed in Smithfield by this process, at a cost of 4*d.* the pound. But it must be remembered that the wholesale price of meat in Smithfield is very little above that price at the present moment, and a portion of the suggested profits must certainly disappear in the risks of breakdown or wreck which are run on so long a voyage. And above all it is necessary to remember that the scheme depends entirely on the supply in Australia at the port of shipment of sufficient quantities of really prime meat at an extremely low price. It is misleading to speak of the sixty millions of sheep in Australia as affording a mine of food for England. These sheep are bred and fed for their wool, and not for their mutton, and they are often as far from a port as Moscow is from Hamburg. The supply of prime meat in Australia itself must become the charge of a special industry, and with the proximate growth of population in the neighbourhood of large ports, very efficient use will have to be made of the advantages of cheap land and equable climate to counteract a probable rise in the price of meat.

The Colony of New South Wales is in a very prosperous condition just now. Public opinion is waging a great battle over the education question in the point of religious instruction in State-aided schools. A more profitable exertion of energy is that which has made so entire a success of one of those Juvenile Industrial Exhibitions that Australians have adopted with such signal success as a means to developing in the rising generation both skill and interest in mechanical and industrial details. This method arises as a significant and altogether wholesome rival to Protection in infusing a manufacturing bias into the young mind, and so ensuring a natural development of native industry.

The thoroughly Free-trade policy of New South Wales has been recently vindicated in an able speech by Sir Henry Parkes. And in the Assembly a Protectionist proposal met with no higher fate than a significant "count out." Among other points New South Wales public opinion hopes to see action taken by the Home Government in the matter of a reduction of the wine duties. Among the many evidences of the prosperity of this Free-trade colony, may be noticed the fact that the Commercial Bank of Sydney has declared a dividend for the year of 25 per cent. The sale of the Chisholm estate in the city of Sydney yielded the eminently satisfactory result of a price equal to 500*l.* per foot of frontage. It is interesting to notice too, in a Free-trade colony very much under-peopled, the autonomous development of the manufacture of locomotive engines; orders to the amount of 500,000*l.*

have recently been given in the colony. Meanwhile the Protectionist policy adopted in Victoria is transferring wealth and trade to New South Wales.

From *Victoria* comes the significant news of the fall of the Berry Ministry. As we suggested in the *WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, for July, the good sense of the Victorians might be trusted to indicate their ability to manage their own affairs. Violent protection, coupled with a no less stringent system of direct taxation, brought unpopularity to the Berry Government, by the direct route of the pockets of the people. The vacillating absence of logic in the proceedings of his Ministry did not inspire confidence. Mr. Berry's curt dismissal of the whole Civil Service two years ago created widespread distrust, not only in his wisdom, but in his knowledge of the rights and duties of his position; and when he again, in December last, proposed to make national money actually available on the votes of the Assembly alone—a proposal not only over and over again shown by the highest authorities in the colony and at home to be directly contrary to the principles and practice of English Parliamentary Government, but also in direct verbal contravention of the printed "Constitution Act"—it was seen that his case was indeed desperate. The dissolution was granted on the specific question of Mr. Berry's own Reform Bill, and the Governor almost immediately afterwards had to call on Mr. Berry to desist from publicly stating that the dissolution was unconditional. The prominent clause of his Reform Bill was the clause introducing the plébiscite. During the election speeches Mr. Berry threw over this clause by professing to regard plébiscite as a "clumsy remedy" he hoped would never be necessary. It needed not much thought to see that his case was desperate, and even rats will leave a sinking ship.

The new Ministry is composed of the leaders of the late Opposition, with Mr. Service at its head, and among the members is Mr. Cuthbert, who was for some time a member of Mr. Berry's Ministry, but resigned in consequence of the violence of its policy. The reported majority of this "Party of Order" is 12—a working majority in a house of 86 members. The questions to be attacked are Reform, Payment of Members, and Protection. The welcome appearance in the Assembly of a higher and better educated class of candidates will no doubt satisfactorily solve these Victorian evils.

This change of Government will be specially welcome to the capitalists of Victoria, and their importance of the colony is seen in the good that they make patriotic use of their capital. It is not very long since the foundation stone was laid of the Wilson Hall at the Melbourne Univer-

sity—the necessary sum of no less than 36,000*l.* being the munificent gift of Sir Samuel Wilson. And lately Mr. Ormond, has given the substantial nucleus of 10,000*l.* to found the new “Ormond College” in the same University. These things recall the Oxford of many centuries ago—the days of William of Wykeham, and “the good Thomas Sutton.”

That cricket is not the only English sport that thrives in Australia is seen from the fact that no less than 80,000 spectators were present on the Melbourne race-course to see the race for “The Cup.” Such a total would be no contemptible audience for the Derby; and its significance is the more marked when it is borne in mind that the whole population of the colony is only one-fifth that of London.

The adage that history repeats itself has received a curious exemplification in Melbourne. When the Gladstone Government was *in extremis* it will be remembered that three of its chief members, in charge of the Exchequer, the Home Office, and the Public Works, were caricatured in a play called “The Happy Land,” with the consequent intervention of authority. In Melbourne, when the Berry Government was *in extremis*, the same play was reproduced, adapted to Victorian politics. The Treasurer and the Ministers for Education and for Railways were caricatured, and the performance interdicted by Government.

The chief news from the Province of *South Australia* is the actual fact of a surplus of wheat ready for export of no less than 400,000 tons. The shipping of the above will give an enormous impetus to the carrying trade. Such a quantity will load three average ships a day for four months. This episode will be of much importance to the Select Committee of the Home Parliament on grain cargoes. At first, of course, the dearth of tonnage has sent freight up, and until the balance be restored lower prices for the Adelaide farmer and higher prices for European consumers must result.

Nor is the sole benefit this extension of the economical area of supply. The consequent prosperity of South Australia has had, no doubt, some effect in enabling them, and indeed all Australia, to send so generous a contribution to the relief of Irish distress. In this connection evidence appeared of the incidental economic value of a Crown as representative not only of the unity of race, but as the concentrated focus of the most reliable information. It was at first doubted, in South Australia, whether the alleged distress in Ireland was real, and the question was asked, Does the Queen take notice of it? This, on inquiry, was found to be the case, and confirmation of the distress was at once and easily brought home to the whole population.

It is well to notice that, in the face of the general division of opinion in Australia as to the desirability of State aid to religious instruction in schools, religion has a prominent hold on the people. The latest arrangement of the P. & O. mail steamers brought it about that their call at Adelaide took place on Sunday. The Government in the person of the Premier, the Hon. W. Morgan, at once protested officially and strongly against not only the business inconvenience but the desecration which would follow this prospective breach of accepted arrangements.

South Australia is now within 38 days of England and enjoys a virtually weekly mail to Europe, and the new postal arrangements enable all correspondence to come and go, *via* Brindisi, at the same rates that under the old system only franked it *via* Southampton. And commercial communications are further facilitated by the recent duplication of the cable between the north coast of Australia and the world-system it joins at Singapore.

Affairs in *New Zealand* have passed to the charge of a moderate, zealous, and hard-working Ministry. Of late years New Zealand has shown the world the great field colonial political life offers for individual ability in the case of the prominent career of Sir George Grey; a career resembling closely that of Mr. Berry in Victoria. But with this tendency to delegate all to one name there co-exists, under the surface, a solid political shrewdness somewhere among English masses which always is present to bring about the withdrawal of support when even a cherished Minister goes too far. Sir George Grey and Mr. Berry have both lost their power.

Economy is the order of the day with the present Ministry. Among other measures it is proposed to tax the salaries of the Civil Service and to withhold from them a promised increase of salary for the present. Such measures are fraught with danger, and, in less degree, have the effect of the notorious Black Wednesday in Victoria of discrediting the tone of the profession in the colonies. This is a serious matter, for in colonies there is no moneyed class to do confidential work at merely nominal salaries.

The success in the floating of the new loan has given just satisfaction; and as assisted immigration is virtually at a standstill most of this money will find its way to the completion of the railway system and for other public works of a reproductive character. At present these works are ahead of the population, but years bring people, and when there are sufficient to make due use of these facilities an era of great prosperity will set in.

An interesting fact for our land reformers in England is the growing tendency among New Zealand farmers to rent instead of owning the lands they till. Sufficient access to land, they argue, costs less than full-bodied possession.

There has been some discussion as to the position of the Agent-General in England, and as to whether, considering the growing importance of his charge, he will not need to have more definite rank, and a more determinate official and social position. The Minister-Resident of Canada is only a foreshadowing of what is to come. At the same time the Agent-General in England has been warned he must not seek for a seat in the Home Parliament.

The Maories still continue tacitly troublesome, but there is a well-organized and powerful force watching the suspected districts. The new Property Tax Bill includes one penny in the *l.* on the property of the Maori King. This will have to be raised. At the present the projected railway from Auckland to Wellington is at a standstill owing to threats of Maori riots if it be continued through certain districts. The whole question is, however, being judiciously managed, and time and roads are working rapidly to the desired end.

South Africa.—Attention continues to be centred on the *Transvaal*. The “Boers’ Committee” still shows signs of life. But the great Boer meeting passed off in quiet, agreeing to a series of resolutions, only one of which was practicable, and that one expressed willingness to confer with the other colonies and states of South Africa as to possible confederation. There were most impolitic and unwise threats of reprisals against those who had sided with the British. The culminating point was the resolution to hold another meeting on April 6th, and if by that date the British Government had not relented, English books and documents were to be everywhere destroyed; English speaking forbidden; and hospitality and protection to be denied to all Englishmen. Since then Mr. Paul Kruger has declared for peaceful measures, and advocated the discussion of the means of establishing friendly relations with the British Government.

On the other side Sir Garnet Wolseley has made a speech distinctly unconciliatory, but he appears to have considered strong decided language the most suited to the circumstances, and the most suitable to combating that “uninformed public opinion” which the Secretary of State rightly considers the real cause of this opposition. He described the collapse of Boer power; declared the annexation finally irrevocable; and wound up by pointing out that all that the Boers had got

by their agitations was the distinct lesson that they were not yet capable of representative government.

The English Party is now decidedly in the ascendant, and the vigorous measures in hand for the development of the Transvaal will increase this ascendancy. Forestry is at once to be taken in hand. Meanwhile the great grazing facilities are being made the most of. The advent of the White Man has driven off the myriad grass-eaters supplied in the herds of antelope, springbok, quaggas, &c., and with them have disappeared lions and panthers. These fertile pastures remain ready for stock-raising in any quantity. Facilities are being afforded to those prospecting for gold in Secocoeni's country. It is noteworthy that somewhere close in this district was the reputed gold-bearing country that so excited the cupidity and enterprise of the Portuguese from the very first day of their arrival on the Zambezi three centuries ago.

The project of a railway which is to connect the Transvaal with the port of Delagoa Bay is assuming more practical shape; and the fact that the Transvaal has no seaboard will force forward the question of this outlet. The Lisbon Cortes, during its present Session, is to discuss the question of the railway and through transit of goods.

This fact of absence of seaboard enhances the difficulties of the Revenue Question, inasmuch as but little can be looked for from Customs duties. This peculiarity of the inland states will cause them, in the coming confederation discussion, all the more to advocate the adoption of the internal Free-trade system of the United States.

Sir George Colley is appointed Governor of *Natal* and commander of the troops in South-East Africa. He will have an anxious, yet withal, an interesting task in watching the working of the arrangements.

The new arrangements for Zululand have necessarily a very distinct effect on Natal. In fact, the Natal Government is made the local representative of the Imperial Government in regard to the native chiefs and their promises of delivering up arms and cattle and contraband merchandise. It has long been acknowledged that even in Natal itself the custom of monogamy has made but little advance. And the destruction of the military constitution of Zululand has made it a comparative paradise of Zulu polygamy. There is also the directly palpable advantage of absence of taxation. Again, a large proportion of the Zulus in Natal were mere refugees from the military tyranny across the Tugela. This being put an end to they have returned in vast numbers to the comparative savage license of their old homes and ways of living. The consequence has been a very serious drain

on the labour supply of the colony. This drain is specially felt by the capitalists and employers. And it so happens that Zululand has for some time been a Naboth's vineyard to these same classes. It is no wonder then that these classes show considerable discontent at the final arrangements, which deprive them at once of all hope of "fresh fields and pastures new," and at the same time of a considerable supply of necessary labour at home.

The arguments of these classes have much influence in the recent tendency of Natal politicians to a policy of isolation. This influence may be traced in the demand of Legislative Council for "Responsible Government"—a demand which seems somewhat incongruous and out of place for a community in which there are ten natives of questionable civilization to every white man, and which has just been saved from a savage Power by the energetic aid of an Empire. The self-contradictory nature of such proposals was well exemplified in one sitting of the Council, during which two proposals were made, the one that an Upper House should be instituted wherein natives were to be represented on an education qualification, and the other that a summary measure should be passed to compel natives to wear blankets, at all events when appearing in the main public roads.

The chief news from *Zululand* is the vigorous marrying prevailing on all sides. The Zulus are considerably astonished that in our conquest of the country the women and children were spared. The young men, forced from the stringent celibacy of the military system, are taking every natural advantage of this fact. The serious consequence of this will be a large increase of population. White people are forbidden to settle in Zululand, and the British Government will not recognise the alienation of land to white people. At the same time all firearms are declared confiscated to the British Government, and it is probable that more than half have been delivered up. This last order, if rigidly extended to all the natives of South Africa, will afford one great pledge of the future ascendancy of the White races. And it is an order which it will not be difficult to carry out with a rigour sufficient for all practical purposes.

At the same time it is probable that some of the natives will from time to time, *more suo*, have free fights amongst themselves. There was recently such a quarrel, resulting in many deaths, in the South-Eastern settled district, and the Swazis and Zulus are not on the best of terms at the present moment. The poor supply of firearms will render these inevitable frays less murderous, and by the consequent exposure of forbidden firearms will also cause both sides to dread or respect such intervention of White authority.

The prospect of vast increase in the native population will necessitate a guaranteed food supply; but the grassy wilds which once supported the now departed herds of elephants, quaggas, and antelopes, will afford plenty of rich pasture for cattle and sheep. There need be no dearth of animal food; no fear of famine. And the very presence of a *fed* population must necessarily result in the production of wealth in some shape or another.

Twenty years ago the necessities of *the Cape* trade were met by a tonnage of some 6000 tons; now the demand is barely met by a tonnage of, 120,000, or nearly twenty times the amount. And one of the chief guarantees for the prospective advance of this prosperous trade is the peaceable growth of the native element. But this enormous native element will necessitate special management. It resembles that of India in the heterogeneous character of its component parts; and these may be played off the one against another by the means of a single Supreme authority. It seems that such an authority had best be a *distinct authority* in South Africa.

The Administration, which ultimately takes charge of the districts of South Africa, which are practically native districts, must be centralized, strong, and independent. The policy it pursues must be consistent and uniform; the natives, by hut tax or other means, must support entirely the authority which maintains peace and civilization in their midst; and the administration of native districts must be free from the interference of the enterprise or self-interests of districts in which the European element predominates. Thus, alone can be avoided the curses that so often follow on the pushing of civilization among savage races. The rough handling of natives by whites, for instance, only occurs when the *whites* feel their numerical weakness. The inhuman cruelties of pioneer civilizers are invariably traceable to this fact of a desperate struggle for supremacy. And the steady growth of the native in civilization and prosperity is only to be ensured by a continuous uniform and strong administration, inspired by a well-defined determinate policy. Such is the task of a native dominion in the South African States system. Evidence of this need is seen in the recent episode of the disarming the Basutos. These people are among the most promising and docile of the native races. At the present .. they possess firearms. To deprive them of firearms is to raise the question, What need have they of firearms? The answer is, "None;" provided other races are equally deprived, and provided there be a Government in the land capable of preserving order and security. The Cape Colony "Peace Preservation Act of 1878" is an admirable basis of procedure. It empowers the Governor to proclaim districts as

areas within which no person should have or carry arms or ammunition without a licence, unless such person be a magistrate, justice of the peace, or member of Her Majesty's regular, colonial police, or volunteer forces. It is true that the universal carrying out of such a policy will need time and tact. The recent attitude of the loyal Basuto chief, Tetsesa, should teach the valuable lesson of caution and discretion in the carrying out of a policy which, in the end, is probably an unmitigated good.

The question of the control and supply of the native dominions is closely bound up with the fact of Imperial aid in the defence question in South Africa. There is no doubt of the energy and patriotism of the colonists themselves. No less than one-third of the adult male population of Natal were actually under arms during the late war. This is altogether too severe a drain on the energy and industry of any community. And yet where would even this supreme sacrifice have landed the colony but for the crucial aid of Imperial troops? The presence of Imperial troops in South-Eastern Africa is recognised by all as a necessity, at all costs, for the immediate future.

The colonists of the elder colony were able of themselves to settle account with Moirosi; but outside the limits of the Cape Colony the native element boasts a far larger majority. And the English colonists in Natal, the Transvaal, and Griqualand West have not only to cope with domestic revolts, but also to ward off extraneous attacks. The late war will have cost something like 5,000,000*l.* sterling. The best return on the expenditure of this capital is the securing peace for the future on the basis of the supremacy this war has secured to the White man for the time being.

The Imperial Government has spoken its mind on this important question. "Hereafter Imperial forces will only be permanently stationed in South Africa as a garrison near Cape Town for the defence of a naval station of great importance to the whole Empire." At the same time the Imperial Government still declares its willingness to assist in repelling external attack on our colonies, *provided* the colonists arrange their own internal defences.

This question of defence is a main argument for the proposed confederation of the South African States, and there is every prospect of its being discussed and arranged in South Africa at no distant date. The Sprigg Ministry at the Cape are able and eager to undertake the functions and responsibilities incidental to that leading position in a South African Union which that colony must necessarily occupy. The Home Government offer some guarantee for the responsibility they

assume for their settlement of Zulu affairs by their proposal to take a large share in the defence of the colonial frontiers. Meanwhile the Secretary of State has sent to the South African Governments an outline of a suitable but not necessarily a final scheme. Natal, the Transvaal, and possibly Griqualand West are, with the Cape, to form the States of the Confederation, and as they each develop in growth they may achieve the self-governing privileges already enjoyed by the Cape Colony, and administer their own local affairs under responsible government. The various districts of Kaffraria and the native nations of that part of Africa, including those existing in the Transvaal and Griqualand West, must either be brought within one of the provinces of the Union or continue to be superintended by special commissioners. Such is the outline scheme suggested. Our only criticism is that the latter groups of inhabitants in those districts where the native races largely predominate (those districts, that is, which lie between the more settled parts of the Old Colony, of Natal, of Griqualand West, and of the Transvaal), might be grouped together as a native domain, and might form the charge of a special administration, acknowledged, by the means of representation in the Supreme Council, as one of the provinces of the South African Union.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

MR. EDWARD CLODD, who is favourably known to our readers by his attractive little books on the "Childhood of the World" and the "Early Religions of Mankind," has given us a portrait of Jesus of Nazareth, embracing a sketch of Jewish history to the time of His birth, which approaches the standard of probability that the critical mind desiderates.¹ In it, however, the spirit of supernaturalism is volatilized, till the sense of mystery, power, and splendour, which informs the old Hebrew epic is lost, and we have the bare residuum of fact recognised by Kuenen and Keim, and the authors of the "Bible for Young People." We have assuredly no fault to find with this treatment, which, indeed, from the modern point of view, is inevitable, but we warn our readers that in all such works as Mr. Clodd's they will find that "philosophy has clipped an angel's wings." The story, however, divested of its poetical drapery, is well told, both as to substance and language; and Mr. Clodd rarely offends by the employment of irrelevant expressions, or crude and violent diction. We could wish, indeed, that he had not described the Jewish populace as "the feather-headed people," or Jesus Himself as "pushing His way helter-skelter among the traders and money-changers!" With Mr. Clodd's general reading of Old and New Testament history we are in close agreement; he writes often picturesquely and feelingly of old usages and old beliefs, and his moralising is wholesome and unobtrusive. On the other hand, he accepts certain critical conclusions with too much readiness, and, now and then, he certainly expresses convictions with a confidence which we do not share. With his note on the Gospels we are by no means satisfied; he speaks of *Mark* as probably the earliest of the four lives. We should say, and our opinion is the result of the soundest and ripest criticism, that *Mark* was almost certainly written after *Matthew* and *Luke*. Again Mr. Clodd appears to attach no historical value to the *Fourth Gospel*, yet he tells us that Jesus forgot His troubles in the society of Martha and Mary and their brother Lazarus, a purely Johannan representation. There appear, moreover, to be some slips or slight blunders, here and there, in his pages. Surely the ancient name of Greece was *Hellas*, and not *Hellene*, and we are not aware that the Hebrew word for angel and star is the same, though angels and stars may be identified in Jewish mythology. Mishna,

¹ "Jesus of Nazareth, embracing a Sketch of Jewish History to the Time of His Birth." By Edward Clodd, Author of "The Childhood of the World," &c. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

again, is rightly enough derived from *Shanah*, but *Shanah* does not mean *learn*, but do a second time or repeat. Happily there is no attempt in these pages to reconcile science with Scripture. On the contrary, the author points to the evidence which the rocks supply of the existence of pain and death before man appeared, to the primitive condition of the race, one of savagery, as inconsistent with the declaration in Genesis of Adam's pristine purity and happy innocence; and to the consequent denial of the Fall as fatal to the whole scheme of redemption formulated in Christian theology.

Very different is the view of M. Godet, whose "*Studies*," gracefully translated by the Hon. Mrs. W. H. Lyttelton, may be regarded as the most recent orthodox reply to the criticisms of the Progressive School.² M. Godet, praised by his translator for originality and learning, is well-read, clever, and ingenious, but hopelessly and perversely wrong-headed, and not without a defiant reliance on his own conclusions, which borders on self-conceit. It does not seem to strike the advocates of Biblical authority that when they propose to reconcile Scripture with science they in reality substitute their own glosses for the original text—man's word for God's word. When we are told, in the third study on the Six Days of Creation, in paragraphs of sounding rhetoric, of luminous jets and shoreless plains, surging waters and millions of days represented by one single day—the day on which in Genesis the creation and division of light from darkness are recorded—it is surely the voice of M. Godet and not of God that we are listening to. The natural interpretation of the text which makes the existence of light, of evening and morning, independent of the sun, whose presence or absence is the cause of day and night, is set aside for the *artificial* interpretation which imports into the text a vibration of the ether, in which the sun is in our time the chief agent, but which *may have* formed and propagated its rays of light without the sun and before the sun, while the alternation of day and night we are told may have been effected by the neutralization of the two opposing kinds of electricity, producing hours of dawn, mid-day splendour, decline and cessation; at least it *might have* been so, if antesolar light resembled our Aurora Borealis. All this conditional-mood sort of speculation is very unlike the simple but grand old imperative of the Hebrew Psalm of Creation. The hypothesis, too, is precarious; it may break, as it were, in the hand, and, like the reed of prophecy inflict an unexpected wound. At present, the undulatory theory of light does not account for all the facts, and if it did, the existence of an undulatory ether would not necessarily follow. We are not justified in asserting that no other supposition will explain the facts. The Aurora Borealis notion is even more hypothetical. M. Godet may some day find his ether sublimated into pouentity, and his Northern Lights vanishing in a will-o'-the-wisp. To examine all M. Godet's scientific expedients for the recon-

² "*Godet's Biblical Studies on the Old Testament.*" Edited by the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Lyttelton, Rector of Hagley, and Honorary Canon of Worcester. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. 1879.

ciliation of irreconcilables is not now possible; they are all alike fallacious. For forty years we have watched the progress of orthodox procedure in this weary work of Scriptural Conservatism, from the angry rejection of geological fact, to the impatient desire, as it would seem, to escape the fate of enrolment in the "stupid party," by a precipitate acceptance of the "last new thing" in science. The natural result of all the desperate efforts is to awaken a suspicion, if not produce a conviction, of their futility. Buckland's "Chaotic Gap and Six Natural Days" hypothesis was abandoned by Hugh Miller. Hugh Miller's "long period" was crushed out of existence by Archdeacon Pratt. Other explanations have succeeded; but the simple old Hebrew myth remains a grand monument of primitive, childlike thought, a granite rock which refuses to be transformed by the winds or waves of wild and fanciful speculation. The "Study" which follows that on the six days of Creation is still more disappointing. While in Germany the Book of Daniel has long been regarded as supposititious, and even in England and among the clergy are some who reject its claims, M. Godet adheres obstinately to the old orthodox view which destroys the true historical significance of a great patriotic inspiration, and degrades Daniel into a kind of waiter on Providence in the Court of the Persian Monarch. No attempt is made to meet the formidable objections of a host of critics founded on the presence of Greek words in the book, its limited historical horizon, its place in the Hebrew Canon among the Hagiographa, its style, language, inaccuracies, and its startling apparatus of prodigies. Even M. Godet's admirers must be dissatisfied with his treatment of the famous prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, which Sir Isaac Newton called the foundation of Christianity. For the distinct chronological data of the older interpreters, M. Godet offers them a dateless, shadowy symbolism, declaring, with magnificent indifference to such trifles as years and centuries, that History is the domain of human liberty, and cannot be controlled by the sacred numbers three, seven, and ten. Very good; but in this case, what becomes of the mystic period 490 years? and, a still more important question to Biblical prognosticators, what becomes of the foundation of Christianity, so much extolled by Sir Isaac Newton? In his "Study of Isaiah," M. Godet apparently recognises only one prophet of that name. In dealing with liii. ch. Is., he is very hard on those who, while interpreting as best they can the obscure utterances of the Hebrew Bard, at least offer textual evidence for their interpretation. That the Veiled Figure of this dark oracle is the suffering Servant of Jehovah, the spiritual Jacob or Israel, the appointed Light, Witness, and Teacher of the Gentile world, is a position borne out by Is. xlix. 3, 7, where this ideal being is characterized as "he whom man despiseth, whom the nation abhorreth." The last verses of ch. lii. show us this servant exalted and extolled, yet with *visage and form marred* more than the *sons of men*; and ch. liii. continues, with more detail, the touching portrait thus commenced. That the ideal Israel should be called a Man of Sorrows is natural enough,

when it has already been depicted as a servant despised and disfigured more than *any man*; and if in *Daniel* Israel is assimilated to a Son of Man, the individual colouring of Isaiah's pencil presents no insuperable obstacle to the same interpretation. The portraiture of Israel in exile may appropriately be called a grave, since Ezekiel, according to the usual conception of his vision, ch. xxxvi., uses this imagery, and the plural form of one, if not two, of the words employed by the Prophet, is in favour of a collective application, of an aggregate unity, not an individual. On the other hand, the reference of the prediction to Christ has its difficulties. It cannot be shown that there is elsewhere in Hebrew prophecy³ a suffering Messiah as Teacher, nor does the author of ch. xl.-lxvi. recognise any Messianic king. His subject, too, the Speedy Return from Exile, cannot reasonably be held to include the Crucifixion of Jesus, more than five centuries after this event. The multiplication of offspring and the division of spoil with the strong can only be made to apply to Jesus by a forced allegorical construction.

Of the remaining "Studies" of M. Godet, that on Job is poor and uncritical, while that on Solomon is the longest and best of the purely Biblical Essays. Much of its merit is due, however, to the labours of Ewald and Renan. M. Godet's identification of the Shepherd with Jehovah is neither correct nor original. There is no ground for making the Shulamite a feminine Solomon, and how preposterous is it to degrade this voluptuous love-poem into a theological allegory; how outrageous to suppose the infinite Spirit of the Universe addressing the believer's soul in words of luxurious passion, "Behold, thou art fair, my love, behold, thou art fair, thou hast dove's eyes. Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse," &c. The "Studies" yet unnoticed, the first two in the volume, must pass without comment; one is on the Angels, the other on the Development of Life on the Earth.

Science seems destined to intrude into Theology. Even in Mr. J. Page Hopps's spoken meditations,⁴ where religious sentiment and aspiration narrow the domain of dogma, we are edified with a theoretical description of "the tremendous force received from the sun during one day of sunshine." In general, however, the author adheres to his theme of the realities of personal religion, and devout natures may find pleasure and profit in the half-mystical utterances of a quiet rhapsodist, who proclaims his content with the creed taught by "the still waters" of the Hebrew poet, "The Lord is my Shepherd."

"The Gospel for the Nineteenth Century" has more philosophical purpose in it, though dogma is still veiled in the drapery of an emotional eloquence.⁴ In a previous Number of the WESTMINSTER a notice has already been submitted to our readers. We will only repeat here that the author takes his stand, preliminarily at least, on Mr. Mill's

³ "Beside the Still Waters. Spoken Meditations on the Permanent Realities of Personal Religion." By John Page Hopps. London: Williams & Norgate.

⁴ "The Gospel for the Nineteenth Century." Third edition. Published for the Author by Cassell & Co. London, Paris, and New York.

admission that Christ must be provisionally regarded as "a Man charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God to lead mankind to truth and virtue," that the work has reached a third edition, and that, after its kind, it is a commendable production.

While the authors of "The Gospel for the Nineteenth Century" expatiate on the various excellencies of the characters of Christ, a popular writer, Mr. Thomas Hughes, selects one trait in that character—the Manliness of Christ—for illustrative comment and eulogistic appreciation.⁵ We must confess that we have little sympathy with the advocates of muscular Christianity. We do not think that the spirit of Christ was the spirit of an athlete, and though, on the other hand, we are far from saying that Jesus was not manly, talk about the *manly* Jesus is in our opinion an impertinence, a rhetorical anachronism. There is a false ring about this, as about all such phrases, when similarly misapplied. To call Christ "the Great idealist," as Mr Hughes does, is less transparently improper than to call him, as a writer of a very different school has done, "a well-connected young radical," but it is nevertheless a misapplication of language. To designate Jesus manly is an irrelevancy, it is introducing, as it were, a discord into the harmony of a life of patience, meekness, sorrowful endurance, and victorious resignation, in the crowning Type of all Martyrdom. Notwithstanding our protest against this misuse of language, we can with truth affirm that in the midst of much with which we disagree, there is sterling matter in Mr. Thomas Hughes's "Manliness of Christ," showing that he honours more the silent heroism than the noisy deeds of an ostentatious valour. We are glad, too, to see that he admits that Athleticism has come to be very much overpraised and overvalued among us, and even that a society of Athletes may possibly turn out to be composed of persons deficient in real manliness. The principal topics of this very laudable volume are the boyhood, call, ministry, and passion of Christ. •

Methodism does not profess to be muscular, but appears to have a very good conceit of itself, since it declares its identity, at least in the work before us, with the purest form of what is generally known as Evangelical truth. The object of a work which evinces some reflective power and considerable reading is to convey the author's impressions of the Wesleyan Church and its ministers,⁶ and, in general, to review the position and prospects of the Wesleyan community, and examine its constituent elements and collateral bearings in relation to the age in which we live. The "Reviewer" comments on the heresy which is sheltered in the bosom of the Church of England, and congratulates himself on the tenacious hold that Methodism retains on the Divinity of Christ, the information of the Scriptures, and the doctrine of Eternal Punishment. Mr. Haweis's Church of Comprehension he pronounces

⁵ "The Manliness of Christ." By Thomas Hughes, Q.C., Author of "Tom Brown's School-Days." London. Macmillan & Co. 1879.

⁶ "Methodism in 1879. Impressions of the Wesleyan Church and its Ministers. A Review suggested by the Thanksgiving Fund." London 1879

a huge scheme of anarchy, and highly disapproves of the practices of Ritualism and the clamours of broad Churchmen for a creed that may be anything and everything. Recognising the good that is in the English Church, he deprecates an open attack on it, and maintains that a crusade in favour of Disestablishment, though joined in by younger Wesleyan preachers, would not receive any countenance from the older men to whom age and many years of labour have brought calm and dispassionate thought. The progress and general condition of the Methodist community appear to content our "Reviewer." In the pursuit of the Temperance question; in the promotion of education; in recent economical administrations; in purity of doctrine and independent self-sufficingness, the author contemplates with satisfaction the development of Methodism. In fact, with one exception, which seems an important one, that of the threatened decrease in membership, this cursory review of Methodism in 1879 is in the main hopeful.

From the religious life of the Nineteenth Century we now pass to the consideration of questions connected with the early manifestations of Christianity. There are two works before us, both of which exhibit research and erudition, and which appear to us entitled to respectful attention from the few who are really competent to deal with the subjects which they discuss: Mr. Nicholson's "Gospel according to the Hebrews," and Dr. Roberts's "Bible of Christ and His Apostles." The problem which perplexes Dr. Roberts was proposed by him fifteen years ago in his "Discussions on the Gospels." He repeats his question in a recently published volume: "What language did Our Lord and His Disciples speak?" and the conclusion to which he comes is that Greek was the language habitually made use of by them.⁷ Dr. Roberts has no difficulty in showing that the Jewish people, in the time of Christ generally, understood this language. Palestine was then bilingual. He also is successful in showing that if we accept the verdict of eminent learned men (Ewald, De Wette, Gesenius) we must allow that the ancient Hebrew had died out of common use long before our era. He also finds it an easy task to show that Old Testament citations attributed to Christ and His Apostles are taken from the Septuagint translation. On the other hand, it does not necessarily follow from these premisses that the *habitual* language of Jesus and His Apostles was Greek. Admitting that they had some acquaintance with Greek, we should still contend that Greek was not their familiar language. As natives of Galilee they appear to have spoken a very marked dialect. On the occasion of the denial of his Master, Peter's Gallilean speech disclosed his birthplace; and on the Day of Pentecost the Gallilean origin of the Apostles was probably detected by some linguistic peculiarity. Paul, though a Greek Jew, spoke in the Hebrew language to his countrymen at Jerusalem, and

⁷ "The Bible of Christ and His Apostles." By Alexander Roberts, D.D., Professor of Humanity in the University of St. Andrews. London, Paris, and New York: Cassell & Co.

Jesus is represented as speaking Aramaic (Mark v. 41, vi. 34, xv. 84). The citation of the Septuagint, in our Gospels, only proves that the *writers* of those Gospels, though not exclusively, had recourse to the Greek version, but not that Jesus and His Apostles quoted from it during the period of His ministry. Dr. Roberts concedes that "there can be no doubt that when the Hebrew ceased to be a living language among the Jews, the reading of the Old Testament in public was, for a time, accompanied by an oral translation or paraphrase into Aramaic." To us it seems probable that this was the usage in Galilee in the time of Christ. As the Archbishop of York, however, according to Dr. Roberts, expressly declines to argue the question, we cannot do better than follow his Grace's example. Whatever be the solution of the difficulty we cannot persuade ourselves that "Christ and His Disciples habitually spoke Greek."

The conclusion at which Dr. Roberts arrives would scarcely be acceptable to the author of the work on "The Gospel according to the Hebrews," which we commend to the consideration of the critic and scholar.⁸ Mr. Nicholson divides his dissertation into three parts; the first containing the external evidence; the second comprising the commonly allowed Fragments, thirty-two or thirty-three, of the ancient Gospel; and the third dealing with the internal evidence and conclusion. The Fragments will be found to be copiously annotated. In the appendices are placed the Probable or Possible Fragments, together with various illustrations and critical investigations. The generally recognised Fragments of the Gospel were long since collected by Grabe, Fabricius, Credner, and others; and some of our readers may have read them in De Wette's "Introduction to the New Testament," and in Westcott's "Study of the Gospels." Schweigler in his "Post Apostolic Times" (1846); Baur, in his "Diekanonischen Evangelien, 1847; still earlier (1834), Schneckenburger, and more recently Hilgenfeld, have argued in favour of the antiquity of a Hebrew Gospel. The evidence for the existence of such a Gospel extends back to the middle of the second century. It is attested by Hegesippus, perhaps quoted by Papias, and as we are inclined to believe by Justin Martyr. Origen, Epiphanius, Clement of Alexandria, who calls it *Scripture*, and Jerome, all bear witness to its existence. Jerome, indeed, towards the end of the fourth century translated it into Greek and Latin, which he certainly would not have done if it had been identical, as some have supposed, with the Gospel of Matthew. In full circulation, as it appears to have been about the middle of the second century, it must have been produced at a still earlier period; but on purely conjectural ground we are scarcely entitled to date it further back than A.D. 120. Of this Gospel there were avowedly two recensions; the Nazarene and

⁸ "The Gospel according to the Hebrews. Its Fragments Translated and Annotated, with a Critical Analysis of the External and Internal Evidence relating to it." By Edward Byron Nicholson, M.A., late Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, and Principal Librarian and Superintendent of the London Institute. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.

the Ebionite, carefully indicated by Mr. Nicholson. The Gospel appears at different times and among different parties in a different form. Passages are found in it which vary from corresponding passages in our *Matthew*, and passages entirely unknown to it. We do not see any proof that the copy from which Jerome translated, and which seems to have been a very full and complete narrative, was identical with the presumed original dating back to the Apostolic age. Mr. Nicholson himself admits that some of the Fragments are questionable, that they look like an amalgam of our Gospels. There are others which in our opinion point to a post-Apostolic age. We find it impossible to believe that Jesus ever said, "Just now my Mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and bore up on the great mountain Tabor." The detail of the hair is borrowed from Ezck. viii. 3. Tabor is never once mentioned in the New Testament; and the representation of the Holy Spirit as the mother of Jesus does not accord with that in our Gospels, where Mary is characteristically so designated, but it recalls what is said by Epiphanius, and indeed by "Hippolytus," of certain heretics. In the *Philosophumena*, attributed to the latter, we read of an Alcibiades, who in the time of Calistus came to Rome, bringing with him a book which he said was given him by a man named Elchasai, who had it from an angel. The angel was accompanied by a female. The angel was the Son of God; the female was the Holy Spirit. We can scarcely doubt that the language ascribed to Jesus is no mere idiomatic expansion of the Hebrew word for Spirit, though the common gender of that word favoured the elaboration of the strange conceit, but is a primary emanation from a speculative centre similar to that from which the fanciful theology of Alcibiades radiated at a later period. It is true that the sole historical evidence adducible makes the Holy Spirit the sister of Christ; but the mystical imagination which represents that Divine Power as the mother of Christ was quite as natural, and was probably an earlier conceit. Again, the Fragment in which the Lord is said to have given His linen cloth to the servant of the priest, and to have given bread to James the Just, has a post-Apostolic and an apocryphal look, in spite of all that Mr. Nicholson so ingeniously urges. The correction of Judah for Judæa, Mat. i.; the substitution of son of Jehoiada for son of Barachias; the explanation of the name of Barabbas, the *master of them* pointing to the accusative case, as we find it in Mat. xxvii. 26. Παπαββάρ בַּר אֲבִיבָר far from being evidences of originality, only excite our suspicion. The corrections seem the almost inevitable emendations of a facile criticism, and the etymology in the case of Barabbas appears to be incorrect. After every deduction, however, there still remain Fragments which may have been constituent parts of an original record, and the citations in the Clementine Homilies indicate that there was, A.D. 160, an Evangelical narrative which had affinities with our Canonical Gospel. We believe many such narratives were in existence prior to the composition of St. Luke's Gospel, which, as Mr. Nicholson is probably aware, the author of "Supernatural Religion" now admits was known to

Marcion A.D. 140. St. Luke cannot well be placed later than the end of the first or beginning of the second century; and St. Matthew, whom St. Luke uses as one of his sources, must, we think, be dated, though not quite as we have it now, at A.D., 70, or thereabouts. This oldest of the Canonical Gospels, as we conceive it to be, discloses by its structural peculiarities its dependence on at least one precedent narrative. But as the first Christian community was not a society of literary men, and as it hourly expected the return of Christ, such a composition would not be in demand till towards the close of the Apostolic age. The *Logia* of Papias may have been one of these Evangelical narratives, a gospel in which the discourses, parables, and sayings of Jesus were prominent, and historical recital subordinate. This narrative may have been a source of our Matthew, and possibly of the Hebrew Gospel, on its first publication. Altered, corrupted, augmented with various apocryphal extravagances, the original work may have emerged as the Gospel according to the Hebrews, translated by Jerome. This is the most we can allow. Absolute certainty there is none. Mr. Nicholson's hypothesis is that Matthew wrote at *different times* the Canonical Gospel and the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or that part of it which runs parallel to the former. He is of opinion that there is a slight amount of presumption in favour of the priority of the Canonical Gospel, but is disinclined to express a decided view. Mr. Nicholson has devoted much time to his task, and has employed in the elucidation of his subject a vast amount of patient care and laborious research, which should, at least, procure him a hearing from the most prejudiced of his opponents. We think he might have exhibited a little less self-confidence, with advantage, and have criticised with less asperity the authors of "Supernatural Religion" and the "New Testament Canon." Though we differ from the author of the former work, on some points, we by no means concede that Mr. Nicholson is always just in his censure. His admission, that it is a valuable treasury of quotations from, and references to, early Christian literature, is, at least, a testimony to the author's reading and research.

From the darkness which envelops the origin of the "Hebrew Gospel" we pass into the light of modern thought, under the guidance of Dr. Kalisch, who confers honour on the race to which he belongs, and in whom, like a modern Philo, Greek wisdom and Hebrew learning are combined.⁹ Hitherto Kalisch has been known to the public by his historical and critical commentaries on the Old Testament, his Bible studies, and grammatical works. He now appears as a pioneer to the ideal world of the still perhaps distant future. His work, with the somewhat allegorical title of "Path and Goal," contains a discussion on the elements of civilization and the conditions of happiness. The Path indicates the method of inquiry to be pursued by the *dramatis personæ* of the ten dialogues which compose the volume. It

⁹ "Path and Goal. A Discussion on the Elements of Conciliation and the Conditions of Happiness." By M. M. Kalisch, M.D., M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

traverses various philosophical regions, having its starting point in the Hebrew Scriptures, and more particularly in the Book of Ecclesiastes, which, in the opinion of Mendoza (the genial host, at whose house—Cordova Lodge—native and foreign guests habitually meet), mainly relates to the Enjoyment of Life. The Path, thus opening, leads through many lands, but chiefly through those of Jewish, Greek, German, and English thought, excursions into the far Orient being frequent, though less continuous. The guests—a German doctor of divinity, a professor of Biblical literature, a Liberal Churchman, a Christian theologian (who had joined the National Church), a Chief Rabbi, a Brahman, an Imam of Teheran, a Buddhist, a Parsee bishop, an admirer of Greek culture, a champion of the advanced school of naturalists, an advocate of an ideal Pantheism—agree to “debate those general ideas which are important to all alike as forming essential elements in our actual modes of thought, and involving the motives of our daily conduct.” Their object is to discover those truths which flow from the constitution and wants of human nature, and are on that account universal and unchanging. Cynicism, Stoicism, Christianity, Pantheism, Pessimism, the philosophy of Epicurus, the hypothesis of Darwin, are all in turn examined, controverted, and wholly or in part vindicated. Through Idealism we reach the goal. Positive systems of theology are abandoned, at least as creeds obligatory on the human race, in favour of principles presumed to be capable of effecting an *Eucrasia*—that is, a happy mixture of mental qualities, a harmony of character which is the perfection of culture. The principles thus exalted into a universal religion are the Stoic’s unshaken fortitude through the dominion of reason; the Hebrew’s or Christian’s peace through the union of the soul with the Eternal; the Epicurean’s fearless freedom through the conquests of superstitious terrors and beliefs; the Monist’s deep and vivid sympathy with every creature and all creation; Spinoza’s intellectual love of God—that is, the love of truth, for its own sake, with the serene clearness it engenders; the Buddhist’s humble resignation, compassion, and unselfish benevolence; and, lastly, the Greek’s idealism and refinement manifested in beauty and art. In the various discussions raised in the volume, the author makes a masterly use of his material; shows that he is, at least, acquainted with the results of science, and knows the last word that has been said for or against Evolution, the old Theology, Hellenism, Pessimism, or Pantheism. His strictures on Spinoza’s theory indicate that he has paid great attention to the subject; his knowledge of Oriental literature is sufficiently comprehensive; and his familiarity with Greek and German literature gives grace and light to pages replete with weighty thought, always expressed in lucid, vigorous, and unaffected language.

The “Religion of Humanity” is pronounced by Dr. Congreve,¹⁰ in his Annual Address on New Year’s Day, to be the synthesis destined to

¹⁰ “Religion of Humanity,” &c. By Richard Congreve. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

absorb Catholicism and Islam, which are but rudimentary embodiments. In his survey of Positivist action he includes all who in whatever degree claim that honourable title. Where his ideal cannot be accepted, the religion of duty, a noble form in itself, must, he says, take its place, and identity of result console for discrepancy in creed.

Three Sermons on "Religion," by Rev. William Home, with whose theology Dr. Congreve would have little sympathy, have not much, however, that is doctrinally distinctive in them.¹¹ The writer, in words simple, manly, and eloquent, delivers what he calls the reasonable and noble message of Jesus. He desiderates two essentials. On the side of science and inquiry toleration, on the side of life and practice what he has no other name for but humanity—humanity, however, of the type that we see in Jesus.

Sanguine in the belief that the difficulties which theology presents in our own time will vanish, Dr. Quarry, in his "Donnellan Lecture," preached in the University of Dublin in the year 1878, reviews the "Question of Evil," the perplexities which are connected with the Doctrine of Divine Benevolence, the Freedom of Man, the Existence of Deity and Miracles.¹² Those who hold his opinions will probably regard his arguments conclusive. Like many clergymen of the day, Dr. Quarry adopts the idea of the indefiniteness of the duration as distinguished from the infiniteness of posthumous retribution, and takes refuge in the unrevealed possibilities of a future state. The author of "Universal Restitution" also contends that the Greek word in the New Testament translated "everlasting," does not mean endless but "age-long." He agrees with Dr. Quarry in rejecting the annihilation plan of disposing of the wicked, and insists that God will ultimately save all men.

In "Remarkable Corroborations of 'The Law of History'" we have a curious application of Old Testament Prediction to the events of our own age.¹³ The mystical period of Daniel, it appears, commenced A.D. 1367, when England cancelled the payment of the annual tribute to the Pope. Daniel's 434 years ended in the year 1801, when the British parliamentary dominion was fully evolved. In 1829 the prophetic wall began to be built in the enactment of Roman Catholic Emancipation. The forty-nine years which its constitution was to occupy, terminated on the 12th April, 1878. The Ravenous Bird from the East, of the prophet Isaiah, is the contingent of the native army of the Empress of India, and its arrival in Malta is the predicted advent of that feathered bird which is the outward and visible sign of the time of the end. To such depths of extravagance can the interpreters of prophecy descend.

¹¹ Religion "Three Sermons" By William Home, M.A., Examiner in Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, &c. Dundee. John Leng & Co. 1880.

¹² "Religious Belief," &c. By John Quarry, D.D., Rector of Donoughmore, and Canon of the Cathedral of Cloyne. London. Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

¹³ "The Threefold Basis of Universal Restitution." Williams and Norgate. London. "Remarkable Corroborations of 'The Law of History,' evolved since December, 1874." By the Author of that Work. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh & London. 1880.

In our notice of Mr. S. Sharpe's work, in our last Number, "The Journeys and Epistles of the Apostle Paul," we inadvertently fell into an error which we confess and regret. Trophimus is not mentioned in any of the Epistles of the Captivity to which we referred. He appears only in 2^d Tim. iv. 20, to which our argument precluded reference.

PHILOSOPHY.

THE late Professor De Morgan, writing in 1863, observed: "Other revivals are in progress, besides that of the possibility of communication with higher worlds of thought: among them is the study of those minds which have been on the shelves for a century and a half, covered with dust and nicknames," a statement which has certainly hitherto lacked confirmation. The signs of a revived interest in the Scholastic Philosophy have been imperceptible to the general view. At length, however, the matter is placed beyond doubt, by the publication of the first of "four portly volumes," the author being encouraged to bring his treasures to the light, by reason of a supposed wide-spread dissatisfaction "with the ever-rising Babel of new philosophies and the universal disintegration of scientific thought." The "Metaphysics of the School."¹ is offered as a re-cast, for the benefit of this nineteenth century England, of the philosophical teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, a systematic model being found in Suarez. The whole work will consist of nine books, the first three (forming the contents of the present volume) treat of the Definition of Metaphysics, Being, and the Transcendental Attributes of Being. The remaining six books will consider, in order, the Principles, the Causes, and the Primary Determinations of Being, the Aristotelian Categories (two books), and Natural Theology. The author is well aware of the difficulties of his task. Although avowedly a member of a religious order (the Society of Jesus) he had scrupulously to keep his theological opinions in the background. His purpose (that of inducing a better appreciation of the School-Philosophy) also required the elimination of all subordinate questions and side-issues. Lastly, he had to overcome the difficulty of conflicting interpretations of his model philosopher having an equal weight of authority in their favour. Although Father Harper disclaims originality, the simple justice must be done him of remarking, that he has shown considerable skill in the production of apt illustrations, and in dealing with the modern temper. His predilection for the mediæval philosopher is certainly not due to a mere archæological bias, or to ignorance of the mental movements which surround him. His Introduction may be read with profit by those who think life too short for fathoming the mysteries of Pure Being, and for making nice distinctions between formal and universal Unities. Two of the chief infirmities of the times

¹ "The Metaphysics of the School." By Thomas Harper, S.J. Vol. I. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

are forcibly exposed, excessive receptivity, and the straining after a trivial originality. Nothing better has been said against the evil system of filling the youthful mind with unrelated fragments of knowledge, or on the growing disinclination to fix attention upon mental abstractions. We shall be curious to watch the fate of this unusual metaphysical venture. Although, of recent years, there has been, in some quarters, an unmistakable tendency to reconsider the claims of a philosophy seeking a deeper analysis of experience than physical methods were competent to effect, there has been no disposition to construct an *à priori* Metaphysic. Those who favour the Transcendentalism of recent German thinkers will hardly seek ultimate repose in the Transcendentalism of the Angelic Doctor. The strictly formal logicians (the class is scarcely numerous) might perhaps help to rear the fabric of such a Neo-Scholasticism. Father Harper promises us a criticism of Kant in his second volume; one would have thought such a review would have been more in place as a preliminary chapter. A reasoned answer to the question, "Is Metaphysic possible?" might have reassured those timid natures, which are wont to weigh the chances, and to count the cost of a journey, before they undertake it.

With the present volume of "Problems of Life and Mind,"² philosophical students enter into possession of Lewes's latest researches in physiological Psychology. Three problems are here considered:—Mind as a Function of the Organism; the Sphere of Sense and Logic of Feeling; and the Sphere of Intellect and Logic of Signs. Under Mind as a Function of the Organism, such topics are discussed as the laws of sensibility, the Sensorium, and the nature of consciousness and unconsciousness. In a preliminary chapter the author utters a protest against a fashionable abuse of the Law of Continuity, to justify the doctrine of Panpsychism. As creation is unthinkable, life and mind, it is averred, must be as old as the universe: the factors are necessarily contained in the product. The argument is self-destructive; forasmuch as the factors are jointly required to constitute the product, the product cannot resemble the factors. Life and mind are expressions of certain highly-complex facts. Let the complexity be reduced, and necessarily the phenomenal mode changes whether subjectively or objectively regarded. It is only consistent with this point of view that a spiritual entity called "soul" should be rejected, and also the scarcely less rational conception of a special "organ" of mind. The mental organ can be nothing less than the entire sensitive tissue. Certain portions of this tissue may be ideally separated, to indicate that their position renders them more liable to be affected on stimulation of the organism, but the real sensorium is "the whole which reacts on the stimulation of any particular portion of this whole." But sentience and consciousness are not identical. The reaction may not attain the point of white heat, as it were, when the individual becomes

² "Problems of Life and Mind." By George Henry Lewes. Third Series continued. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

distinctly aware of subjective change. The Law of Continuity is duly acknowledged. Reflex action is a mode of sentience, is not simply a physical phenomenon, but has its place in the subjective order as much as the secondary automatic action, which is no less unconscious, though only possible as a sequent of consciousness. Passing to the next problem, Lewes advances the highly-ingenuous hypothesis of "The Psychological Spectrum," which is an analogical transference of the theory of the blending of three different rates of vibration in each colour-phenomenon (the resulting perception, red, green, violet, obtaining its special character by the predominance of one of the quantitative values) to the mind as a whole. In other words, feeling, thought, and will are not three ultimate simple phenomena, but compound; to the predominance of pleasure or pain, discrimination and assimilation, or desire, merely being indicated by those terms, as an emotive, a cognitive, and a motor element is invariably present. It is impossible, within the space at our disposal, to call attention to all the important points of the discussion on the Sphere of Sense and Logic of Feeling, but the chapter on "Sensation and Perception" may be mentioned as particularly suggestive. The careful presentation of the evidence for the statement that "sensation is not a simple but a highly-complex state" alone dispels a host of false theorising, and throws a flood of light upon the more familiar, but not therefore best understood, portions of everyday experience. The final problem, the Sphere of Intellect and the Logic of Signs, is only a fragment, but a completion of the book which could ill have been spared. From the grouping of sensations resulted Images, the Logic of the lower animals rising no higher than the association of mental pictures. But a far higher stage is reached when picture-language can be dispensed with, and conception can take the place of Imagination. Abstraction is only possible through the Logic of Signs, in which ideas are substituted for sensations. The social factor here comes into play, that all-important condition of mental progress, whose influence would doubtless have been illustrated with great effect had the author lived to deal with the higher emotions and moral consciousness. Although his work was incomplete, it would be difficult to name another of our countrymen who, in recent years, has done more to clear up our ideas on the essential and fundamental processes of mind.

But physiological Psychology, though much, is not all. When we have displayed the germs of intelligence, and traced the progression from vague sentience to definite imagination, from imagination to representative thought, we have not got to the heart of the mystery of experience. In describing how, all that appears has come to take such and such a shape, we do not solve the problem—Why is there, and what means Appearance? Such at least is the affirmation of Professor Adamson,³ who charges Lange with overlooking, in his estimation of the Kantian philosophy, the distinction between a science of Empirical Psychology, and a Theory of Knowledge. The work, in

³ "On the Philosophy of Kant." By Robert Adamson, M.A. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1879.

which this is the ever-recurring note, consists of four lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh by the holder of the "Shand Philosophical Fellowship." The signs of the times, the lecturer thinks, point to a reconsideration of the Kantian problem, whether in the artificial form, How are synthetic *a priori* judgments possible? or in the equivalent, and more suggestive phraseology, How is Experience possible? This leads the Professor to give a connected account of the Critical Philosophy. The main points are firmly grasped, and although highly condensed, the statement of the relations of the several parts is so just that the work may be safely recommended to any student desiring to obtain a general view. Professor Adamson has not only read very widely in connection with his subject, but, what is by no means a necessary consequence, has emerged from the perusal of the commentary with a clear and consistent conception of the philosophical labours of Kant regarded as a whole. Although, however, our author has taken up the cry "Back to Kant," it is not for the sake of the dogmatic outcome of the three *critiques*, but because the Critical analyses indicate a correct appreciation of the great problem of philosophy. Development of philosophy *through Kant* is the true note, but that not in the sense of the scientific Neo-Kantians. The fourth lecture is chiefly devoted to showing that recent attempts to construe *Criticism* are mis-interpretations of its purport. Simply to read Modern Science into Kant is to mistake altogether the nature of the question the latter proposed to himself to answer. Not the least valuable portions of the book are the appended notes. The statements of the text are therein often advantageously amplified.

An unquestionably able book, albeit one very difficult to deal with, is Mr. Cyple's "Process of Human Experience."⁴ Lewes thought he saw a way to regain an interrupted fellowship with unfaltering believers in the value of a First Philosophy, by proposing to treat Metaphysics by the methods of science; but our present author is even more sanguine and catholic, his conviction apparently being that the great dogmas, accepted in faith by men of former ages, were guesses at truth, which a future positive science will verify. His book accordingly naturally divides itself into two parts. In the one he is on the ground of universal experience, endeavouring to give a more precise expression to the admitted facts of physiology and psychology; in the other, he is trying to find loop-holes in the house of Sense by which to admit the aforesaid guesses of our imaginative ancestors. In the actual working out of his subject these distinct aims are not strictly separated, the author's anxiety not to omit any possible aspect of the great problem of knowledge making him somewhat forgetful of the advantage to the reader of a strictly logical arrangement. Mr. Cyple fully admits that every mental fact has a material correlate, the

⁴ "An Inquiry into the Process of Human Experience, attempting to set forth its Lower Laws, with some Hints as to the Higher Phenomena of Consciousness." By William Cyple. London: Strahan & Company (Limited).

expression for the physical side being the "Neurotic Diagram," signifying that 'for every sensation, idea, &c, with their associated feelings, there must be a specific configuration of physiological activity in the sensory-cerebral system, comprehending within its lineal and superficial limits such-and-such central molecules and such-and-such fibres, the intercommunication being very complex in adult experience.' The Ego is actualized or conditioned by this segregated activity of a portion of the Executive System, but there is no sufficient justification for the assertion that the Ego is thereby constituted. Although the Ego seems devoid of the faculty of creating sensations, and therefore apparently only phenomenal, there is the irresistible tendency to frame the unique conception of 'personality.' Suppose, then, we start the bold hypothesis that this tendency is the testimony to an earlier state of things, when the Ego really was creative, enjoyed a prerogative of which at some unknown period, and for some unknown reason, it was stripped' (in this supposition be supported by any show of evidence? Well, there are certain men whose egoistic actualizations seem to transcend the bodily conditions. 'They say that if when this full limit of the use of structures is reached, there be 'aspiration' in the Ego, a Law or a Force comes into play by which a positive increase of physical energy is given.' The great leap in the dark has been taken. "Will necessitates modification of structure, and this inevitably implies additions to the sum-total of physical energy." Such additions, however, have not as yet been detected. A further hypothesis may be invoked to explain this constancy in the quantum of energy. What if, while fresh energy is being introduced into our mundane system, an equal stock is being removed? Men have in all ages believed in a continued personal existence after death. If this involves the abstraction of a certain subtle structure in constant process of formation within the palpable organism, such structure may embody the equivalent of the energy supplied to the aspirant. We confess we do not clearly apprehend our author's meaning here. The argument would seem to imply that immortality is only in store for the aristocracy of souls, the *aspirants par excellence*, but even so fancy is strangely exercised by attempting to depict the varying "structuralizations." What is the minimum attenuation of a spiritual body? We hardly think, however, that the author contemplates this limitation of immortality to a select few, but then it is not easy to see how this balance of energy is effected, unless, indeed, "it be borne in mind that it is fairly open to those who affirm a supreme personal arranger of things to say that, for considerations arising out of the higher emotional-experience, it may be part of the plan that the mathematician shall be baffled," a plan which might be still better executed by frustrating the scientific impulse *ab initio*, and sparing humanity the painful trouble of trying to read an undecipherable record of supposed law and order. Despite the license of hypothesis, which Mr Cyples permits himself, and the excessive attempt to put new cloth on old garments, it must be allowed that his book is well worth reading.

At all times the author is frank almost to a fault. He is determined not to leave anything unsaid. He is too genial to dismiss the dreamer if he really have faith in his own dream, and yet too penetrated with the questioning spirit of his age to leave any objection unanswered. The searching criticism he will undergo will, no doubt, moderate his tendency to take versatility as a criterion of truth. Versatility of conduct, as fertility in framing hypotheses, is frequently the mark of a superior nature, but the "inspired madman," while stimulating a sluggish imagination, may rather hinder than help the effective exercise of our perceptive and judicial faculties.

Dr McCosh is dissatisfied with the ordinary accounts of the Emotions⁵ and is accordingly felt compelled to supply what he regards as a desideratum in Mental Science. His analysis of an Emotion elicits four elements — 1 an appetence, 2 an idea, 3 excitement with attachment or repugnance, 4 an organic affection. Appetences in the Theory of the Will, are usually called Motives. They are the ultimate springs of action. It will therefore surprise the reader to learn that there are no less than eleven primary appetences, of which the love of pleasure, or aversion to pain, is merely one of a list which includes 'Tastes and Talents tending to act,' love of wealth, and moral sentiments. The second element is the idea of an object, which will be readily granted, the ideal element being that which defines the appetence. But what is signified by the third element? "This excitement, with the attractions and repulsions is the conscious element in the emotion." Neither the "appetence" nor the "idea" then is conscious. What Dr McCosh seems to be aiming to express is the intensity of the before mentioned elements but, if so, he has not been too careful in his language. Lastly, we have the organic affection, whose seat "seems to be somewhere in the cerebrum, whence it influences the nervous centres." It is improper to call "the nervous affection a correlate of the emotion. They are two things, each with its properties, acting and reacting on each other." This is plain, if not intelligible, speaking. Having analysed emotion in general, our author proceeds to classification and description. The primary division is into Emotions directed to inanimate objects, Emotions called forth by inanimate objects, and complex Emotions. The first group includes regret, moral approbation, anger, joy, and surprise, and excludes love in all its varieties, which comes under the head of Complex Emotion. The second main division is coextensive with Aesthetics, inanimate objects apparently not exciting the feeling of the Beautiful. Although there are many useful truths felicitously expressed, which we cannot hear too often, it is impossible to look upon this book as in any sense a contribution to Mental Science. The best in it is by no means new, and even as a secondhand treatise it is poorer than it might have been, owing to the author's aversion to the labours of

⁵ "The Emotions" By James McCosh, D.D., LL.D. London Macmillan & Co. 1880

the physiological psychologists. A treatise on the Emotions, which distinctly refuses to seek light from the student of Evolution, cannot count for much, in this obscure field of research at the present day.

This *brochure*⁶ is intended as a supplement to the author's larger work "*Ueber die Wechselwirkung zwischen Leib und Seele*," published in 1871. It is a useful account and criticism of certain recent observations in Psycho-physics. It is most detailed on the Theory of Vision. In opposition to several older writers, the author contends that the eye can have a sensation of black just as positive as that of white, or any colour. The sensation may vary in intensity, never reaching, however, the force of the impression of white, for the reason that the latter, especially when called forth by external light, is usually accompanied by other sensations, partly muscular, which effectuate a stronger mark in consciousness than the bare sensation of black. There is nothing similar in the sense of Hearing. The ear cannot hear silence. Absolute stillness would require absolute absence of stimuli, whereas the sensation of black results from stimulation of the optic nerve, only not a stimulation by light. Exner has set up the hypothesis that certain lower animals, as insects, and even higher ones, as deer, do not perceive objects until such objects are in motion. Herr Cornelius believes the explanation of the facts alluded to to be, that such animals only perceive the scene before them as a whole, but that when the scene is disturbed by a special object being displaced, their attention is aroused, whence the signs of alarm, &c., as if they actually perceived the particular object. A few remarks on the Freedom of the Human Will, as looked at by the light of psycho-physics, conclude a suggestive little pamphlet.

If we have any fault to find with Dr. Aveling's little book,⁷ it is that it is almost too optimistic in its emotional colouring. Although totally unaffected by Mr. Mallock's vaticinations of the evils into which, under the influence of the scientific spirit, we are drifting, and utterly disbelieving in his cure for such ills as do exist, we do not see sufficient reason for believing that the world is moving very fast to its Paradise. The pamphlet will no doubt serve a useful purpose, being in the main the answer of common sense to an ill-considered and hysterical attempt to subject the world to a system, whose part in organizing social life has long been played out.

Mr. Lloyd's *Essay*⁸ gives evidence of a thoughtful and discriminating mind, and will serve as a useful introduction to the study of Mr. Sully's elaborate treatise. The account of German Pessimism is necessarily inadequate, and perhaps hardly gives the reader a sufficiently forcible idea of the strength of the position; but the remarks

⁶ "*Zur Theorie der Wechselwirkung zwischen Leib und Seele*." Von C. S. Cornelius. Halle a/S. 1880 (David Nutt).

⁷ "*The Value of this Earthly Life*." A Reply to "*Is Life Worth Living?*" by W. H. Mallock. By Edward B. Aveling, D.Sc., F.L.S. London: Free-thought Publishing Company. 1879.

⁸ "*Pessimism: A Study in Contemporary Sociology*." By R. J. Lloyd, B.A. Liverpool: Henry Young. 1880.

relating to English Pessimistic proclivities or antipathies strike us as very much to the point. The remark is suggestive that Pessimism is the natural philosophy of thinkers, who draw their practical conclusions from the narrow observation of men of genius, of those who are "morally, intellectually, and æsthetically in advance of their contemporaries;" but the statement must not be too readily accepted, that Pessimism is usually the outcome of a disappointed experience.

Dr. Zeller's classical "History of Greek Philosophy" is being bit by bit made accessible to the English reader,⁹ and we trust the time is not remote when it will be possible to procure the whole work in a uniform edition. At present there are still lacking the review of the Aristotelian system, and the very commencement of the History. Dr. Zeller's account of Stoicism is exceedingly thorough, and there is no part of his work more useful to students of Greek Philosophy. During the ten years which have elapsed since the publication of his first edition, Mr. Reichel has had ample opportunity to revise his work, and the translation as it now reads appears to be all that could be desired.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

EIGHT years ago the Duke of Somerset published a somewhat foolish book under the title of "Christian Theology and Modern Scepticism." We do not think that the volume before us¹ will increase his literary reputation. Indeed, it has already been greeted with such a howl of abuse, that there is no object in our trying to assume a prophetic character. Putting aside all consideration of substance, the harsh and jerky style, aggravated by the manner in which the sentences are divided off into short paragraphs, interlarded with quotations, is enough in itself to deter even a diligent reader. But if the form is bad the matter is worse. One would imagine that the Duke of Somerset had written his book in the days of James Mill, whose doctrines are his *bête noir*. There is not a trace of consciousness that the old methods of treating the questions to which the book is devoted are entirely out of date. The State is looked on as a mere abstraction—as a simple aggregate of isolated individuals. That the new aspect given to social questions by Mr. Herbert Spencer and other modern sociologists has any bearing on the fundamental conceptions of which he discourses, does not seem to have occurred to the Duke, much less that the whole subject has been exhaustively discussed by German writers. Nor does he appear to greater advantage in applying his ideas to the concrete questions of English politics. The speculative conclusion that

⁹ "The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics." Translated from the German of Dr. E. Zeller. By Oswald J. Reichel, B.C.L. and M.A. A New and Revised Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

¹ "Monarchy and Democracy. Phases of Modern Politics." By the Duke of Somerset, K.G. London: James Bain. 1880.

the extension and reform of the franchise in 1832 was a step which will soon disclose its results in ignorant mob rule is not likely to commend itself, any more than the summing up of the character of James Mill, who is said to have "hated monarchy, loathed all churches, detested social rank, envied the rich, and desired to subvert the political and ecclesiastical institutions of the realm." The tone of these words very fairly represents the tone of the book.

The Professor of the Science of Education in the University of Bologna is the latest contributor to the theory of the subject.² As might be expected from the circumstance that its author is of some reputation in Italy as a psychologist, his book is dominated by psychological ideas; that with regard to which he is most exercised being the conception of the individual as a part of the social organism and as reacted on by his environment. Indeed, of all the writers to whom he refers, Mr. Herbert Spencer, as represented by his book on education, seems to have influenced Professor Siciliani most. After an historical account of pedagogy, the author examines at some length the views on this branch of science of a variety of writers, including, among Englishmen, Messrs. Mill, Bain, and Spencer, finishing with an exposition of his own views, a sketch of the present position of the subject in the Italian universities, and a number of suggestions for its promotion in the future.

With books of the description of Mr. Escott's,³ we cannot say that we have in general much sympathy. Mr. Escott tells us in his preface that his object is to present as complete and faithful a picture of Contemporary England as the limits of his space and opportunity allow. After reading through his two volumes, we are constrained to ask what his object was in doing so. If the book was meant as an Encyclopædia of the subject it is a failure, in so far as it imparts little that was not already known to most people. If it was intended as a record of Mr. Escott's personal impressions, we would then ask why Mr. Escott should expect us to be interested in his personal impressions. M. Taine has, no doubt, written a very interesting book about England, but the book is interesting because M. Taine is a representative foreigner, whose concrete conception of our national life cannot fail to excite our curiosity, even if we learn nothing from it. But it is plain that an Englishman writing on the same subject is in an entirely different position. We presume, however, that Mr. Escott's "England" falls within the first of the two alternatives, and was meant to convey information simply, a presumption which is strengthened by the circumstance that some of the chapters have been written, not by Mr. Escott himself, but by specialists. The two volumes contain together thirty-one chapters on various phases and forms of English life, regarding which the information which they

² "La Scienza dell' Educazione." Per Pietro Siciliani. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli. 1879.

³ "England: Its People, Polity, and Pursuits." By T. H. S. Escott. 2 vols. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co.

convey appears to be, so far as it goes, carefully and accurately compiled. But while we do the book the justice of saying that it is well written and readable, we must again protest that in order to be of the least use it would necessarily extend to twenty volumes rather than two.

We have a strong objection to attempts to make questions of contemporary politics the subject of scientific treatment. The nature of the subject precludes the analogy which might be drawn from other branches of knowledge, and precludes at the same time, at least in a country where Government by party is of the essence of the administrative system, the setting up of any abstract standard of criticism. The book before us,⁴ which is No. 2 of the "Practical Politics" series is a good illustration of this. The series, although issued under the auspices of the "National Liberal Federation," professes to aim simply at affording information on subjects of political importance, with the design of stimulating inquiry and aiding in the formation of sound and instructed public opinion with a view to this very desirable Utopian condition. Mr. Grant Duff, of all persons, was asked to write a scientific and impartial account of the principles of Foreign Policy. Now, no one who has not been in the Cabinet has paid more attention to Foreign Affairs than Mr. Grant Duff, and accordingly it is only what we should have expected when we find him in the first part of this book enunciating in a scholarly fashion most excellent principles for the administration of the business of the Foreign Office. So excellent are these principles, that, if we mistake not, nearly every Foreign Secretary of this century has considered them to be especially his own, and almost every Opposition has thrown it in the teeth of the Cabinet in power that they have failed to follow them. But it is rather too bad that Mr. Grant Duff should proceed to the verification of *a priori* reasoning, the truth of which nobody doubted, by adding a second part to his pamphlet in the form of an exposition of the incapacity, in the light of his standard, of Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury. The illustration would have made an admirable speech to the author's constituents in the North but it will not be so much appreciated as an example of Mr. Mills' "Methods." When it is stated that the best means of obtaining a class from whom to select the occupants of diplomatic posts would be a competitive examination, we doubt much whether Mr. Grant Duff will find many to agree with him, although most people will concur in the opinion that the operations of the diplomatic corps should be extended more widely than at present.

"Free Land" is a well-meant book. With many of the arguments we entirely agree, and with its general scheme there is no fault to be found. It contains much useful information, and exhibits unmistakable traces of a good deal of hard work. Perhaps it is this very circumstance which makes the slovenly slips, which occur so frequently in its pages, irritating. Mr. Arnold professes to deal with a highly tech-

⁴ "Foreign Policy" By M. E. Grant Duff M.P. Macmillan & Co. 1880

⁵ "Free Land" By Arthur Arnold. London. C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880

nical subject in the capacity of a man who has explored all its subtleties and succeeded in reducing them to the most simple propositions, an undertaking on his success in which we cannot congratulate him. As we have already said, the plan of his work is excellent. He first shows, in answer to the question, Who has the land? that the landed property of the United Kingdom is accumulated, as to four-fifths of its extent, in the hands of probably not more than 7000 persons. He then goes on to point out that by far the greater number of these persons are mere life-owners, who have consequently little interest in improving the soil, even if they have capital with which to do it. In the last chapters of the book he contrasts the condition of things in this country, which he traces to these facts, with the results of peasant proprietorship abroad. The intermediate chapters contain a popular treatise on the Land Laws of England, with Mr. Arnold's suggestions for their amendment, which are just those of the majority of reformers in this direction. It is here that the book is inaccurate. A tenant in tail, "with the consent of his grandfather and father (the tenants for life under the settlement), or if both are dead, by his own will, can execute a disentailing deed, and lo! the land is free again, and he is absolute possessor. The law books call his tenure thus obtained 'a base fee,' but that does not matter." We have always been under the impression—which we believe to have been shared by her Majesty's Judges since the date of the "Fines and Recoveries Act"—that "the tenure thus obtained" was distinguished by the very fact of its *not* being a *base fee*. Again, Mr. Arnold need not abuse the Report of the recent Royal Commission before taking the trouble to understand its suggestions. There is on page 163 a strange blunder as to the meaning of their recommendation of the appointment of a representative in the real estate of a deceased person. On 231 it is said, "I shall propose, also, that the limitation for investigation of title be reduced to twenty years. It will perhaps be contended by Mr. Joshua Williams and others, with regard to this limitation, that it would prejudice the interests of certain persons entitled to reversions under existing settlements. It might be possible to retain, in those cases, the forty or longer years' limitation until the expiry of the existing settlement." The very object of the investigation being to discover whether the title comes within the category of "those cases," comment on this proposition is superfluous. The other chapters in the middle of the volume abound with similar crudities. The best that can be said of them is that they succeed in making a dry subject appear interesting.

It is with more satisfaction that we record our impressions of a book with a title similar to that of Mr. Arnold's, which forms No. 3 of the "Practical Politics" series.⁶ Mr. Shaw Lefevre has constituted himself the champion of the extreme party in relation to the land question, and the close attention which he has of late given to the subject certainly entitles him to write about it. The present pamphlet is in sub-

⁶ "Freedom of Land." By G. Shaw Lefevre, M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

stance an essay on systems of Land Tenure in this country and abroad, and is published, as we are told in the preface, on the suggestion of Mr. Chamberlain that a popular treatise on the subject would be useful with a view to the next General Election. We doubt very much whether Mr. Shaw Lefevre is right in laying such exclusive stress on the prevailing system of land tenure as the cause of the accumulation of real estate in this country. The land laws are probably rather to be regarded as effects than as causes; and, though no doubt they have a strong reactionary influence, it is difficult to see how the problem of their reformation can be properly separated from that of the reform of Local Government and County Franchise, which have had much more influence in preserving the existing condition of things than the subordinate circumstances of tenure. One is inclined to question the efficacies of the results to be derived from Mr. Lefevre's proposed partial limitation of the power of settlement, so long as these causes remain in full operation. The chapter on Ireland is one of the best in the book, and contains some valuable remarks on the Irish Land Act. By-the-way, why is it that all the popular writers on the subject will persist in confounding the terms "entail" and "settlement" by using them as convertible? Settlement and entail are really totally distinct modes of limitation of estates, the former of which applies indifferently to both realty and personalty, the latter to realty alone. The confusion pervades this otherwise very accurate work, a circumstance which is the more surprising from the fact that its author must have made a tolerably exhaustive study of Real Property Law.

Mr Osborne Morgan's pamphlet⁷ deserves especial attention. For two years he presided over the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Land Question, and he now places before the public the result of his deliberations in a less barren form than in the Report which bears his name, and which was adopted by a majority of the Committee. His proposals appear here in a much more radical light than we would gather from that document, including as they do the adoption of Mr. Shaw Lefevre's principle of prohibiting settlements on unborn persons, and also the annexation to the estate of a tenant for life, of full powers of disposal of the fee simple, a scheme which the Government has followed out in detail in the Bill now before the House of Lords. These thirty-two pages are a much more reliable exposition of the points to which the attention of Real Property Law reformers must be directed than anything we have yet seen on the subject. They are free from the slovenly mistakes and misstatements with which the pages of most of the popular writers on the question abound, and they are written by a man who is familiar with the law, both on its practical and its theoretical sides.

Sir Arthur Hobhouse has republished under the title of "The Dead Hand"⁸ seven essays read on various public occasions. The majority

⁷ "Land Law Reform in England." By George Osborne Morgan, Q.C., M.P. London: Chapman & Hall. 1880.

⁸ "The Dead Hand." By Sir Arthur Hobhouse, Q.C., K.C.S.I. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

of them deal with the subject of charitable foundations and endowments, but there are two which are devoted to the "Married Women's Property" and "Land Questions" respectively. All seven agree in this that they point out abuses, and in every case suggest very thorough-going measures of reformation. Perhaps the most valuable are those which are devoted to the operation of the "Dead Hand" in relation to charities, and in which the author enunciates the principles which should in his opinion regulate judicial control of foundations. We entirely agree with him that the distinction between property settled to public and that settled to private uses, in respect of the power of the settler to render the former practically inalienable, is a blot upon the jurisprudence of the country, which calls for radical alteration in the law. That the powers of the Chancery Division and of the Charity Commissioners are extremely inadequate is clear, not merely from the examples which he cites, but also from more recent litigation. The remarks on the economic aspects of the present position of married women are a valuable contribution to the literature of a subject which has hitherto received too little attention, and is only now coming into notice.

Notwithstanding the presumption which arises against Mr. Ernst's book⁹ from the circumstance of the author being practically a foreign lawyer, or at least a dispenser of English law under foreign conditions, the present work appears to be an excellent one. It will not take the place of the treatises of Pritchard and Browne as an authority, but it will be more useful than either of those as a work for general reading. So far as we have had time to verify the references they seem accurate. We think, however, that more space and consideration should have been devoted to the subject of domicile, a matter the importance of which is apt to be overlooked in text-books. It is strange that the law relating to marriage should have received less attention than almost any other branch of English jurisprudence, and that of the few books treating of it, almost all should slur over the question of jurisdiction as determined by domicile, as though it were one with regard to which difficulty never did arise.

In the preface to Mr. Fawcett's three Essays,¹⁰ which have already appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, the author makes a disclaimer of any party bias in regard to "Indian Questions." And, so far as this book is concerned, he has certainly adhered with consistency to the principle. We presume, however, that the depreciation of party spirit is confined to matters of administration as distinguished from foreign policy, although the words "Indian Questions" are wide enough to include both. Admitting that Party Government is desirable as a general principle, it is certainly hard to see why it should not be as

⁹ "A Treatise of Marriage and Divorce with the Practice and Procedure in Divorce and Matrimonial Causes." By W. Ernst, Judge of District Courts, Jamaica. London: Stevens & Haynes. Ridgway. 1879.

¹⁰ "Indian Finance." By Henry Fawcett, M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

desirable in regard to Indian affairs as in regard to anything else, and we therefore take Mr Fawcett to mean that the present problems of Indian finance have arisen under circumstances so peculiar and so pressing that it is the duty of all parties to put out of account all other matters in dealing with them. Although we are inclined to doubt whether this proposition possesses at this moment all the force which Mr. Fawcett would ascribe to it, we agree with him that at the time when the first and second of these Essays were written, it was entirely borne out by the condition of affairs. The third, which is devoted to what is called the "New Departure in Indian Finance," appeared at a time when the Government were thoroughly aware that steps must be taken of a radical nature, and Mr Fawcett congratulates them on the inception of the reforms which have since been in some measure carried out. Whether or not one is always disposed to follow him, it cannot be lost sight of, that much of the new spirit in which Indian affairs are regarded is due to Mr Fawcett's unwearying perseverance. He illustrates that phase of parliamentary specialism which is one of the increasingly prominent phenomena of modern politics, and which seems likely to become a not unimportant factor in the future history of party rule.

Mr Giffen's opinions are always valuable. His work is to some of the most important branches of political economy what verification is to the theoretical reasoning of physical science.¹¹ It is concerned with the classification and arrangement of statistical results on a very great scale, and from this Mr Giffen only departs for the purpose of formulating carefully-drawn inductions. That Mr Giffen should, in one of the Essays before us, think that one of the greatest qualities in Mr Gladstone is his appreciation of and devotion to the *minutiae* of finance, is accordingly not surprising, and we have great sympathy with his opinion. The volume incorporates a collection of Essays which have already from time to time appeared, and which deal with some of the most important applications of economical science. One of the most prominent of the conclusions to which the writer comes, a conclusion which appears in different forms in nearly all the Essays, is that the idea that the present depression of trade will turn out to be more permanent and of deeper significance than former stagnations is entirely without foundation. In the chapter on the "Liquidations of 1873-76," he points out that the only points of difference between the present and the former cases are all traceable to one circumstance, the fact that the favourite business of the old countries, which possess a large surplus capital, has been foreign investment. This view he considers to be borne out by the refutation, from the returns, of the prevalent impression that the distress has been as great here as elsewhere. Mr Giffen affirms that, on the contrary, one of the distinguishing marks of the crisis is the singular lightness of its effects on English industry and wages. Among the other subjects, which he treats in the same way,

¹¹ "Essays in Finance" By Robert Giffen London George Bell & Sons 1880

are "Foreign Competition," "Recent Accumulations of Capital in the United Kingdom," and the "Fall of Prices of Commodities in Recent Years." An Article on the "Relation of the Taxation to the Representation of Ireland," which originally appeared in the *Economist* in 1876, is the only divergence from the otherwise exclusively financial character of the subjects treated of.

In Mr. Bagehot's death Political Economy suffered a blow which has, no doubt to an appreciable extent, affected its development. He was the representative of a new school of writers, men whose work is to present a scientific theory, not of an abstract subject, but of concrete phenomena, with which they were practically familiar. That Mr. Bagehot was conscious of this new phase on which the subject has entered is evident from the first Essay in this volume,¹² that on the "Postulates of English Political Economy." He recognises, as we think rightly, that there may be a science of English commerce as distinguished from the commerce of other nations, and that this fact has hitherto been too much overlooked. And he brings out this bent of his mind with peculiar force in his last Essay, which consists of a criticism of Mr. J. S. Mill's views on the controversy respecting the theory of Cost of Production. To conclude that capital is entirely due to abstinence is to reason in a manner which betokens that the concrete relations and position of the capitalist have been left out of sight. We regret very much that this Essay remained in an incomplete form at the time of the author's death. There are three Essays on Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo, which are pervaded by the same thought as the first. Mr. Hutton has acted wisely in his part of editor in presenting the volume to the public just as Mr. Bagehot left it. More of a scientific treatise than the very practical description of the Money Market which appeared under the title of "Lombard Street," this book is not the less the work of a practised financier, who had the variegated life of business present to his mind when he wrote it.

Mr. Clarke in this interesting pamphlet¹³ deals with a subject to which we have already adverted in a notice of Mr. Giffen's book. The Extension of our Foreign Loan business was one of the most marked features of the Money Market before the present depression set in, and it is in this direction that the depression has been most severely felt. In his Paper (which was originally read before the Statistical Society) Mr. Clarke analyses this phase of business, and points out the rottenness of many of its branches. He deplores the fact that there is at present no means of enforcing a claim for debt against a foreign State, and suggests that they should be placed on a footing similar to that of any ordinary defendant before a court of justice. With this view we cannot agree. No Act of Parliament can give a tribunal jurisdiction over a country not subject to Parliament,

¹² "Economic Studies." By the late Walter Bagehot. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

¹³ "Sovereign and Quasi-Sovereign States, their Debts to Foreign Countries." By Hyde Clarke, V.P.S.S. London: Effingham Wilson. 1879.

nor does the analogy of Admiralty judgments *in rem* at all help the case.

Putting aside the tendency of the Professor of International Law at the Imperial University at St. Petersburg to diverge from the questions in issue into the subject of his academical lectures on every possible occasion, and regarding this pamphlet as the views of a well-informed Russian on the Asiatic problem, we commend the statement of M. de Martens to the public.¹⁴ That there is nothing new in his facts is not surprising, considering that the only State Papers to which he has had access were those published by the Government of this country. Indeed, he bases his work on the Duke of Argyll's "History of the Eastern Question," with an innocence of the possibility of party views in English foreign politics which is startling. The pamphlet consists of a concise account of the origin of the difficulty regarding the relations of Russia and England in Central Asia, and of some suggestions as to the spirit which ought to regulate these relations. As regards one thing to which M. de Martens draws special attention the politicians of both countries will be of the same mind. Nothing can be more distinctive of the influence and prestige of both nations with the natives than the circumstance that the latter have an increasing facility for playing off the one against the other. For the present we fear that this must inevitably continue so. We sympathise with him when he complains that Englishmen do not take the trouble to understand and allow for differences of temperament in their neighbours, and are too much given to suspicious views of the possible meaning of the territorial advances of other nations. But while we grant that the remark is probably applicable to the difficult position in which Russia has at times been placed in regard to several of the Asiatic Khanates, we are none the less aware that the explanation it affords is totally inapplicable to the great bulk of the questions on which this country has differed with her in opinion.

Since an Article appeared in the last Number of this REVIEW upon "Russia and Russian Reformers," another valuable addition has been made to our sources of information on this subject. O. K., who is the sister of that Nicolas Kiréef whose romantic death Mr. Kinglake has made an event of history, addresses to the English people a passionate protest and appeal on behalf of Russia against the judgment which we seem to have passed on her.¹⁵ Not, however, on behalf of Russia as represented by St. Petersburg, but on behalf of what is here declared to be the real Russian people, those who have the Slavonic cause at heart. That the book is a mirror of what was felt and said by a great many people in Russia with regard to the part taken by this country in the Eastern Question we do not doubt, and this fact in itself entitles the views, or rather sentiments, set forth in it to the greatest con-

¹⁴ "Russia and England in Central Asia." By F. de Martens, D.C.L., &c. London: Ridgway. 1879.

¹⁵ "Russia and England from 1876 to 1880." By O. K. With a Preface by James Anthony Froude. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

sideration. But then other books and other Russias present a different picture. For them Panslavism is not representative of the sentiments of their country, nor do they recognise that the real capital is Moscow rather than St. Petersburg. And we confess that we are inclined to doubt, with those whom O. K. condemns, whether the administrators of affairs at the latter city are not the only persons whose intentions we are concerned to fathom. There has, no doubt, been for long a grave distrust of Russia in this country; but to show that distrust to be unjustifiable something more must be proved than merely that many, even the majority of Russians, have motives different from those which we associate with their Government. Until it possesses a Constitution and Representative rulers, the nation cannot justly complain if, in her foreign policy, the only people who are looked at are those who direct that policy. Nevertheless, it is a matter for satisfaction that we should be getting to know so much more than formerly about a country which occupies a peculiar and anomalous position. O. K.'s volume, with that which she published in 1877, are certainly among the most important contributions towards our material, animated as they are by a spirit genuinely Russian.

We pass on to another work on Russia,¹⁶ written from a rather different point of view, but, as this book has already formed one of the subjects of the Article before alluded to, we shall linger over it for a shorter time than we should otherwise have been inclined to devote to it. We cannot, however, proceed further without bearing testimony to the admirable skill with which Mr Taylor has done his work as a translator. The English style is excellent, scarcely ever betraying the origin of its creation. One of the most interesting features of the book is the detail in which it traces out the different parties in Russia, and shows their position in regard to the Eastern Question. It is written in a calmer and more judicial spirit than the volume we have just noticed, and we are inclined to place more reliance in its conclusions. Apart from these, however, it possesses an exceptional historical value. For the first time we have before us a complete history of the national party, and of the origin of the revolutionary movement. Light is thrown on political movements, which have always been in some degree unintelligible, because we did not realise the circumstances which prompted them. The book is, besides, a complete picture of contemporary Russian life, carrying out on a wider scale the plan followed in that upon "*Society in St. Petersburg*," by the same writer. It also, as we think, assigns its place to the "Slav" movement with more impartiality than the one which we have already noticed, and which was written from a somewhat exclusive point of view. With the literature of the last few years to draw upon, it will be the fault of politicians if, in future, they lay themselves open to the charge of misunderstanding the Russian position in either domestic or foreign affairs.

¹⁶ "*Russia Before and After the War*." Translated from the German by Edward Fairfax Taylor. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

When Mr. Atherton Wylde tells the public that he is young in years, we believe him implicitly ; when he adds that he is young in little else, we take leave to doubt the correctness of this assertion. His book¹⁷ is quite as much a confession of his sins as what it purports to be, a narrative of six months' experience in Natal after the Langalibalele outbreak. We give him credit for being a much more excellent young man than he would have us believe, and we would take the opportunity of deprecating the impulse to which youth is too apt to give way of making gratuitous and uncalled-for confessions. Nevertheless, he has our entire sympathy in everything else excepting this general feature of his book, and particularly in his estimate of the late Colonel Durnford, whose memory will not lightly be forgotten. In 1874, Colonel Durnford united in himself the posts of Commanding Officer of Engineers and Colonial Engineer, and was engaged in conducting engineering operations in Natal. There Mr. Atherton Wylde worked under him, and his book is an interesting description of the journeys they made together, and of the negotiations and interviews with some of the malcontent settlers and natives.

Mr. Sandeman's name falls to be added to the now somewhat long list of writers about South Africa. His reminiscences of his travels in the Transvaal¹⁸ are agreeably written, and besides this are not without value as an addition to the testimony on the subject of the Boer disposition. While Mr. Sandeman was not agreeably impressed with them, he does not think that England has made any substantial gain by the annexation. His pictures of hunting scenes are written in a natural manner, and his accounts of his experiences possess a good deal of variety.

The issues raised by Captain Colomb's book¹⁹ are too important to admit of our expressing an opinion upon them in the few lines to which we regret to say the pressure on our space compels us to restrict our notice of his book. In a series of chapters he expands very distinct views upon the questions which are now before the Royal Commissioners appointed to consider the condition of the naval and military means of the defence of our colonial sea-ports. We entirely agree with Captain Colomb that if these questions are to be discussed at all they should be discussed with less inattention than is at present the case. He points out, what is very true, that the analogy of other countries fails to guide us, from the circumstance that our colonial possessions are becoming more and more straggling in their geographical position. We cannot, however, help thinking that this is one of those matters into which the difficulty of expense enters so largely as to become the main consideration.

With all the remarks Colonel Laurie makes in this goodly volume

¹⁷ "My Chief and I." By Atherton Wylde. London: Chapman & Hall. 1880.

¹⁸ "Eight Months in an Ox Waggon." By E. F. Sandeman. London: Griffith & Farran. 1880.

¹⁹ "The Defence of Great and Greater Britain." By Captain J. C. R. Colomb. London: Edward Stanford. 1880.

on the subject of Indian policy,²⁰ and in particular of annexation, we are not disposed to concur. His opinions have at all events the merit of being decided. But we bear testimony to the value of his book as giving a light which reaches up to the present date in regard to Burma. It reproduces the substance of his former books relative to that country, giving a detailed account of both Burmese wars. What is, however, most valuable in it, is that it presents a tolerably full history of the origin of our present difficulties with King Theebau. We cannot say that it is written in a very readable style, but as a book of reference, and as giving information which cannot be obtained elsewhere without considerable trouble, the 477 pages before us should attract every one interested in the subject.

Mrs. Trevelyan dedicates this pleasant gossip volume to her husband.²¹ It is neither a novel nor is it a description of actual life, though we believe it to fall within the latter rather than the former category. The authoress has found it necessary, we presume from the peculiar bent of her mind, to "people" her scenes with fictitious characters, which, unless Mrs. Trevelyan is a better artist than we give her credit for being, are, we suspect, more than merely typical. We do not at all repent the time we have spent over what is an amusing story of Indian regimental life, although there is rather less to be learned from it of Peshawur than is to be gathered from an average school geography.

If Mrs. Trevelyan's book was composed of light metal the same cannot be said of Colonel Malleson's volume.²² No one will be instructed much by the former nor be amused by the latter. In "Herat" we have a piece of thorough-going historical work after the fashion of the author's histories of the "Indian Mutiny" and of "Afghanistan." Commencing with a very strongly anti-Russian argument in favour of the occupation of the place of which he writes, Colonel Malleson proceeds to a full historical description of the city, once the capital of Central Asia, since 1717 ruined by Afghan conquest. He then enters in detail upon the consideration of the country lying in the neighbourhood, extending the survey as far as Merv, the dangers of which as a Russian possession cannot, in his opinion, be exaggerated. There is a great deal of information collected here on the subject of military routes. Colonel Malleson thinks that there is no time to be lost in getting possession of Herat, of which he believes the commercial prosperity to be quite capable of revival. He urges that if we do not occupy the city Russia will, and that she will then have a situation which will ultimately prove fatal to our Indian rule. That the Afghans can offer no resistance to our power is true, so long as they have no military

²⁰ "Our Burmese Wars and Relations with Burma." By Colonel W. F. B. Laurie. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1880.

²¹ "A Year in Peshawur." By L. R. Trevelyan. London: Chapman & Hall. 1880.

²² "Herat, The Granary and Garden of Central Asia." By Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1880.

science, but he considers that if they had Russian military instruction there could be no kind of soldier better adapted for warfare in a country like their own. We express no opinion on the issues raised by Colonel Malleson; his book is certainly one which ought to be studied, even though it be approached with a strong conviction that his facts will not bear out his conclusions.

Mrs. Brassey's books bid fair to become, if they are not already, the most popular of modern English books of travel. There is nothing very remarkable about them, they describe no unfamiliar scenes, and yet one is not surprised at their reputation. "Sunshine and Storm in the East"²³ is just as delightful occupation for a lazy half-hour as is the "Voyage of the Sunbeam." In that yacht Mr. and Mrs. Brassey have of late years made two cruises in the Mediterranean, the chronicles of which occupy this beautifully-decorated volume, which is illustrated by one of the fellow-voyagers of their party. The story has that ring of life in it which distinguishes a really good book of travel from the *ex post facto* accumulation of reminiscences of which works of the kind too often consist.

If Mrs. Brassey's books carry off the palm for popularity, it is only after being closely pressed by those of Miss Bird. And Miss Bird's books have this feature, that they recount really remarkable experiences. That a lady should have done what she has done, not merely in her expedition among the Rocky Mountains, but also in other parts of the globe, habitable and not habitable, is a sign of the times.²⁴ The narrative before us is a very striking one. Miss Bird describes situations which few men would dare to face, and in which she succeeded in ways in which still fewer men would be likely to succeed. We do not refer merely to the physical difficulties which she says she had to overcome, but to the desperadoes, such "Mountain Jim" and others, whom she appears to have managed without an effort. The style, too, in which her book is written is so unaffected and free from "illumination," and yet so full of vigour, that the reader's sympathy is at once enlisted. As it has already reached a second edition it is unnecessary to predict success for this latest specimen of Miss Bird's literary ventures.

In May, 1877, Colonel Fife-Cookson was appointed an additional attaché of the British Embassy at Constantinople, and, after being sent to report upon the state of the works for the defence of Gallipoli, was ultimately despatched to the head-quarters of the army of the Balkans to report upon its movements and organization. His account of what he saw and underwent has now reached a second edition.²⁵ It is written in a genuine soldier's spirit, particularly that part of it which deals with the attacks in the Shipka Pass. One of its marked

²³ "Sunshine and Storm in the East." By Mrs. Brassey. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

²⁴ "A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains." By Isabella L. Bird. London: John Murray. 1879.

²⁵ "With the Armies of the Balkans and at Gallipoli in 1877-78." By Lieut.-Colonel Fife-Cookson. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 1879.

features is that the author sums up his observations of the progress of the war, in certain principles, which he contends are the outcome of its teaching as regards strategy and tactics. Whether his inductions are correct or not, his book possesses a military value over and above its interest for the general reader.

In 1845 Count Moltke was in Rome as aide-de-camp to Prince Henry of Prussia, and made use of the opportunities thrown in his way by revising the topographical surveys which had from time to time been made of the Campagna. The first part of these "Notes of Travel"²⁶ consist of extracts from a manuscript record of his researches, relating chiefly to the soil, aspect, and climate of the country around Rome, and to the objects of interest in the neighbourhood of the city, to which five historical sketches are devoted. While the Count was thus occupied Prince Henry died, and he was charged with the duty of accompanying his corpse in its conveyance by sea to Berlin. On the way he seems to have taken the opportunity of making a flying tour in Spain, the narrative of which forms the second part of the volume. Ten years later he was sent as aide-de-camp of the Crown Prince to London and Paris, and the last part of this book consists of an account of his residence in the latter city, couched in sentences of characteristic brevity. Perhaps the sole approach to sentiment occurs in the last paragraph of all, where the great strategist, describing the journey home, remarks of the transit through the Vosges, that it "was melancholy to find ourselves among a German-speaking people, who are notwithstanding good Frenchmen." One gets, by-the-way, an insight into the expenses of German royalty. The Prince paid a visit of inspection to the Paris Arsenal, and there the Count "distributed numerous snuff-boxes, and handed over to General Rollin twelve thousand francs for the attendants."

To people who have attained that advanced stage of "doing" Rome which stands elevated above the nourishment to be derived from the ordinary tourist's handbooks, the strong meat of Mr. Burn's book²⁷ will prove very acceptable. The author provides an extremely condensed "topographical, archæological, and historical description of each existing ruin or monument. The references given (he says) have been confined to modern treatises and to a few of the more rarely-read Greek and Latin authors." Statements have also been inserted on the "Geological formations and on the climate in treating of the Campagna." These brief extracts may explain why it is that we have been unable, located as we are in London, to get much beyond the preface. All we can say is (to speak with regard to Mr. Burn after the manner of Socrates with regard to Heracitus) that "what we have read is excellent, what not we believe to be so."

²⁶ "Notes of Travel: Extracted from the German of Count Moltke." London. C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1880.

²⁷ "Old Rome: A Handbook to the Ruins of the City and the Campagna." By Robert Burn, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. 1880.

In these two volumes²⁸ Commander Cameron describes what he found on a journey made for the express purpose of investigating the facilities and difficulties attending the establishment of railway communication between the coast of the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. The result is the conclusion that such a communication is both desirable and feasible, provided satisfactory reforms are, to begin with, established in the East. Apart from its purpose, which pervades the narrative with tolerable consistency, the book is a very readable addition to the existing accounts of Eastern manners and scenery.

The Commander of the *Alert* has furnished a popular narrative of the voyage of that vessel during the Arctic Expedition of 1875-76,²⁹ which devotes itself to the personal experiences of those on board the ship, leaving the scientific aspects of the undertaking to Sir George Nares' work. It is written in a quiet and unpretending style, which the fact that the book has reached a fourth edition proves to have been appreciated.

Under the modest title of "Jungle Life in India,"³⁰ we have got before us what is a really valuable account of the geological phenomena of some of the less known parts of India. Mr. Ball seems to be afraid that his book will prove dull; but, except in the sense in which every book which is full of scientific detail is dull, he need not fear this possibility. To the zoologist as well as the geologist the work is full of interest. It consists of the personal record of the travels of a man who is not a mere sportsman, but rather a scientific observer, and whose journals, as reproduced here, form an important contribution to the knowledge we possess of a region which is but too little known, except from the standpoint of the would-be slayer of wild beasts. Mr. Ball appears to have made careful notes upon the geological formations of every district he passed through upon his prolonged wanderings, and his zoological remarks, if less complete, are only so because the facts were less easy to get at.

Mrs. Houston gives an account of twenty years' residence in one of the wildest parts of Connaught on an unreclaimed estate.³¹ The details given regarding the country and the peasantry are interesting. We want a great deal more literature on this subject than we possess at present. Mrs. Houston adds her testimony to the evil influence of the priests, a point on which there seems to be little room left for doubt. The details given here bring out that influence in its worst light.

The archdeacon of Hong Kong and his wife left England in January, 1877. This volume consists of a series of letters written home by the

²⁸ "Our Future Highway." By Verney Lovett Cameron, C.B. Two Vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

²⁹ "The Great Frozen Sea." By Captain A. H. Markham, R.N. Fourth edition. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

³⁰ "Jungle Life in India." By V. Ball, M.A. London: Thos. De la Rue & Co. 1880.

³¹ "Twenty Years in the Wild West." By Mrs. Houston. London: John Murray. 1879.

latter, descriptive of China and Chinese life as experienced in Canton.³² The letters, which were addressed to Mrs. Gray's mother, are written in a pleasant naïve style, and the descriptions are therefore more readable than is usually the case in books of this kind. As there is a lack of records of life in China, Mrs. Gray's volume ought to be well received.

Passing from books of travel we come to a small treatise on the principles which Mr. Mortimer-Granville thinks should guide parents and guardians in the care and culture of youth.³³ It is evident that the expounder has a fairly strong conviction of the presence of "Original sin" in the subjects of his consideration. It is not easy to lay down sweeping principles for the training of the youthful idea. For one case in which they apply, in two others they do not. Tact cannot be imparted by books, and unless the parents and guardians who peruse these pages possess that quality already, they will derive little benefit from them.

From a little book by Mr. Benny³⁴ there is to be derived a good deal of information on a phase of jurisprudence which has not received very much attention. The historical method has naturally enough been little applied to a subject which has so little relation to modern systems of law as the Criminal Code of the Talmud. But this code, if it has had little relation to law proper, has had great influence on Christian ethics, and to the historians of morals Mr. Benny's book should accordingly prove of use as a source of information.

Mrs. Simpson has edited two more volumes of Mr. Senior's *Journal of Conversations*.³⁵ The persons who there figure are those who were most prominent in the political *salons* of Paris in the three years which immediately followed 1860, including such names as Guizot, Thiers, St. Hilaire, Prince Napoleon, and a host of others of an approximate standing. It is not likely that such a journal will again be published. The one before us is rather the survivor of a past than the precedent for a future generation. Men and women have become so specialistic in their pursuits that they care less than formerly for the opinions of well-known men on general subjects. But these two volumes with their precursors are none the less full of interest, especially in a political regard, and from the care with which the materials have been worked up will be of value to historians of the period. Here and there throughout them one comes on glimpses of character and views of contemporary diplomacy, for which to look elsewhere would be in vain. Preserved as they are by a thoroughly well-informed man,

³² "Fourteen Months in Canton." By Mrs. Gray. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

³³ "Youth: Its Care and Culture." By J. Mortimer-Granville. London: David Bogue. 1880.

³⁴ "The Criminal Code of the Jews." By Philip Berger Benny. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1880.

³⁵ "Conversations with Distinguished Persons during the Second Empire, from 1860 to 1863." By the late Nassau William Senior. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1880.

whose soul was in his work, Mr. Senior's "Conversations" ought to form a record of more than a mere passing interest.

Mr. Burdett deals at some length with the question, which is gradually forcing its importance upon public attention, of Hospital Management and the re-arrangement of Hospital Relief.³⁶ That the existing English system is deficient is admitted by most persons conversant with the subject; that it can be improved is not less evident to those who are conversant with the Continental systems. What form that improvement should take, and why it has not hitherto been adopted are questions which are very carefully dealt with in Mr. Burdett's book, the product evidently of a good deal of patient collection of facts. We are glad to learn that the system of Convalescent Hotels is likely to be introduced into this country, though we doubt very much whether it will meet with the speedy approbation it has received elsewhere.

If the revelations of the writer of "Convict Life"³⁷ have any truth in them, the subject certainly requires speedy attention. As concurring with the author of the remarkable reminiscences of "Ten Years' Penal Servitude," which appeared not long ago, we are disposed to attach more weight to the complaints here set forth than we otherwise should. A classification of convicts seems to us to be urgently called for. As the Lord Chief Justice of England remarked recently, their present condition is "simple slavery." The graphic details of "Convict Life" should at least receive attention with a view to verification or disproof.

We regret that the pressure on our space prevents our doing more than barely acknowledging a (so far as our knowledge of the subject enables us to judge) useful little book of recipes (including some phases of American cookery), with the title of "Hints to Housewives;"³⁸ a pamphlet on "Ireland and England;"³⁹ two Lectures on "Liberalism v. Imperialism,"⁴⁰ and "Parliament and the People," delivered at Hereford and at Leominster respectively; another on "Mitred Mountebanks," and "Lay and Surpliced Lunacy,"⁴¹ delivered in Sydney in reference to the Education Question in New South Wales; the "Annual Report of the President of the Boston University;"⁴² some further Collections of Official Statistics issued by the

³⁶ "Pay Hospitals and Paying Wards throughout the World." By Henry C. Burdett. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1879.

³⁷ "Convict Life." By a Ticket-of-Leave Man. London: Wyman & Sons. 1879.

³⁸ "Hints to Housewives." By Mrs. Frederick. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

³⁹ "Ireland and England." By an M.P. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

⁴⁰ "Two Political Lectures." By Charles Anthony, junior. London: The National Press Agency, Limited, &c.

⁴¹ "Mitred Mountebanks, and Lay and Surpliced Lunacy." Sydney: Lee and Ross. 1879.

⁴² "Boston University President's Annual Report." Boston University Offices. 1880.

Italian Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce,⁴³ and a number of the "Archivo di Statistica;"⁴⁴ a Report by a Select Committee of the Italian Chamber of Deputies on Electoral Reforms;⁴⁵ the Report of the Minister of Public Instruction in Victoria on Education for 1878-79;⁴⁶ a Blue-book containing the Indexes of Patents and Patentees for 1875 by the Registrar-General of Victoria,⁴⁷ and the "Victorian Year-Book," issued by the Government Statist.⁴⁸

SCIENCE.

WHOEVER has had the advantage of attending a course of Professor Huxley's lectures will recognise in his book upon the Crayfish¹ one of the most admirable specimens of his scientific teaching. It has always been his peculiar merit to show that after the most general principles of zoology have been grasped the student must turn to detailed study of individual species; not merely for the verification of laws, but to estimate their relation to each other. Some of his earliest and most excellent work related to the Crustacea; and it is especially pleasing to find the mature knowledge and mode of exposition which he has acquired here brought to bear in demonstrating how well the student may learn to comprehend zoological problems by careful study of one of our commonest animals. Like everything that Professor Huxley writes, this volume takes the student into easy fellowship with the author in methods of observation and ways of work and thought. The first chapter gives a general history of the Crayfish, treating of their habits, food, skeleton, jaws, breathing organs, growth, moulting of the shell, reproduction of limbs, and the early stages of development of the young animal. The second chapter commences a study of the mode of action of the vital organs of the animal, treating chiefly of feeding and the action of the stomach, and the digestive process; and so passing on to characters of the blood, the heart, and arteries, the nature of respiration, and action of the kidney. The third chapter continues this subject, and

⁴³ "Bilanci Communalì," 1878. Roma Tip. Cenniniana. 1879.

⁴⁴ "Annali di Statistica." Serie 2a. Vols. 9 and 10. "Annali dell'Industria E del Commercio, 1879. Num. II. Roma Tip. Eredi Botta. 1879.

⁴⁵ "Camera dei Deputati Relazione della Commissione Reforma della Legge Elettorale Politica del, 17 Dicem. 1860."

⁴⁶ "Victoria, 1879, Education Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for the Year 1878-79." Melbourne: John Terres, Government Printer.

⁴⁷ "Patents and Patentees, Vol. X.; Indexes for the Year 1875." By Richard Gibbs, Registrar-General of Victoria. Melbourne: John Terres, Government Printer. London: Trübner and Co.

⁴⁸ "Victorian Year-Book for 1878-79." Melbourne: John Terres, Government Printer. London: George Robertson. 1879.

¹ "The Crayfish. An Introduction to the Study of Zoology." By T. H. Huxley, F.R.S. With eighty-two illustrations. 8vo. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

describes the muscles as motor organs; and so passes on to the distribution and function of nerves and organs of sense; concluding with an account of the organs which specially characterise and distinguish the sexes. The fourth chapter, entitled "The Morphology of the Crayfish," describes in detail and discusses the nature of the various parts of the skeleton, and passes on to consider and examine the microscopic structure of the several kinds of tissue which the animal possesses, both in the adult and embryonic condition; and then traces the stages of development of the organs in the young animal. The fifth chapter compares the structure and development of the Crayfish, organ by organ, but specially the skeleton, with the other Crustacea to which it is most nearly allied. The sixth chapter elucidates the higher problems which Crayfishes present, such as their distribution over the world, relation of particular types to geographical areas, and the circumstances which indicate their origin and evolution. A series of notes deals with various interesting questions of a special character; and there is a copious bibliography carefully classed according to the parts of the subject to which it relates. The illustrations are numerous and excellent, and calculated not merely to elucidate the text, but to diffuse a large amount of valuable anatomical and other knowledge. The only point of criticism which occurs to us is the want of a glossary, for the technical terms used are so many as seriously to interfere with the pleasure that one who had only a slight acquaintance with Zoology might otherwise find in the work.

Hitherto there has been no biological atlas in this country suited to the practical wants of students. We therefore welcome the little work² now issued by Messrs. M'Alpine to aid students in gaining a better knowledge of the types of life which they have to study. Many of the figures are familiar illustrations, but others are new, and though lithographed are sufficiently clear to be useful. There are twenty-four plates, containing a total of 423 figures. The first treats of Yeast and Bacteria, the second of the Moulds, the third, fourth and fifth of Chara, Protococcus and the Bracken Fern. The next three plates treat of the structure of flowering plants; the ninth plate is occupied with the Amœbæ, colourless Corpuscles and Vorticella. The next two plates illustrate the Hydra and the Earthworm; the following four plates exemplify the anatomy of the Lobster and Crawfish. The sixteenth plate illustrates the fresh-water Mussel, Anodon; the seventeenth the edible Snail, *Helix pomatia*; and the remaining seven plates illustrate the anatomy of the Frog, and include a few figures of tissues from the human subject. It will thus be seen that the field covered is nearly the same as that of Huxley and Martin's *Elementary Lessons in Biology*, with which it might be used by

² "Biological Atlas, a Guide to the Practical Study of Plants and Animals. Adapted to the requirements of the London University Science and Art Department, and for use in Schools and Colleges. With accompanying Text, containing Arrangement and Explanation, Equivalent Terms, Glossary and Classification." 423 coloured figures and diagrams. By D. M'Alpine, F.C.S., and A. N. M'Alpine, B.Sc. 4to. Edinburgh and London: W. & A. K. Johnston. 1880.

students who have not the advantage of a demonstrator to direct their studies.

Mr. Harvey-Brown's "*Capercaillie in Scotland*"³ is rather a history of the species than a monograph of its natural history, and is devoted chiefly to an account of its former existence in Scotland, extinction, restoration, and extension into various Scotch counties. The book is divided into seven parts, which include twenty-four chapters, to which is added a small appendix. An elaborate discussion is given of the derivation and orthography of the name in the first part. Its occurrence in the Danish kitchen-middens and in the Swiss lake-dwelling deposits is briefly noticed. Quotations are given from various Scotch and other authors, dating back to 1526, in which references to this bird occur. It became extinct in the latter half of last century, and appears to have become extinct in Ireland a little earlier. It was brought back from Sweden and Norway in several successive years, beginning with 1827, but at first with little success. In 1837-38 the bird was re-introduced at Taymouth, and successfully reared; so that in 1863 there were from one to two thousand birds on the estates of the Marquis of Breadalbane, and they rapidly spread to other parts of the country where a cover of firs existed. A map is given marking the present range of the bird, with the dates of its introduction in the several districts. Some account follows of its range and habits in Europe. Hybrids appear to be formed with black game occasionally, but as the Capercaillie has increased black game have become less plentiful. There would also seem to be some antagonism between the Capercaillie and the Pheasant. The bird is far from being a favourite, on account of the damage which it does to the young plantations of larch and Scotch fir, by eating the young buds and shoots, nearly a thousand buds being sometimes found in a single crop; and since they return to the same tree for days in succession, it becomes completely stripped, and rendered useless for timber. Their ravages also extend to grain, but this appears to be an acquired taste. The author has carried out his inquiry with great perseverance, and produced a book which will interest all who appreciate this superb grouse.

The first two parts have reached us of a new edition in the course of publication of Professor Heer's well-known work on the "*Geology of Switzerland*."⁴ So far as we can judge from this sample it is carefully revised, and the newer knowledge which has become available since the first edition was printed is incorporated. We have already expressed, in a former notice, the high estimate in which this work will always be held, as giving in a popular form the best results at which Swiss geologists have arrived concerning the distribution of life in the formations which may be studied in that part of Europe. The present edition is even more worthy of general reading than its predecessor.

³ "*The Capercaillie in Scotland*." By J. A. Harvey-Brown, F.Z.S. 8vo. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1879.

⁴ "*Die Urwelt der Schweiz*." Von O. Heer. Zweite umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage, 1 und 2 Lieferung. 8vo. Zurich: F. Schulthess. London: Trubner. 1878-79.

"Chapters from the Physical History of the Earth"⁵ is an attempt to present to the reader who finds text-books too difficult or too exhaustive for his wants an intelligible conception of some of the chief facts and modern discoveries of geological science. The work is well and clearly written, and will be useful to the class of readers who aim rather at enjoyment than systematic knowledge, and who therefore prefer to be taught such things as appeal to the imagination and the sense of wonder. Nevertheless, Mr Nicols' book may pave the way for more extensive reading, for it is certain to create a desire to know more than could possibly be presented within its limits. The first half, which relates to what the author distinguishes as geology, comprises, after the introductory chapters, chapters on the unstratified formations, the stratified formations, upheaval, subsidence and denudation, the organically-formed rocks, and the glacial periods. It may, perhaps, be worth remark that the chapter on the unstratified formations deals largely with the astronomical and other views concerning the earth and the planets, and tells comparatively little about the igneous and crystalline rocks. It would have been useful to have given some indication of the circumstances under which the chief varieties of igneous rocks come into existence. Similarly, in the chapter on the stratified rocks, we miss anything like an explanation of the origin of their several varieties, such as would enable the reader to judge of the conditions of physical geography under which the beds were formed. The second part of the volume, called Palæontology, has an introductory chapter on the continuity of life, five chapters on the successive life periods of the earth's history, and a concluding chapter on fossil man. In this part of the book a short account is given of the characteristic types of life of the several geological ages, but in many cases the different genera are necessarily only mentioned, so that, in the absence of illustrations, the beginner may have some difficulty in realising their significance. But, on the whole, the sketch given of the Secondary types of life is clear and interesting. The Tertiaries are less fully noticed. The concluding chapter treats of the well-known flint implements and cave-evidence of man's antiquity. The illustrations are clear and characteristic. The fact that the book makes no pretension to being a treatise, removes it in some degree from the sphere of criticism. It is essentially a work for beginners, and, as such, deserves commendation.

We have received the second fasciculus of "A Monograph on the Silurian Fossils of the Girvan District in Ayrshire."⁶ It includes about a hundred pages, chiefly devoted to the trilobites, and is illus-

⁵ "Chapters from the Physical History of the Earth. An Introduction to Geology and Palæontology." By Arthur Nicols, F.G.S. 8vo. London C Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

⁶ "A Monograph of the Silurian Fossils of the Girvan District in Ayrshire, with Special Reference to those contained in the 'Gray Collection'" By H Alleyne Nicholson, M.D., &c., and Robert Etheridge, jun., F.R.P.S. Ed. Fasciculus II (Trilobita, Phyllopora, Cirripedia and Ostracoda) 8vo. Edinburgh and London William Blackwood & Sons. 1879

trated with six carefully-drawn plates. The work maintains the same high character that it gave promise of in the first part, and will be a necessary addition to the library of every working palæontologist. The minute Crustacea which belong to the order Ostracoda are described by Professor T. Rupert Jones.

Principal Dawson, of Montreal, has made so many original contributions to geological science that many will welcome a popular exposition of the story of earth and man⁷ from one so well qualified to treat of these matters. The author, however, is one who, ardently opposing the existing views of evolution, knows no limit to the language in which his detestation of the theory should be expressed. According to him, it "is nothing less than the basest and most horrible of superstitions. It makes man not merely carnal but devilish. It takes his lowest appetites and propensities, and makes them his god and creator." It will thus be seen that Dr. Dawson takes what is sometimes called the Christian point of view, rather than that of science. He is content with scientific facts, without admitting an explanation for them, when the explanation savours of evolutionary conceptions. But though his own views from time to time put in an appearance under the form of the "intervention of a creative mind" and the term "creation," the book as a whole is an excellent popular account of the elements of geology; and but for the occasional and unexpected appearance of the name of Moses, would have a thoroughly scientific character. The volume consists of fifteen chapters; an introductory chapter deals with the genesis of the earth; another succeeding six chapters with the eozoic and succeeding ages of primary time, attention being given partly to the geographical questions involved in the origin and distribution of the rocks, and partly to their distinctive fossils. Two chapters similarly treat of the Secondary Ages, and two more of the Tertiary Period. The concluding four chapters are all more or less devoted to primitive man. But while the author puts forward many of the facts concerning the earliest appearance of man, he does not believe in the great antiquity of either the English, Belgian, French, or Swiss deposits which are quoted in evidence upon this subject, and is chiefly concerned in controverting the views which evolutionists hold concerning man's relation to the earth.

Miss Buckley's "Short History of Natural Science"⁸ is now too well known to need any detailed analysis. Two new chapters have been added to this edition, one treating of sound, and the other giving an account of the discoveries of the last few years. The excellent chronological arrangement and the partially biographical treatment, with the enumeration at the end of each chapter of the

⁷ "The Story of the Earth and Man." By J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S. Sixth edition. 8vo. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1880.

⁸ "A Short History of Natural Science, and of the Progress of Discovery from the Time of the Greeks to the Present Day. For the use of Schools and Young Persons." By Arabella B. Buckley. Second edition. 8vo. London: Edward Stanford. 1879.

chief works consulted, will make this history always valuable to those commencing their acquaintance with natural science. The work has been carefully revised, and we commend it in its present form to all young readers.

Mr. Proctor's last volume⁹ is essentially of the same character as his previous contributions to popular science. It consists of a series of twenty essays upon subjects which are disconnected, but which for the most part relate to physical science, though several deal with mental conditions. Among the former are papers on the Sun's corona and spots, the relations of Sun spots to commercial panics, new planets near the Sun, a new crater in the Moon, meteor showers, storms, and cold winters. Among the latter are papers on dual consciousness, artificial somnambulism, bodily illness as a mental stimulant, and the influence of the mind on the body. These papers are marked by the clear exposition usual in Mr. Proctor's writings, and form an acceptable volume for general reading.

Mr. Gordon Holmes has produced a valuable book on the voice,¹⁰ dealing with it not only in its normal and abnormal manifestations, but as influencing health and as influenced by the various circumstances in life. His introduction gives a view of vocal culture among the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and by the Early Church in the Middle Ages, in which an interesting statement is given of the medicines used to improve the vocal powers. Both the Greeks and Romans appear to have had great faith in the advantages to be derived from eating leeks, beans, eels and other firm-fleshed fish, yolks of eggs, cubebs, gum arabic, tragacanth, honey, liquorice, linseed and other oils, while apples, pears, nuts, and figs were believed to militate against a clear utterance, and cold drinks were carefully avoided. The first chapter treats of the various well-known properties of voice and sound, the second of the structure of the human vocal organs. Then follows a discussion of the action of the vocal organs, including a history of the views held by various eminent physicians and naturalists concerning the production of vocal sounds, following which is an account of the laryngoscope, and the appearances which the larynx presents when examined with its assistance during its several modes of vocal action. The use of each of the several organs in relation with the larynx is explained, and the chapter concludes with an account of the mode in which the vowel sounds and consonants are produced. The fourth chapter is devoted to the physiological cultivation of the voice both in everyday life and as one of the fine arts. Here, of course, the properties of the voice are first explained, and then its management, which includes management of respiration, of the vibrating organs or glottis, and of the vocal tube and articulating organs, some account

⁹ "Rough Ways made Smooth. A Series of Familiar Essays on Scientific Subjects." By Richard A. Proctor. 8vo. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

¹⁰ "A Treatise on Vocal Physiology and Hygiene, with Especial Reference to the Cultivation and Preservation of the Voice." By Gordon Holmes, L.R.C.P. Edin. 8vo. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1879.

being given of stammering and stuttering, and the several ways in which these defects of voice have been treated. The last chapter deals with the hygiene of the voice. The author is of opinion that a well-trained voice can seldom suffer from over fatigue, since this may be avoided by well-regulated respiration, and attention to the formation of the laryngeal sounds; but when clavicular respiration is used the chest walls become tired, and speaking is then a debilitating exercise. The various ways in which the voice may be injured and preserved and its injuries remedied are all carefully set forth, and the author's experience is here given in such a form as to be easily appreciated by all who have occasion to maintain the voice in a state of health.

With Mr. Heath¹¹ love of trees is an inborn enthusiasm, which needs, for its enjoyment, to be imparted to the world. He is not content with finding out for us charms of scenery, and depicting beautiful plants, but here comes forward to bring before us a somewhat forgotten writer, whose powerful descriptions of trees have more of the artist's spirit in their tone than is to be found in modern writers. In sympathy with vegetation in its most attractive forms, seen in single trees, foliage, and spray, and grouped in harmony with the contours of the ground, and as modified by light and mist and the changing seasons, William Gilpin has had few equals. The class of readers to which the book was originally addressed ninety years ago will at the present day find much of the pleasure which the author wished to impart in this volume, provided they have leisure to study in the spirit of the older naturalists, who conceived that the chief province of knowledge and observing power was to enlarge our capacity for enjoyment. But if the modern reader should take up the work fresh from the physiological studies of plants which characterize the present time, or, remembering the classifications and systematic descriptions which constituted so much of the botany of the older part of the generation, there may, perhaps, be some sense of shortcoming from the scientific point of view, but they will not the less see before them the work of a naturalist whose point of view is calculated to train their powers to an appreciation of form, grouping and colour, and habit of growth of a great natural adornment of the earth; and we venture to think the treatment of his subject by this old writer is none the less scientific because it is free from technicalities, and none the less valuable to the scientific man because it may appeal more to the artistic condition of mind. The volume includes an introduction, which contains a short sketch of Gilpin's life. The present edition is limited to the first ten sections of the last edition of Gilpin's "Forest Scenery." It is difficult to speak of Mr. Heath's part of the work. The notes often seem altogether unnecessary, and it probably would have served the wants of the reader better had a little information been thrown into the form of an appendix concerning the geographical

¹¹ Gilpin's "Forest Scenery." Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Francis George Heath. 8vo. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1879.

distribution and other conditions of life of the trees and plants referred to, with a note, perhaps, on the changing conditions of the forests and groves and glens which are referred to. The volume is in two books; the first treats of trees as single objects, and the second, of the combinations of trees. There are a few fairly cut illustrations on wood of forest and other trees, which will help to recal to the reader familiar and picturesque effects.

Under the editorship of Professor W. F. Barrett, Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have commenced the issue of a series of easy lessons in science, with the object of training young students in habits of practical observation with inexpensive apparatus. The present volume on "Light"¹² requires as apparatus nothing but pasteboard, a sheet of glazed writing-paper, a tin biscuit-box, a tumbler of water, three screws, a walking-stick, a piece of flat glass, a silvered looking-glass, a glass prism, a few lenses, a small pair of wheels, a mounted globe, and, if possible, a small spectroscope. The volume is divided into thirteen chapters, which treat of light, refraction, reflection, the undulatory theory, measurement of the velocity and wave lengths of light, diffraction, the spectrum, and the rainbow. The language is simple, and the explanations clear, and it is equally fitted for elementary teaching or general reading.

The "Easy Lessons on Heat"¹³ are an attempt to explain the chief theories which are necessary for understanding ordinary phenomena. The explanations given seem to us often drawn out unnecessarily, and occasionally wanting in clearness. For instance, the explanation given of geysers is obscure. In the endeavour to be simple and familiar the author too frequently adopts the manner and language of a lecturer, which, however necessary when the memory only is concerned in following a speaker, are not so well suited for written exposition. If there were less straining after simplicity, there would be a great gain in clearness, and less tax on the mind. The book, however, is a great improvement on some of the heavier text-books, and will enable an ordinary reader or student to master the chief ideas with which the author deals. The volume is divided into sixteen chapters, at the head of each of which the apparatus is mentioned which will be found necessary in carrying on experiments to verify the teaching.

That the late eminent director of the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge, which owes its foundation to the munificence of the present Duke of Devonshire, should have edited the manuscripts and writings of Henry Cavendish upon electrical subjects, is at once a fitting tribute to one of the most illustrious of British scientific men, and a guarantee that his work is here presented in its best possible

¹² "Easy Lessons on Light." By Mrs. Awdry. Illustrated. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

¹³ "Easy Lessons on Heat." By C. A. Martineau. Illustrated. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

form.¹⁴ An introduction of sixty-six pages gives a short account of the electrical work to which the memoirs forming the volume relate. The larger part of the work consists of manuscripts relating to researches carried on through the years 1771 to 1781. They are of far more than historical value, and are marked by the thorough treatment which characterized everything that Cavendish touched. The editor has contributed a number of valuable notes, which are printed in the form of an appendix with references to the articles of the text which they elucidate. A few facsimiles of Cavendish's diagrams, and a page or two from his manuscripts, are given. It is a work which reflects considerable credit on the Syndics of the University Press, who have undertaken its publication, and will be welcomed by electricians of all countries, no less than by those who specially cherish the reputation of Cavendish.

The great practical importance of lightning conductors has led to the production by Mr. Anderson of an elaborate and exhaustive treatise¹⁵ upon the subject, which will help to render available a knowledge of the best means for protecting buildings liable to be injured by atmospheric electricity. Commencing with an account of the early difficulties in electrical investigation and the discovery of lightning conductors, he gives a history of the spread of lightning conductors throughout Europe; then succeeds a chapter on the metals used as conductors; and another on the character of thunderstorms. After this the volume begins to assume a practical character, the best material for conductors is discussed, and the forms and mode of arranging the lightning conductors at the Brussels Hotel de Ville and our own Houses of Parliament are explained. A chapter is devoted to Mr. Newell's system of protecting buildings; and an elaborate account given, partly in tabular form, of accidents and fatalities from lightning. The author strongly urges that lightning conductors should be regularly inspected in England, as is the rule in Continental States. Prefixed to the work is a list of the books consulted in its preparation, and the appendix contains a full bibliography of writings which have more or less bearing upon lightning conductors. The volume is excellently printed and illustrated by woodcuts, showing the mode of connecting lightning conductors with the earth and arranging them on buildings, as well as giving a few illustrations of the kinds of damage done when lightning strikes a building.

The history of tin and tin-plates¹⁶ necessarily commences with an

¹⁴ "The Electrical Researches of the Honourable Henry Cavendish, F.R.S., written between 1771 and 1781." Edited from the Original Manuscripts in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., by J. Clerk Maxwell, F.R.S. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. 8vo. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1879.

¹⁵ "Lightning Conductors: their History, Nature, and Mode of Application." By Richard Anderson, F.C.S., F.G.S. With numerous Illustrations. 8vo. London: E. & F. N. Spon. 1879.

¹⁶ "A History of the Trade in Tin; a Short Description of Tin-mining and Metallurgy; & History of the Origin and Progress of the Tin-plate Trade, and a

account drawn from the Bible and Greek and Roman writings of its early uses in the arts. The author then passes on to the metallurgy of tin, which is briefly given, chiefly in the form of extracts from other writers; and in the third chapter he commences a history of tin-plates. The manufacture appears to have existed in Bohemia before 1620, and was introduced into this country in 1670, though it was not till 1720 that it became one of our national industries, being introduced by Major John Hanbury. The work is essentially a compilation, and consists of translations and extracts from various French authors of the last century, and memoirs of later date by English writers. The second part of the book includes some chapters from Yarranton's "England's Improvements by Land and Sea," notes on some of the localities where tin manufacture was first carried on, a description of the modern method of making tin-plates, with some account of the uses to which tin-plates are put. There is an appendix chiefly showing the production, import, export, and consumption of English and foreign tins. As a history of tin, the work is very imperfect, and, except in the appendix, very little is told of the produce of foreign countries, and those facts appear to be chiefly extracted from the publications of the School of Mines and other authorities. There is a portrait of Major Hanbury, and lithographed illustrations of a few mines, and an illustration of manufacturing processes and the exterior of modern tin works. A good deal of curious information is brought together, which, however, might be considerably condensed.

The mineral wealth of the world forms so important an item in the conditions of national prosperity that a popular treatise recounting the chief facts concerning metalliferous minerals and mining¹⁷ necessarily engages our interest. Since the publication of Whitney's "Metallic Wealth of the United States," we are not aware that any author has attempted to cover the same field as Mr. Davies. His work, however, does not pretend to exhaustive treatment, and often suggests somewhat hasty work, but it contains a vast amount of information, which will be found generally interesting, as to the ores of the several metals, their modes of occurrence, the countries and districts which yield them, and the metallic produce. There are a few introductory chapters on lodes, mineral deposits and their mode of formation, and then the metals are treated of in the order—gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, zinc, iron, and the rarer metals. The second part of the work, commencing with Chapter XXXII., relates to the modes of working metalliferous mines, dressing ores, and various practical considerations of interest to the miner. The volume concludes with a glossary of terms used in mining and in the book, with an indication of the language

Description of the Ancient and Modern Processes of Manufacturing Tin plates. By Philip William Flower. With Illustrations. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1880.

¹⁷ "A Treatise on Metalliferous Mines and Minerals." By D. C. Davies, P.G.S. 8vo. London: Crosby, Lockwood & Co. 1880.

from which the term has been adapted. The treatise is illustrated with 148 woodcuts, many of which are geological sections, or sections of lodes more or less diagrammatic, and others illustrations of machinery used in various kinds of mining work. It is a handy book for reference, and the result of considerable research, and gives the best account at present accessible of the distribution of valuable metallic deposits in all parts of the world.

The Annual Report¹⁸ issued by the Department of Mines for New South Wales gives a number of important data concerning the mineral wealth of the Colony. The yield of gold has somewhat decreased, but as a whole the mineral produce is more valuable than in the previous year, and coal comes year by year to hold a more important position, so that in 1878 it reached the value of 921,000*l.*, out of a total of 2,172,000*l.* for all the minerals of the Colony. In New South Wales, as in this country, the primary object of the Department of Mines is to develop mineral resources, and hence the present Report is occupied with reports from mining registrars and wardens on the various mining districts, with assays and analyses and tables of the value of metals, an account of home consumption and export, sections of the various pits and workings, and some short account of fossils associated with certain of the deposits. The produce treated of comprises gold, coal, slate, tin, copper, iron, silver and lead, antimony and bismuth. The reports are eminently practical, and include detailed accounts of the several lodes and reefs, with accounts of the quantity of ore raised, the yield of metal, depth of workings, the labourers employed, and a variety of information of a technical character, which cannot but be of great practical utility in the Colony as well as to all who are concerned in its mineral produce. The mines which occupy the largest areas are coal, tin, and gold. Among the scientific appendices are a short Article by Mr. R. Etheridge, jun., on the fossils noticed in connection with the Australian gold drifts, to which he appends a short account of the species of the genus *Unio* living in the Australian waters; and a description of the Tertiary flora of New South Wales, found in the Upper Pliocene rocks at Gulgong, from the pen of the eminent botanist, Von Muller, which are illustrated with figures of the shells and fruits. The illustrative diagrams form about a third of the volume.

A catalogue of portraits¹⁹ has reached us of men more or less eminent in the various branches of science, comprising 2116 portraits, and giving various details as to their size and character, and mentioning

¹⁸ "Mines and Mineral Statistics. Annual Report of the Department of Mines, New South Wales, for the year 1878." 8vo. By Authority. Sydney: Thomas Richards. 1879.

¹⁹ "Portrait-Katalog. Verzeichniss einer reichhaltigen Sammlung von ungefahr 2500 seltenen und schönen Portraits berühmter Mediziner, Naturforscher, Mathematiker, Astronomen, Geographen, Reisende, Seefahrer, Agronomen, Technologen, Mechaniker, u. s. w." Welche von E. H. Schroeder's Kunsthandlung Berlin. Portrait-Katalog sechstes Heft. 8vo. 1879.

the branch of science which each person pursued, usually the period in which he lived, and sometimes the age at which his portrait was taken, together with the price at which the portrait may be purchased. A similar catalogue⁴⁰ of authors, musicians and dramatists, to the number of 2559, forms the previous part of the same series.

"*Les Pèlerins de la Science à Montpellier*"⁴¹ is a short notice of the Medical School of Montpellier in early times, when it was as important as the School at Paris, with a list of the foreigners who graduated there from 1585 to 1795.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

SLOWLY, yet gradually, the history of our country is being rewritten. Mr Freeman has made the period before the compilation of "Domesday" his own. Professor Stubbs has thrown a new light upon our early Constitutional history from his study of our charters and public records. The late Mr Longman has given us a new reading of the reign of Edward III. Thanks to Mr Gairdner we know more of Richard III. and Perkin Warbeck than we ever did before. Mr Froude has made us familiar with the story of the Reformation and the glories that intoxicated the nation under Elizabeth. The Stuarts stand out before us, against the back-ground of State Paper evidence, in the pleasant works of Mr Rawson Gardiner. Oliver Cromwell and his labours are known to every reader of Carlyle. Macaulay, in his brilliant and picturesque style, deals with the period between the Restoration and the death of William the Deliverer. The dynasty of Hanover has been specially treated by the late Earl Stanhope, whilst the charming volumes of Mr Justin McCarthy bring down the history of our country to the present time. One important link in the chain from Palgrave and Freeman to May and McCarthy is conspicuous by its absence. The reign of Queen Anne is so full of literary attraction, that it is not surprising that within the last few years writers have made the period a special study of their own. Yet their efforts have not been successful. As we read the conscientious but dull volumes of a Stanhope or a Wyon, we cannot but regret that Macaulay was not spared to complete his history of the Stuarts. In the reign of Queen Anne, with its political intrigues, its social vanities, its literary triumphs, its party hates, and its military glories, he would have positively revelled. His reading and his sympathies specially fitted him for such a work. With what Meissonnier minuteness would he have portrayed the characters that appeared upon the scene! With

⁴⁰ "Portrait Katalog. Verzeichniss einer reichhaltigen Sammlung von ungefähr 3000 seltenen und schönen Portraits zur Geschichte der Literatur, der Musik und des Theaters." Welche von E. H. Schroeder's Kunsthandlung Berlin. Portrait-Katalog funftes Heft. 8vo. 1879.

⁴¹ "*Les Pèlerins de la Science à Montpellier*." Par A. German, membre de l'Institut. Montpellier. Boehm et Fils. 1879.

what zest would he have entered into the feuds between Whigs and Tories, the plots of Harley and Godolphin, the correspondence between the simple Mrs. Morley and the bold, bitter Mrs. Freeman! How vividly would the intrigues of the Court of St. Germain and the causes which led to the victories of Marlborough stand out upon his canvas! With what irony would he have narrated the whole story of the Sacheverell riots! How full of personal interest and of the knowledge peculiar to himself would be the chapters dealing with the literature of the period! Such an intellectual pleasure was, however, not to fall to the reading public, and the reign of Queen Anne has hitherto remained, not untouched, but treated inadequately. Mr. Burton, the accomplished historian of Scotland, has, however, entered the lists, and the work that he has produced¹ may be considered as definitely filling up the gap that has existed. He lacks the style of picturesque narrative which Froude has made so popular, but, on the other hand, he does not fall into the inaccuracies which a vivid imagination so frequently engenders. The history of Mr. Burton is sound, yet never dull. It is impossible to read his pages—especially the chapters dealing with the War of the Spanish Succession and the Union with Scotland—without seeing that he has a thorough knowledge of his subject and a masterly grasp of all the events that come within his ken. He has a keen eye for character, and his description of Marlborough will compare with the delineations of the best masters in the gallery of historical portraiture. Unlike many historians, Mr. Burton is equally at home in the camp as in the senate; the account of the Battle of Blenheim is as graphic and spirited as if it had been from the pen of the author of the "History of the Crimean War." After several attempts, we may say that "The History of the Reign of Queen Anne" has, at last, been written in a style and with a knowledge worthy of the subject. Mr. Burton is a solid historian, but he happily escapes the charge of being a heavy one. These volumes have already appealed to a large public, and they will no doubt rank as the standard text-books upon the subject. Their great faults are a paucity of dates and a somewhat arbitrary arrangement in dealing with the continuity of the narrative.

Whatever opinions may be held as to the political views of Mr. Gladstone,² it would be impossible to deny that he stands in the first flight of not only living English statesmen, but of those who have been his predecessors in the guiding of Parliaments and the swaying of Cabinets. His is a name which posterity, careless as to party tenets, will consider worthy to be preserved on the roll which boasts of a Walpole, a Chatham, a Pitt, a Peel, and a Palmerston. In Mr. Gladstone two elements are fused which are seldom found in combination; he is a man of thought as well as a man of action. He has all the culture and reflective capacity of the man of letters in con-

¹ "The History of the Reign of Queen Anne." By John Hill Burton. Three Volumes. Blackwood & Sons.

² "Life of William Ewart Gladstone." By Geo. Barnett Smith. Two Volumes. Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

junction with the promptitude of action, the fertility of resource, and the administrative gifts of the practical statesman. Seldom has Nature been more lavish upon one of her sons. A scholar such as Porson would have admired, an orator equal to Chatham or Burke, a financier greater than Walpole, a statesman quick-sighted as well as far-sighted, such is Mr. Gladstone. His life has been passed before the country, illuminated at every step by the fierce light of party hate, and yet no mean or ignoble action can be detected in his career; the white flower of a blameless life is his; and even animosity has to admit that he is a single-minded, a conscientious, and a deeply earnest man. As a rule we are not in favour of biographies of the living; for the most part they are either fulsome panegyrics or inspired by a spiteful and degrading invective. Mr. Smith has, however, done his work with moderation and good taste. He is a warm admirer of the great statesman, but not so blinded by his sympathies as not to be able to point out the faults in his hero. We know no work which brings before us, more fully or in a more pleasant manner, every incident in the political career of Mr. Gladstone. We see him in the playing fields of Eton, then taking a double first-class at Oxford, and shortly afterwards entering Parliament as member for Newark in the Conservative interest. We watch his gradual rise in the political arena under the protection of Sir Robert Peel, first as Junior Lord of the Treasury, then as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and then as Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint. In 1812 the revision of the British tariff was due almost entirely to his industry and ability. During the Corn Laws' agitation he took the side of Sir Robert Peel. But we have no intention of dealing with the details of a career so familiar to most Englishmen. To those who wish to refresh their memory with the affairs of the past, to know how important has been the part played by Mr. Gladstone in political history, of what nature is the man, and how great is his work, we refer them to the agreeable biography of Mr. Smith. We are not surprised at the flattering welcome already accorded to these volumes, for they are singularly pleasant reading. In this instance Mr. Gladstone has no reason to complain of the injudicious flattery of an admirer, or to moan forth the old cry, "Save me from my friends." Mr. Smith, though a warm, is at the same time a most gentleman-like friend.

It is only natural that when men have attained to fame the world should be curious to know something of their private lives. Every little detail which offers us an insight into their thoughts and characters is acceptable. We wish to know the authors they read, the reflections they made, the pleasures they indulged in, their hopes, their virtues, and, if they had them, their vices. It was therefore inevitable that a biography of the author of the "*History of Civilization*" should one day appear.³ At one bound Mr. Buckle, from an almost unknown

³ "*Life and Writings of Henry Thomas Buckle.*" By A. Huth. Two Volumes. Sampson Low.

man, save amongst a few chess-players and fellow-students, rose to the highest pinnacle of fame. History had at last discovered one who had proved himself a faithful and appreciative interpreter—the story of the progress of a nation was no longer confined to the pages of the Statute Book, the debates of its Parliamentary leaders, the battles of its generals, the intrigues of its statesmen. These were the elements of history, but they were not in themselves history. In order to watch the currents which set towards liberty, towards the gradual emancipation of a people from the fetters of delusions and monopolies, and the progress of those restraints which at last confined within due bounds the injustice of privilege and the arrogance of prerogative, something more was required than an examination of the facts of the compiler and the acts which interested the chronicler. The keen mind of Mr. Buckle saw through the deficiencies of past historians, and he resolved to remedy them. At an early age he began to devote himself to the work which will hand his name down to posterity as one of the most original and philosophic of historians. He treated history through the medium of the development of the people of a country, and not through the medium of the principles of the rulers of a country. The work of men in the cabinet or the camp was to him only of secondary importance; but the influence of climate upon the physiological condition of a people, the progress of a nation from feudal slavery to a manly and active state of independence, the development of the commercial resources of a country, the spread of learning, which gave the death-blow to the degrading influences of superstition, and made the world more indebted to the discoveries of culture and science than to the teaching of a cold and inert morality—these were to him matters of the deepest note, which, if read aright, raised history to its proper level, and showed how civilization advanced. As soon as his work appeared it met with immediate recognition. To all the immense reading it contained, the agreeable style and the soundness of its conclusions were evident. History was no longer a dull study of debates and intrigues, but a fascinating record of the intellectual development of nations through the peaceful arts of learning in all its varied branches. The book was an immense success. The author was a lion of the greatest magnitude; in spite of his frankness in dealing with the selfish objects of the clergy, he was elected a member, by an overwhelming majority, of the Athenæum Club; his name was amongst the most honoured in the list of the learned societies of Europe; whilst his “History of Civilization” was translated into every European language, and, to this day, is perhaps the work most closely studied in the vast dominions of the Czar. Mr. Huth has given us, in his biography of Mr. Buckle, two very readable volumes, though at times he has a tendency to indulge us with matter which is occasionally irrelevant. He is, however, a warm admirer of his hero, and therefore much may be forgiven him. Like so many great ones of the earth, Mr. Buckle was inferior to his work. The volumes—unfinished, alas! though they be—of the “History of Civilization”

must always be read with interest and pleasure; but we doubt whether the author himself, when in the flesh, proved as agreeable a companion as his pages. He was evidently, to use the words of Lord Kimberley, who met him at Hamburg, "a terribly conceited man." His health was delicate, and consequently he was often nervous, querulous, and an immense fidget. Like many men who live much in the library, and see little of the world, he had—as he well might—the most excellent opinion of his own attainments. He was intolerant of contradiction, nor was he averse to being placed upon a pedestal as the idol of a *coterie*. Still the inner life of genius has its fascination, and there are few who have read Buckle who will not wish to know the man. To all who have this desire, these volumes may be pleasantly recommended. Here they will read how the great man studied, smoked, wrote, talked, and played chess; how charming was his devotion to his mother; what were the causes which led him to embrace Liberal opinions; the intensity of his ambition, his ideas upon debt and matrimony, his peculiar views as to domestic economy, and the care with which he catered for himself and looked after his creature comforts. Mr. Huth has done his work well, but not so excellently well as to make us dispense with the regret that it had not been undertaken by one nearer allied in intellectual range and sympathy with the subject of his biography.

These letters⁴ constitute a valuable addition to the "Life and Letters of Lord Minto," published some six years ago. Few men were more bitterly attacked in his lifetime than the famous Governor-General of India, yet posterity has amply vindicated his fame by discovering that the measures he advocated, and the policy he pursued, were sound, and of great benefit to the country over which he was called to rule. Lord Minto was sent out to India at a most critical period. The conquests of Wellesley, brilliant though they were, pressed heavily upon the revenues of the Company; to them had succeeded the labours of Cornwallis, but on the death of Cornwallis there was a prolonged dispute between the Crown and the Company concerning the appointment of a new Governor. After a struggle, and on the nomination of Lord Grenville, and by the consent of both parties, Lord Minto was chosen to fill the vacant office. His rule was no sinecure. France, victorious in Europe, was being beaten back at every corner in the East. Lord Minto threw all his administrative abilities into the contest. He baffled French intrigue in Persia; he checkmated the designs of the enemy in Cabul; he obtained possession of the dependencies of Mauritius. He quelled with a stern hand all jealousies and discontents. As the civil power was divided between the Board of Control and the Directors, so the military power was torn by internal divisions. Lord Minto determined that there should be no conflict between the authorities; the civil power was to be supreme over the military. "I take," he said, "the two great pillars

⁴ "Life and Letters of Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto, 1807-1814." Edited by Lady Minto. Longmans.

of every human government to be—first, that all its measures be directed to the public good; next, that its authority thus exercised be maintained with unshaken firmness and resolution.” His vigorous policy saved India from the disloyalty of a mutinous soldiery, and from the irritating fanaticism of the missionary element. His life is well worth perusal; his letters are models of style; and we read of him not only as the firm statesman and uncompromising foe of the base Elijah Impey, but also as the agreeable companion, and the travelled man of the world, delightful in all his social and domestic relations.

The series of “English Men of Letters”⁵ has been enriched by two volumes which cannot fail to be popular. It was a happy thought to entrust the life of Hawthorne to an American. None but an American, and one familiar with the social and provincial life of his country, could adequately treat of the literary career of the author of the “Scarlet Letter.” Mr. James is not only at home in all the institutions of his country, but he is himself, as his novels have proved, no mean psychologist, and therefore well fitted for the task of criticising one whose works were eminently based on the minute analysis of character and motive. There is much that will be new to most readers in this life of Hawthorne; the man stands out before us in all his struggles, all his shyness, and all his earnestness of character. Mr. James is a sound critic of the author’s labours. Consciousness of sin, and all the problems connected with evil in man’s life, are the favourite subjects of Hawthorne. Remorse, and the anguish caused by a hidden sin, are the main features of the “Scarlet Letter.” The effects of conscious guilt are depicted in “Transformation,” whilst the taint of inherited evil gives us the story of the Pyncheons in the “House of Seven Gables.” “He was not a moralist,” says Mr. James of Hawthorne, “and he was not simply a poet. The moralists are weightier, simpler, richer in a sense; the poets are more purely inconclusive and irresponsible. He combined, in a singular degree, the spontaneity of the imagination with a haunting care for moral problems. Man’s conscience was his theme; but he saw it in the light of a creative fancy, which added out of its own substance an interest, and, I may almost say, an importance.”

Mr. Dowden’s “Southey” deals more with the man than with the work. It is a pleasant condensation of the other biographies of the poet; the style is clear and flowing; all the chief incidents in the career of the man are given; but we think more might be made of the subject of Southey’s productions. No poet is, perhaps, less read than Southey at the present day. Of his prose works, the only one familiar to most persons is his charming “Life of Nelson.” Yet Southey is one of our greatest masters of style in prose, and as a poet he was highly considered. We should have liked Mr. Dowden’s work better if we had been treated to less biographical details and to more

⁵ “Hawthorne.” By Henry James. “Southey.” By Edward Dowden. Macmillan.

critical comments. His book is one to be read—and because the story of the life is so well told—it will be read with avidity, but it is not one to be studied. To the man who wishes his judgment to be assisted in arriving at sound conclusions with regard to the literary value of “Joan of Arc,” “Madoc,” “Thalaba, or the Curse of Kehama,” the pages of Mr. Dowden will not be of much use.

One great want in the educational system of the present generation, which has hitherto been too long allowed to exist, appears now in the course of being amply supplied. The old theories of the English Constitution as set forth by Constitutional writers of the past are now completely exploded. To read of the English Constitution in the pages of De Lolme and Blackstone is like reading a work on anatomy before the discovery of the circulation of the blood. We were told of the majesty of the Prerogative, of the authority of the House of Lords, and of the power of the House of Commons; how the mixture of sovereignty, aristocracy, and democracy in our Constitution made it the most perfect system of government that could be devised; and how the balance of power was preserved by these three elements working to check any undue extension of authority on the part of any one of them; the House of Lords was a check on the House of Commons, whilst both were a check upon the Prerogative. In the days of the “Governing Families” these “checks” and “balances” evidently had a meaning; but to us, who live in the full light of two Reform Bills, they are significant of nothing. There is now no check except that which is presented by the will of the people. The centre and force of government have been transferred to the House of Commons. Without the consent of the Lower House, administration is impossible. The Crown can do nothing, the House of Lords can do nothing. Practically, we are a self-governing people. The Prime Minister is the choice of the Sovereign, but his selection has been proclaimed by the voice of the people; and no Ministry can exist unless it has the support of Parliament, and Parliament now-a-days means the House of Commons and the House of Commons means the people. The times are passed when kings coerced cabinets or cabinets coerced kings, and when close boroughs and nomination boroughs caused Parliament to be the representative of a clique and not of a nation. These simple truths should be known to all, and it is with pleasure that we take this opportunity of recommending three of the ablest manuals on the progress and development of the English Constitution that have ever appeared.* Mr. Amos confines himself to the last fifty years of the English Constitution, and his work will be most valuable to all political and legal students of a more advanced class. It is a most careful and exhaus-

* “Fifty Years of the English Constitution, 1830-80.” By Sheldon Amos. Longmans. One Volume.

“History of the English Constitution.” By Taswell-Langmead. Stevens & Haynes. One Volume.

“A Selection of Cases from the State Trials. Trials for Treason.” By J. W. Willis-Bund. Cambridge University Press. One Volume.

tive treatise of the progress of legislation, and deals thoroughly with every entry of note to be found recorded, since 1830, in the Statute Book. Mr. Amos discusses the composition and mutual relations of the Houses of Parliament; the supremacy of the House of Commons; the reforms that have taken place in the Church of England, in our Universities, in our system of education, in our municipal corporations, our railways, our factories, and our sanitary condition; the government of our colonies; the relationship between the Crown and the Ministry and the Ministers and Parliament; and he concludes with a valuable chapter upon the liberty of the subject. He makes what is often dry and tedious most interesting, and his absence of prejudices and utilitarian crotchets renders his work a most useful and trustworthy guide. We can confidently recommend it. Mr. Taswell-Langmead's substantial volume belongs to a different class. It does not deal with one special period of our history, but traces the progress of our Constitutional system from the Teutonic conquest of Britain to the present time. The book is manifestly a compilation, but the author has been so careful as to the authorities he consults, he is so accurate in all his statements, he is so sound in the conclusions he draws, that his volume deserves to be treated almost as an original work. We have specially examined the portion of the book which deals with the Saxon and early Norman period, and we know of no treatise which gives us in so lucid and accurate a manner the history of the institutions which were then established. Mr. Langmead's history is one which should be made a class-book at all our public schools. It has already reached a second edition, and we see no reason why it should not be accepted as one of the recognised authorities on the subject of which it treats. The history of treason is so closely identified with our early Constitutional history that Mr. Willis-Bund has done well to make it a special subject for study. By dint of a diligent examination of the State Trials, he proceeds to show us what in early times was considered treason, and how in after years the word stood for almost any offence by which the king was endangered or annoyed. It was treason to plot against the king, but it was also treason to kill the king's venison; it was treason to speak ill of the king, and afterwards it was treason to speak ill of his Ministers. The crime of treason was so elastic in its interpretation that within its reach all criminals came. Mr. Bund precedes his labours by an interesting introduction. His work will not bear reading through, but it should be taken as a valuable work of reference and be at the side of the student when studying any special period of English history. At present only the first volume, from 1327-1660, has appeared, but when the work is completed it will constitute a new and useful companion volume to the history of our country.

The book⁷ we are told, "has grown out of an attempt made some

⁷ "A Guide to Modern English History." By William Cory. Part I. 1815-1830. Vol. I. Kegan Paul.

years ago to give some account of English politics to a foreign guest who was at the time reading English history for an examination at one of the Inns of Court; the guest was not a Christian nor an European." Mr. Cory deals in his work with the policy of England after the overthrow of Napoleon; he discusses the state of political parties and the opinions of their more representative leader; the influence of Evangelical thought upon English policy; the progress of religious toleration; the laws which affect the Press, and the Corn Laws, and the relationship existing between landowners and tenants; the institution of savings banks, and the general intellectual development of the country. Mr. Cory indulges the hope that his work, when completed, will be useful "amongst English gentlefolks and educated voters" who have "but little knowledge about the meaning of terms employed in political writings." We fear that our author underrates the intelligence of "English gentlefolks" and the "educated voter" if he imagines that this feeble and discursive compilation can be of the slightest service to them. To the educated mind it contains nothing new either in the way of facts or reflections, whilst to the uneducated it lacks that lucidity and preparatory method which might have made it of use.

In his second volume of his romantic "*History of Ireland*"⁸ Mr. Standish O'Grady brings down his matter to the death of Cuculain. As in the first part of this strange, weird history of a time of which we know so little, so now in the second volume we have a similar series of wild and poetic stories, told with much spirit, of the heroic period of Ireland. The story of Cuculain and his contemporaries is full of pathos and of an interest of an unusual character. Mr. O'Grady has discovered a rich mine of virgin poetry which, happily for his readers, he resolves upon not leaving unwrought. The chapter on the Early Bardic Literature of Ireland is written with the critical knowledge of the true historical scholar.

If the biographies of eminent divines are to be given to the world, it is of the greatest importance that they should be written by those who have an independent knowledge of their subject and who are familiar with facts not to be obtained from secondhand sources. We want something more about a Church dignitary who has passed to his rest than his letters, sermons, charges, and lists of his "periodical visitations." We want to know the man in the flesh as well as the man in his mere intellectual capacity. As a rule the biographies of divines are generally entrusted to some literary stranger to compile; letters and notes are given him and the result is that we have a work essentially secondhand in its nature and destitute of that animating spirit which is so often the essence of books of this kind. No such fault can be found with the "*Life of Bishop Milman*," now before us.⁹ It is written by his sister, who was his constant companion, upon whose

⁸ "*History of Ireland.*" By Standish O'Grady. Vol. II. Sampson Low.

⁹ "*Memoir of Bishop Milman.*" By his Sister, Frances Maria Milman. Murray. One Volume.

judgment he often relied, and to whom he opened out his thoughts on most occasions. As relative and confidante, who therefore more fitted for the task of biography? Bishop Milman was a representative man of the Church of England; though he belonged to the Low Church party and was one of its most valued leaders, he was possessed of more culture, a wider range of thought and of more toleration than are generally associated with the maintenance of Evangelical opinions. In 1867 he was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta, and consequently Metropolitan of India. The value of this work is the light it sheds upon the whole system—social, political, religious, commercial—of life in India. In his frequent visitations Dr. Milman travelled nearly throughout the eastern extent of our famous Asiatic peninsula. He therefore saw much of society of all classes, and being a close and thoughtful observer, his reflections as to the manner in which India should be ruled, the examples that the English should set to the natives, and the best course to pursue so as to win the loyalty of the country, are worthy of the fullest attention. It is evident from these pages that the Bishop was an excellent man, endeavouring to live up to the standard that he set before him, and to win the respect and affection of all with whom he came in contact. His thorough knowledge of India caused his advice to have much political value; he was the friend of the different Governors-General who held office during his episcopate, and was treated by them with much consideration. He died universally regretted, and his life is the record of an earnest and devoted Christian pastor. "There never lived a man," wrote Lord Northbrook, "who was more modest and retiring, or who was more content to secure the spiritual and temporal benefit of others without any parade or desire to bring himself prominently under notice. . . . On all subjects affecting the welfare of the European and native inhabitants of India, the Bishop was among the foremost in giving wise counsel and active assistance. One of his remarkable qualities was the largeness of view with which he regarded the work of a Bishop of India. He extended his sympathy and advice to men—whether in or out of the Church of England—who differed widely from one another upon points of minor importance. His deep study and accurate knowledge of the religious systems of India was of great use to him. He secured the respect and esteem of learned natives of India who, although not Christians, appreciated his candour and the earnest desire for their welfare."

The devotion of woman to the cause of mercy and to the noble work of alleviating the sufferings of their fellow-creatures is the most beautiful sight that religion or philosophy can place before a hard and cynical world. Self-denial, an interest in the miseries of others, a well-balanced charity, a large-hearted tenderness, are virtues which at once silence the batteries of hostile criticism. However men differ in their opinions they can all respect and appreciate those gifts which, when rightly exercised, make women indeed ministering angels. We have before us two lives which deserve to be widely read, and in these

days when the cry is of limited scope for the exercise of female energy to be practically imitated.¹⁰ In "Sister Dora" we have the ideal of the true hospital nurse. A lady by birth and education, of that winning beauty which at once lightens the depression of the invalid, full of fun yet ever dignified, devoted to her work and endowed with an unusual knowledge of medicine and surgery, it is not surprising that Miss Pattison soon became a local celebrity. At Walsall, in the heart of the "Black Country," with its wastes of charred scenery, its smoke-vomiting pits, its brutal population, its wild and degrading surroundings, Sister Dora worked with an energy and self-denying love that made her the idol of her patients. For them she really lived, and, as the sequel of this charming biography plainly reveals, for them she really died. The stories told of her in this volume seem almost incredible, so utterly unselfish was she in the cause of humanity. She robbed herself of her rest night after night to watch a suffering patient. The invalid who was burning with the most infectious of fevers was always her special charge—small-pox, scarlet fever, or the wildest fits of insanity, never deterred her from performing her duties as nurse. She saved the life of a child dying from diphtheria by drawing up through a tube into her own mouth the poisoned mucus. A man came into the hospital with a mutilated arm, and the house-surgeon declared that amputation was necessary; Sister Dora objected, made this man's case her special study for weeks, and—saved his arm. Her courage was undaunted; she visited the vilest haunts, won the hearts of the most abandoned characters, and was to all the most generous and tender of friends. It is right that the biography of one so good, so noble-hearted, and so chivalrous, should have been written. Miss Lonsdale has acquitted herself of her task with excellent taste and with no little literary elegance.

The life of Mary Carpenter was more quiet and subdued, but none the less was she a bright example of all that is noble and tender in womanhood. The daughter of a Devonshire Nonconformist minister, she early took an active part in the reformatory movement. Bristol was the chief scene of her labours. Here she founded ragged schools and a reformatory institution for women. Ever anxious to improve the condition of her sex, she visited India at four separate times, and took a deep interest in all questions relating to the education of women in the East. She was the warm and able advocate of a reform in our prison discipline, of the establishment of industrial schools, and of the extension of the factory system to India. As the authoress of various works dealing with juvenile delinquency in its relation to the educational movement, she was a great power at all Social Science meetings, and at one time appeared before a Committee of the House of Commons to give evidence upon those subjects in which she had taken so deep an interest. She was, as the tablet erected to her memory in Bristol Cathedral truly states, "foremost among the founders of

¹⁰ "Sister Dora." By Margaret Lonsdale. Kegan Paul.

"Life of Mary Carpenter." By J. E. Carpenter. Macmillan.

reformatory and industrial schools in this city and realm," whilst "no human ill escaped her pity or cast down her trust." Sister Dora and Mary Carpenter are worthy of being enrolled upon the list which bears such names as a Fry and a Nightingale.

This is one of those books which at the present day are considerably on the increase.¹¹ The occupation of the book-maker is not a very exalted one, and we must confess that Mr. Hamilton in these two volumes shows himself no mean proficient in the art. Rheinsberg was situated in the dreary Mark of Brandenburg, and it was here that Frederick, afterwards called the Great, passed the interval that preceded his accession to the throne. Here he wrote his essays, faulty rhymes, and political disquisitions. We had imagined that Mr. Carlyle had exhausted the subject of Frederick in his well-known biography, nor does the pages of Mr. Hamilton fail to convince us that our impression on this point is erroneous. In Rheinsberg there is nothing new either about Frederick or his brother Henry. It is true that Mr. Hamilton seems perfectly aware of the paucity of the materials he has to work upon, so having few facts to relate, he draws upon his imagination for the matter necessary to fill a couple of volumes. We have descriptions of scenery, numerous biographical sketches of the contemporaries of the great man, and the conversations that were supposed to take place, and the reflections that were supposed to be made. We have to thank Mr. Hamilton, indeed, for having limited himself to but two volumes, for a writer who can draw so fully upon his own resources might have extended his work to six without the slightest difficulty. His book is not so much an account of Frederick as it is an account of what Mr. Hamilton would have said and thought had he been Frederick, and been immured in Rheinsberg. Still we must admit that the volumes are readable.

Mr. Macdonell was a hard-working journalist who evidently, from the little book before us, was a careful and profound student of French life and manners.¹² His views and reflections have been given to the world by his widow, and we think the necessity of such a work fully justifies its publication. As in France the typical Frenchman is ever indulging in ludicrous mistakes touching the titles of our peers and baronets, the power of our lord mayor, and the sale and chastisement of our wives, so we in England display almost an equal ignorance in all that relates to French social and political life. A study of Mr. Macdonell's book will certainly dispel our misty views so far as regards French political life, and in their stead give us clear and definite opinions. His volume is an excellent treatise on modern French politics. Mr. Macdonell sketches with a vigorous hand the position and the opinions held by the different parties now dividing France—Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, Republicans, and Clericals. We have the history of their past, and of the prospects which each party has before it in the future. Not the least interesting features in the book are the excellent biographical sketches—picked out with the

¹¹ "Rheinsberg." By A. Hamilton. Two Volumes. Murray.

¹² "France Since the First Empire." By James Macdonell. Macmillan.

clearness and sharpness of outline of a cameo—of Louis XVIII, Charles X, Talleyrand, Louis Philippe, M. Veuillot, and Thiers. The terse, brilliant language in which this book is written proves that Mr. Macdonell was not only a master of French politics, but of English style. His pages should be carefully read by all our politicians and by most of our journalists.

The life of a gifted, fearless man, who does all in his power to stem the tide of intolerance, and by his noble sympathies, to raise humanity to a higher level, is always worth reading. Those who peruse this little volume,¹³ from the pen of him who gave us the fascinating biography of 'Arnold, will rise up from its pages with their faith in God that elevates, men strengthened and encouraged to take up arms in the good fight against those narrow prejudices which so frequently bar the path of all true progress. Edward Stanley, Bishop of Norwich unlike those who ignited the Oxford movement, sought to lift religion out of the atmosphere of the superstition which then weighed it down to interpret events as explained by natural causes and by his life and splendid example to make all who came under his influence see that in true Christianity there was nothing that savoured of the ignoble, the intolerant, or the unintellectual. Throughout this little biography we watch him ever actuated by an exquisite humanity, fearless in his opposition to all that he deemed evil, and exercising his jurisdiction with the tact of a statesman, the delicacy of a gentleman and with that impartiality and purity of motive which should always characterize the conscientious pastor of souls. In much of his work he was assisted by his wife whose letters and reflections constitute the latter portion of this book.

John de Witt,¹⁴ the famous Dutch statesman and patriot, was the son of one of the leaders of the party which opposed the ambitious designs of the House of Orange. Before the completion of his studies he was appointed, through the influence of his brother Cornelius, Pensionary of the city of Dordrecht and at the expiration of two years during which he had displayed considerable administrative ability he became Grand Pensionary of Holland. At the head of the Dutch Republic he now devoted his attention to the conduct of public affairs. He placed the marine in an efficient state, reorganized the finances and directed the civil war in which his country was engaged with England. Such is the man of whom Mr. Geddes has undertaken to write the biography. The author admits that there is little of the heroic about his subject, and that the age in which De Witt lived "has little in common with the noble epoch described with so much graphic force by Mr. Motley, and in studying it we are moving altogether in a lower world of human interest, passion, duty, and activity." Still, in spite of these disadvantages, Mr. Geddes has written a work

¹³ "Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley" By the Dean of Westminster. *M. MAY*

¹⁴ "History of the Administration of John de Witt" By James Geddes 1623-1654 Vol. I. C. Kegan Paul

which reveals to the full the precise measure of De Witt's personal work and influence. Nor can we agree with the author that the period which saw the genius of Cromwell was not a heroic period. Mr Geddes has, however, no reason to apologise for the dullness of his subject, or for his want of graphic treatment. We have here a work concerning a man of whom Englishmen know but little, yet who, as the chief magistrate of his country for twenty years, gave it power and prosperity, and who thus constituted himself an important factor in the system of European politics. "De Witt," writes Mr Geddes, "stood altogether on a lower plane than Cromwell. We regard him rather as a man of rare and singular talent than as one of the chosen great ones of the earth, which Cromwell was. He stands far above the common run of men, and he was head and shoulders above nearly all the notable men of his time. He would have been greater if the movement of his limbs had been less burdened with the Dutch governing apparatus which hampered him at every step of his path. His true place mentally is with the Richelieus and Mazarins and William the Thirds—men all of quite a secondary rank of intellect. He has no affinity with the Charlemagnes, the Gustavus Adolphuses and Cromwells of the race." Mr Geddes has obtained the materials for his work direct from the archives of the Hague, and thus his labours possess that freshness of incident and accuracy of detail which it is the special province of State Paper authorities to yield. We shall look for his second volume, which deals with a more exciting period with interest.

Since the first Article of the present Number of this Review was finished, we have seen Mr Torrens's book on Wellesley¹⁵. Though we think it by no means worthy of its subject, we are glad that it has been written, for it supplies further proof of how increasing knowledge of Anglo-Indian history tends to make men more alive to the merits and less inclined to carp at the morality of the founders of the Empire. A few years ago Mr Torrens wrote a "Book of Confessions about India, which is probably only known to students of Anglo-Indian history, and which represented Wellesley, amongst other viceroys, as little better than a freebooter. In the present volume he appears as a generous able, high-principled, and a far seeing statesman. But though Mr Torrens's knowledge of Indian history has clearly deepened since he gave us his "Book of Confessions," he is not always quite accurate even now. He evidently thinks that, after the fall of Seringapatam, the Mahrattas accepted the portion of territory which Wellesley had destined as their share of Tippoo's conquered dominions. That they agreed according to the conditions of Wellesley's offer to receive a subsidiary force. His account of Wellesley's dealings with Tanjore is exceedingly vague, moreover, after calling Serfojee the son of Tuljajee, he casually tells us, some pages further on, that he was "a son by adoption," but does not say of whom. The question of the adoption was one of the points on which the original decision

¹⁵ "The Marquess Wellesley" By W. M. Torrens Vol. I Chatto & Windus.

in favour of Ameer Sing turned, and therefore certainly deserved some explanation. He tells us nothing about Wellesley's judicial reforms, and he gives a bare two lines to his dealings with Surat, while he devotes a good deal of space to descriptions of the Governor-General's inmost feelings, for which we should be glad to have some authority. He has also fallen into the common fault of mentioning persons and things in an allusive way which takes for granted knowledge which probably nine readers out of ten do not possess. He is fond, too, of using words like "wastrel" and "pelfish," which are at least uncommon. Can he not find some better name for Englishmen than "white-faced irresistibles?" The book, as a whole, is decidedly diffuse, and there is a grievous want of compactness in the record of the Indian administration. The connection between the various parts of Wellesley's policy is not clearly brought out, and one cannot resist the impression that the writer entered upon his task without an adequate knowledge of earlier Anglo-Indian history. At least he has failed to show the place which Wellesley's administration fills in the history of the Empire. But it is much pleasier to praise than to find fault, and Mr Torrens deserves praise. He might, with more care, have done better, but he has produced a very readable biography, and such a biography was wanted. His picture of Wellesley's character is decidedly good, and he appreciates not only his powers as an "architect of empire"—though he does not bring out the fact that Wellesley only worked upon the lines which Warren Hastings had drawn—but also the intrinsic value of his work. He describes his relation with Pitt vividly. Finally, he has a sharp eye for the dramatic situations in Wellesley's career, and brings them out well in his narrative.

This is a work which, when complete, will be of the greatest service to the student of Greek history and of classical antiquity.¹⁶ Like all the literary labours of the Germans it is exhaustive of its subject, critical in its treatment, and methodical in its arrangement. The volumes are intended to constitute a connecting link between a History of Greece, like those of Grote and Curtius, and a Dictionary of Antiquities, like that edited by Dr. William Smith. Hence they are primarily destined for those educated readers and scholars who, without having made any special investigation into the ancient world, still feel the need of making themselves better acquainted with its spirit and character. The author has confined himself only to that portion of the antiquities of Greece which is adapted to promote an acquaintance with the social, political, and religious life of the Greeks in the classical period. In the volume under review we have Greece as seen in the light of the Homeric epos and of the political organization of the Greek State. Everything relating to the State—its idea and conditions, the distinctions of race, the principal forms of the Constitution, the rise and fall of monarchy and oligarchy, the history of the principal

¹⁶ "Antiquities of Greece." By G. F. Schomann. Translated by F. G. Hudey and J. S. Mann. Vol. I. Livingtons.

Greek States, and the like—is carefully described and accompanied by critical comments replete with scholarship. In the second volume the religious system and the international relations and institutions of Greece will be treated. To advanced school-boys and under graduates this work will be of great use, as it puts much multifarious reading in a brief space and in a convenient form.

Mr Bonwick asks the question "Who are the Irish?" and those who wish to read how he answers it are referred to this brochure.¹⁷ There they will learn much that is new, and we trust, for their sakes, though we cannot vouch for the fact, much that is true touching the Iberian Irish, the Nemidian Irish, the Ionian Irish, the Eubolg Irish—indeed Irish served up in every conceivable fashion. One class of Irish he, however, omits from his ethnological catalogue, the Obstructionist Irish. The treatment of this genus should be, however, perhaps more penul than literary.

Mr Sharpe is of opinion that the Moabite Stone¹⁸ is not genuine, but of a date far more modern than the time of Mesha. He considers it a forgery, but not a modern forgery, and concludes that it was written A.D. 260. The pamphlet is curious.

BI LLES LETTRES

WE gladly welcome Mr Jeffries amongst the roll of novelists.¹⁹ The works which he has already published on country subjects show not merely a knowledge of these things but of human nature. Mr Jeffries, too, possesses many of the primary qualifications of the novelist, no inconsiderable amount of both wit and human heart, facility of description, and a good style which is his own, and not copied from somebody else. But a man may possess all these qualifications, and yet not be a good novelist. For it should be remembered that novel writing is in itself requiring both time, practice, and industry before even the best acquire any proficiency in it. A man might as well on the strength of his power of colour set up as a portrait painter as a man on the strength of his descriptive writing set up as a novelist. Although Mr Jeffries has much to learn, yet his first novel shows a clear perception of what is required more than ninety-nine novels out of a hundred do. His characters are firmly drawn and individualized. Indeed, some of his scenes are photographic. In this respect he somewhat resembles George Eliot. George Eliot's descriptions, however, rather answer to the French definition of a photograph, "justice without mercy." Mr Jeffries scenes, on the other hand, may be described as justice with mercy. In all George Eliot's sketches there is some-

¹⁷ "Who are the Irish?" By James Bonwick. David Bogue.

¹⁸ "An Inquiry into the Age of the Moabite Stone." By Samuel Sharpe. John Russell Smith. Soho Square.

¹⁹ "Greene Fern Farm." By Richard Jeffries. Author of "The Glimpses at Home," "Wild Life in a Southern Country," &c. Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

thing hard. Mr Jeffries tones and softens his outlines. Nothing, for instance, can be better in this way than the opening scenes in "Greene Faine Farm" in the churchyard. The dialogue between the two farmers, "the thousand pound man," and the agricultural aristocrat is admirably natural. Equally good is the analysis, which immediately follows, of the mental state of the squire. The touch is light and yet deep. And here we will take an opportunity of expressing a hope that Mr Jeffries will not fall into George Eliot's deplorable trick of giving us a scientific phraseology. At present he shows no signs of it. He has, as we have already said, a good style of his own. We shall look forward with interest to his next novel.

Another novel, which we can recommend, is Mr Gibbon's "Queen of the Meadow." The whole is thoroughly fresh from the Queen down to the meadows over which she rules. What, however, to which we should wish to draw attention, is the fact that a three-volume novel is illustrated, and bound with a cover which is not merely two flapping boards, but a piece of workmanship. We quite admit that both the illustrations and the binding might be better, but it is a great thing that an attempt in this direction has been made. We remember very well the astonishment with which a firm of publishers received some twenty years ago a proposal from a well-known artist to illustrate a three-volume novel. "It would ruin us," exclaimed the senior partner. We believe, however, that the day is fast approaching when publishers, unless they choose to be ruined, will have to bring out their novels in a very different style to what they now do. In the meanwhile we welcome Mr Gibbon's volumes as the beginning of a new era in novel-illustration and novel binding.

Running men have, we believe, the expression of "getting a second wind." If we may be allowed such a phrase Holme Lee has got her second literary wind. For years past she has been deplorably dull. She has suddenly woke up into life, in "Mrs Denys of Cote." To all mothers who are at a loss to know what new novel to put into the hands of their daughters, we would recommend Holme Lee's last story.

If "Leon Brook" is not a woman he ought to be. The critics of the last generation used to say, that you were quite safe in pronouncing a novel to be by a woman when you met with a carriage drawn by two greys in the first chapter. We are more inclined to rely for internal evidence upon the dressmaker. The dressmaker appears so constantly in "George Rayner" in various forms, that we have no alternative but to pronounce that it is written by a woman. Whether it is written by a woman or not is of small matter in comparison with the fact that the dresses and the millinery will certainly give women the intensest pleasure.

* "Queen of the Meadow" A Novel By Charles Gibbon Author of "Robin Gray," "In Honour Bound" &c. London Chatto & Windus 1880

* "Mrs Denys of Cote" By Holme Lee Author of "Sylvia Holt's Daughter," &c. London Smith, Elder & Co 1880

* "George Rayner" A Story By Leon Brook London Chapman & Hall 1880

Once more we have our old friend "Ouida."⁵ She is the same gushing personage as she was when we made her acquaintance some fifteen years ago in "Strathmore." We have the same vast amount of learning, the same bright wit, and the same intimate acquaintance, not merely with the nobility of our own land, but apparently of every country in the world. To be serious, we wish that Ouida could be persuaded to take a leaf out of some quiet, pure tale, like "From Generation to Generation."⁶ Such a book does good, "Ouida's" nothing but harm.

"Mademoiselle de Mersac"⁷ breaks entirely new ground. We are introduced to a French family settled in Algeria. In this, however, there is no particular novelty. New combinations are obtained by leaving a French girl with an inheritance provided for under the provisions of English law. What with the French law, and what with French ideas about marriage, endless complications soon arise. The Franco-German war, too, breaks out. Two suitors, an Englishman and a Frenchman, appear on the scene. Matters are additionally complicated by the heroine's favourite brother being involved with this Frenchman in various gambling transactions. At this point it is that the author is able to cut the knot of the difficulties by the application of the English law. The whole story is admirably written, but the gambling scenes are, perhaps, amongst the best.

The author of "Worthless Laurels"⁸ aims a little too much at mere smart writing. Here, for instance, is one sentence out of many, which might be quoted: "The great Mr. Green would appear to be one of the numerous Marlowe class, who can be quite easy and eloquent with ladies of the barmaid order, but take them into a drawing-room and they find themselves unable to say, Bo! to the proverbial goose." (Vol. I. 160.) If the writer is in possession of any new facts with regard to Marlowe, she had better at once publish them, instead of indulging in an ill-natured sneer against one who, had he lived, would, in the opinion of many good judges, have been superior to even Shakspeare himself.

In "Aground in the Shallows,"⁹ we have the usual will scene which has been done so often. Here, however, it is worked out with a good deal of cleverness, and takes a real place in the story. Some of the descriptions of scenery, especially that in the fourth chapter, of Edinburgh and the Firth of Forth, are particularly good. The whole story, in short, shows refinement and cultivation.

⁵ "Moths." A Novel. By Ouida. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

⁶ "From Generation to Generation." By Lady Augusta Noel. London: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

⁷ "Mademoiselle de Mersac." By W. E. Norris, Author of "Heaps of Money." London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

⁸ "Worthless Laurels." By Emily Carrington. London: Griffith and Farran. 1880.

⁹ "Aground in the Shallows." By C. Ray, Translator of "The Emperor and the Galilean," from the Norwegian. London: Rivingtons & Co. 1879.

Description, too, is the strong point in "Tender and True."¹⁰ The opening scenes will bear comparison with any of the best descriptive writing of the day. What it requires is more compression. The author appears to have seen a great deal of the world. He has, too, visited out-of-the-way places. Thus, we have an account of the Andaman Islands, and the Andamans, which is evidently written from personal observation. Something more than a mere good word may be said for "Tender and True."

"Wappermouth"¹¹ is rather too loud in its tones to suit our taste. Here, for instance, is a passage which appears to us neither better nor worse than the generality of the book. A rich city man engages an artist to paint his portrait for fifty pounds. The picture did not please the rich city man, who knocks it off the easel and then jumps upon it, and refuses to pay more than five pounds. The artist, to revenge himself, goes to the rich city man's office and flings a big bottle of ink at his head. Those who like this kind of writing may find plenty of it in "Wappermouth."

"Dowdenham"¹² is a far better story than might have been expected from the silly preface. As to the remarks which the fictitious publisher makes upon the severity of criticism, it is, as a simple matter of fact, untrue. The great fault of the criticism of the day is its excessive leniency and carelessness. Critics have, as a rule, far too much to do to read the books attentively, and so, to save themselves trouble, pour out an amount of wishy-wishy praise, which does nothing else but harm. As to the publisher's statement that "critics are rodent, gnawing animals" (p. 13), they are, instead of being like rats, more like a set of tame, purring, elderly cats. "Dowdenham," however, does deserve some praise. It contains many good jokes, one of the best being a new argument for marriage with a deceased wife's sister, that a man would then only have one mother-in-law. Lastly, the author has added a glossary of all the provincial words used in the story. We wish that other novelists could be induced to follow his example.

Only one translation of a foreign novel appears this quarter.¹³ The name of Mr. Buing-Gould ought to be a guarantee for the general accuracy of the version. This book, however, is printed in such a very small type that we fear many readers will be obliged to put it down before they have got through the first volume, as we have been obliged to do.

Far better, however, than all the novels put together is Mr. Giles's¹⁴

¹⁰ "Tender and True" A Novel By William Arthur Law, late 21st R S. Fusiliers. London Rivingtons & Co. 1860

¹¹ "Wappermouth" A Novel By W Theodore Hickman. London: Chapman & Hall. 1879

¹² "Dowdenham" A Tale of High Life in the Present Period. By W. R. Anchetill. London Marcus Ward & Co. 1879

¹³ "Ernestine" A Novel. By the Authoress of "The Vulture Maiden." London Thomas De La Rue & Co. 1879

¹⁴ "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio" Translated and Illustrated by Herbert A. Giles, of H.M.'s Consular Service. London Thomas De La Rue & Co. 1880.

"Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio." They will meet all tastes. Here is the way pear trees are grown. A poor Taoist priest in rags begged some pears from a Chinese costermonger. The Chinese costermonger, just as one of our own would, omitting the oaths, refused. In vain the Taoist priest pleaded. The costermonger was obdurate. At last a bystander bought one for the poor ragged priest. "Fetch me a little water," cried the priest. The water was fetched. The priest then made a hole in the earth, and put one of the pips from the pear into it. Then he took the water, and watered the ground. Immediately there sprang up a large pear tree, bearing the most delicious pears. These the priest handed round to the crowd. The priest then hacked the tree down, and disappeared. The costermonger who had been intently watching the proceedings turned round and perceived that his pears had also disappeared, and also one of the burrow handles. He at once saw how the miracle had been accomplished, that his burrow-handle had been the pear-tree stem, and his own fruit the delicious pears. Of course, in these days, when Dr Siemens can, by the aid of the electric light make tulips bloom in half an hour, we should explain the matter differently. The reader, however, will find in "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio," far more wonderful tales, which cannot be explained by Dr Siemens and the electric light. A more amusing book we have not met with for a long time. It will certainly delight both old and young.

Perhaps, too, along with the works of fiction we ought to class "Old Celtic Romances,"¹⁵ though we by no means feel sure of the ground upon which we are treading. Some of the best stories may be found under "The Fairy Palace of the Quicken Trees." Very poetical, too, is the story of "Prince Conla of the Golden Hair and the Fairy Maiden." The prince was the son of King Conn, the Hundred Fighter. One day, as he stood on the Royal Hill of Uisneach with his father, he met a lady very beautiful, who was invisible to all else. The story goes on to tell how he descends the palace, and lives with her and her sister ladies among the green hills, where they never grow old, and know no sickness nor sorrow.

The poetry of the quarter is very poor. The greater number of the volumes are fit only

"æstivas convolvere sardas,
Aut piper aut calvas hinc operire nuces"

One book alone stands out from the mass—Mrs Webster's "Disguises."¹⁶ And yet the author can hardly expect either profit or fame from it. It is useless for critics to say that five-act plays should not be written, whilst authors continue to write them. Critics might as well criticise the east wind, and expect to change the laws of meteorology. The reason why poets of Mrs Webster's rank write dramas is

¹⁵ "Old Celtic Romances." Translated from the Gaelic. By P. W. Joyce, T.C.D., M.R.I.A. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.

¹⁶ "Disguises." A Drama. By Augusta Webster. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.

very obvious—because here only can they find real scope for their genius. In a five-act play they are able, if we may use so strong a term, to give vent to their feelings and passions under the mask of impersonality. They can also give to the world, by means of their characters, their own views on social questions no less than on religion, and this, too, in the most effective manner. The five-act play, too, admits of many measures. It sails not with one sail. Above all here can the artist indulge in the artist's truest delight—that of drawing character? For these reasons poets, like Mrs. Webster, find in the five-act drama the only channel into which they can freely pour their thoughts. Yet the five-act drama is virtually dead. It would be well, therefore, for writers like Mrs. Webster to endeavour to meet the difficulty in some new way. We want some of the old wine, but it must be in a new bottle. We cannot, of course, in the limited room at our command in this section now make any suggestions on so difficult a subject. To do so would require an article. One thing, however, we should do well to remember—that it is the greatest of errors in our day to follow the Elizabethan dramatists in having five acts. No modern audience will put up with such an allowance. The theatre in the days of Shakspeare was to our forefathers a kind of club—Mudie's, theatre, and Royal Institution all combined. Now it is simply a theatre, attended no longer by the intellectual classes, except on rare occasions. Whether the intellectual classes might be won back by such writers as Tennyson and Mrs. Webster, if they would but adapt themselves to new forms of art, is the problem. We believe that the love for dramatic exhibition is as strong as ever. That will not easily die. But there must be also a change not merely in the form of the representation, but in the hours of performance. And this brings us to the point. At this moment there is springing up a strong feeling for what is called “afternoon theatres.” Here is the golden opportunity for such writers as Mrs. Webster. In the new theatre music must play a most important part. Above all things lyrical poetry is Mrs. Webster's strong point. Here, for instance, is a delightful song, which borrows nothing from the Elizabethan dramatists, but is essentially modern in feeling:—

“Dearest, this one day we own,
 Stolen from the crowd and press,
 Let it be sweet silence's.
 We two, heart in heart, alone ;
 Any speech were less.
 We are weary, even thus,
 Talk might turn to discontent
 Else be practised merriment ;
 Earth and sky will speak for us
 Nearer as we meant.
 We two in the stillness, dear,
 Fair dreams come without our quest ;
 Not to talk of life is best.
 Ah, our holiday is here,
 Let it all be rest.”

Hère is one again which opens up quite a new vein Lying has often been defended, but never so gracefully

“Tell thee truth, sweet ; no
Truth is cross and sad and cold,
Lies are pitiful and kind,
Honey-soft as Love’s own tongue,
“Let me, love, lie so
Lies are like a summer wind,
 wooing flower-buds to unfold
Lies will last while men are young
Tell thee truth, love, no.

Let me sweet, lie so.
Lies are Hope’s light ministers,
Footless birds upon the wing
Truth’s a name for plodding care
Tell thee truth, sweet, no
Truth’s the east-wind on the Spring—
’Tis the wind, not spring time errs.
Lies will last while maids are fair,
Let me lie, love, so ”

Whether the moralist, after he had read this, would have said *magis amica veritas* may be doubted. We have no more room for any further extracts. We should have liked to have given some passages showing Mrs Webster’s dramatic power and insight into human nature. We trust, however, that the two lyrical pieces, which we have already quoted, will send readers to the work itself. If they will not, most certainly no words of ours will.

We have but little heart to take up the other plays which lie on our table. The first¹⁷ bears the honoured name of Richard Hengist Horne. It is full of fine passages and beautiful lines, but we fear that it will be utterly unappreciated by the public. Mr Horne’s “Patriot Martyrs” is written for the stage, but he candidly admits that until there is a complete change in our theatres there is no chance of its representation.

Some of Mr Kindon’s “Dramatic Sketches”¹⁸ show power. More power, however, is shown in Mr Elford’s “Philip II.”¹⁹ What his lines require is more polish. The thought is always good, but there is a want of sweetness and harmony in many passages. Mr. Elford has most certainly true dramatic instincts.

Violet Fane’s²⁰ verses seldom rise much above mere prettiness. There is a grace and ease about them, and the author probably does not aim at anything higher. Amongst the best pieces may be

¹⁷ “Laura Dibalzo, or, The Patriot Martyrs” A Tragedy By Richard Hengist Horne London Newman & Co 1880

¹⁸ “Poems and Dramatic Sketches” By Joseph Kindon, B A London Newman & Co 1879

¹⁹ “Philip II A Dramatic Romance” By John Elford London C. S. Palmer 1880.

²⁰ “Collected Verses” By Violet Fane Author of “Denzil Place,” “Queen of the Fairies,” &c. London Smith, Elder & Co. 1880

mentioned "A May Song" and "Afterwards," which show a deeper vein of feeling than we generally find.

If Mr. Keightley²¹ is, as we infer from his preface, only twenty years of age, he may achieve something. At present he gives us too many echoes of Tennyson and Keats. We by no means insinuate that he is in any way a plagiarist. Far from this. It is his general manner, style, and colouring which reminds us of those two great poets. It would, however, become Mr. Keightley to be a little more modest about his own poems.

A little more modesty, too, would be becoming in Mr. Washington Moon.²² He has given a Lecture upon poetry, and, by way of illustrating what poetry should be, quotes his own verses. This is much as if a man should write a treatise on ethics and illustrate each of the virtues by his own acts.

We need do no more than call attention to a new edition of Mrs. Pfeiffer's "Sonnets and Songs."²³

In Mr. Main's "Treasury of English Sonnets"²⁴ we have a most comprehensive work. We have only one or two faults to find. In the first place we should have preferred it, after the fashion of Leigh Hunt's collection, in two volumes. In its present form it is a little too cumbrous to hold for any length of time. For it should be remembered that Mr. Main's book is one not merely to consult, but to read. Further, too, it should be remembered that sonnets are not merely to be read, but to be pondered over. We turn the pages of a collection like Mr. Main's slower than we do those of other books. Further, we think that in his zeal to throw a wide net, and to be thoroughly catholic, Mr. Main has admitted one or two sonnets which we should have rejected. This, however, is a matter of mere taste. There must be, we suppose, some weak sonnets for weak brethren. Mr. Main's notes, which take up nearly half the volume, but which we would not wish to be a line shorter, are simply delightful. They are full of learning, and, of what learning so often misses, delicate criticism and appreciation of each author. We are glad to see that Mr. Main does justice in a note to Ellison's sonnets, whom he calls "the ablest and sweetest-voiced of Wordsworth's disciples." Fifty years have now nearly passed since Ellison first published his sonnets. Leigh Hunt warmly welcomed them, and gave several of them a place in his collection. As Mr. Main remarks, the author of "Rab and his Friends" declared they were "as full of poetry as an impassioned

²¹ "A King's Daughter," and other Poems. By Samuel Robert Keightley. London: Grattan & Marshall. 1880.

²² "What is Poetry?" A Paper read before the Royal Society of Literature. By G. Washington Moon, F.R.S.L., Author of the "Dean's English." London: Hatchards. 1879.

²³ "Sonnets and Songs." By Emily Pfeiffer. A New Edition. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1880.

²⁴ "A Treasury of English Sonnets." Edited from the Original Sources, with Notes and Illustrations. By David M. Main. Manchester: Alexander Ireland & Co. 1880.

grape of its noble liquor." With regard to Ellison's pseudonymous volume, published under the name of Henry Browne, to which Mr. Main alludes at page 413, we may mention that it was noticed at some length in the April Number of this REVIEW for 1875. Mr. Ellison, we may add, died at the beginning of the present year, without a word of notice from the literary papers, although at one time he was looked upon as the coming poet. His sonnets are certainly not for all readers. He was too intent upon the substance to pay sufficient attention to the form. Yet he has written some sonnets of exquisite beauty, worthy of his master, Wordsworth. We should imagine that a selection of these, if judiciously made, might prove attractive to the general public. To return to Mr. Main, let us add one more word of general praise as to the excellence of his collection, and most strongly recommend it to all lovers of the sonnet.

Mr. Elliott's work was much wanted.²⁵ It is a treasury which might, however, be considerably enlarged, of the best wit and humour of English poetry. When we look at our comic papers we are apt to underrate our own native genius in this direction. Mr. Elliott's book recalls us to our own stores. It is not until we have turned over his pages that we remember our real wealth. The wit and humour of the past is decidedly superior to that of the present. Ever since our School Board system has been established, our professional jokers have been joking upon education. Comic papers have converted the subject into their stock-in-trade. The clown at the pantomime has yearly made laughter out of the little boy who goes to school instead of carrying his father's dinner to him. But Brome, who wrote the "Antipodes" about 1630, has beaten both clowns and professional jokers with their own weapons. Here, for instance, is a scene from the "Antipodes" where old men are sent to school, the fooling of which is delightful:—

Servant (to his young master). How well you saw
Your father to school to-day knowing how apt
He is to play the truant!

Son. But he is not
Yet gone to school.

Servant. Stand by, and you shall see.

[Enter THREE OLD MEN with satchels.]

All Three (singing). Domine, domine, duster,
Three knaves in a cluster.

Son. Oh! this is gallant pastime. Nay, come on.
Is this your school? Was that your lesson, ha?

First Old Man. Pray now, good son, indeed, indeed——

Son. Indeed
You shall to school. Away with him, and take
Their wagships with him, the whole cluster of them.

Second Old Man. You sha'n't send us now, no you sha'n't.

²⁵ "The Witty and Humorous Side of the English Poets." With a Variety of Specimens arranged in Periods. By Arthur H. Elliott. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1880.

Third Old Man We be none of your father, no us be'n't
Son Away with them, I say, and tell their schoolmistress
 What truants they are, and bid her pay them soundly.

All Three Oh! Oh! Oh!

Lady. Alas! will nobody beg pardon for
 The poor old boys?

Traveller Do men of such fair years thus go to school?

Gentleman They would die dunces else
 These were great scholars in their youth, but when
 Age grows upon men here, their learning wastes
 And so decays, that if they live until
 Threescore, their sons send them to school again.
 They'd die as speechless else as new-born children.

Traveller 'Tis a wise nation, and the pity
 Of the young men most rare and commendable.
 Yet give me as a stranger, leave to beg
 Their liberty this day

Son 'Tis granted
 Hold up your heads, and thank the gentleman,
 Like scholars with your heels now

The Three Old Men Gratias, gratias, gratias [*Exeunt, singing*"]

We would recommend this point of view to some of our burlesque writers. English epigrams do not show to advantage in Mr Elliott's volume. They all appear to be written rather with a bludgeon than with the classic *stylus*. They are all too personal. Beauty, as in the Greek anthology, is scarcely ever aimed at. Such collections as Wellesley's "*Anthologia Polyglotta*," and Hings and Weisser's "*Epigrammatische Anthologie*," are redolent of poetry. The English epigram is too acid. It lacks good nature, to say nothing of still higher qualities. Amongst the best is one by Lord Holland on Southey —

"Our Laureate Bob defends the king,
 He takes his cash and will not sing
 Yet on he goes, I know not why.
 Singing for us who will not buy."

Here is another by Lord Baskine on Sir Walter Scott's long-forgotten poem, "The Field of Waterloo" —

"On Waterloo's ensanguined plain,
 Lie tens of thousands of the slain.
 But none by sabre or the shot,
 Fell half so flat as Walter Scott."

Here, again, is a well known one by Porson on some Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, but which is so good that it never grows old, the test of true wit —

"Here lies a Doctor of Divinity,
 Who was a Fellow, too, of Trinity
 He knows as much about Divinity,
 As other Fellows do of Trinity."

Here, however, is perhaps the very best in the collection, of the author of which nothing seems to be known. If it had not been

written in such a see-saw, common-place rhythm, it would have been in its way nearly perfect:—

“ When Orpheus went down to the regions below,
Which men are forbidden to see,
He tuned up his lyre, as old histories show,
To set his Eurydice free.

All Hell was astonished a person so wise
Should rashly endanger his life,
And venture so far; but how vast their surprise
When they heard that he came for his wife!

To find out a punishment due for his fault
Old Pluto long puzzled his brain;
But Hell had not torments sufficient, he thought—
So he gave him his wife back again.

But pity succeeding soon vanquished his heart,
And pleased with his playing so well,
He took her again in reward of his art,—
Such merit had music in Hell.”

Of Mr. Elliott's own performance we can speak favourably. His criticisms are sound, and generally in good taste. We think that he somewhat overrates Moore, as well as certain living writers. We think, too, that he might have given the famous passage from the “*Rollad*,” beginning “Ye reverend prelates, robed in sleeves of lawn,” which contains all the essentials of an epigram, though it does not conform to the conditions laid down in the Greek epigram of Cyrillus. Under Tennyson, Mr. Elliott might have quoted in full “The Northern Farmer,” both old and new style. On the next page he has some interesting speculations on Mr. Tennyson's power of satire. He appositely quotes from the “*Sea Dreams*” Tennyson's description of a modern religious hypocrite, the very best thing ever done for incisiveness since the days of Pope, and remarks that the man who wrote this could write more if he would. The reason why Tennyson has not written more in the same vein Mr. Elliott rightly gives. Wordsworth, who, by the way, could say far severer things than the world gives him credit for, expressed himself much to the same effect as Tennyson has done as to the reasons why he would never write a line of satire. “Most mischievous foul sin is chiding sin.” We do not think worse of Addison for Pope's “*Atticus*,” but only of Pope himself. Once more, to go on with our small cavilling, we wish that Mr. Elliott had given us some of the best political epigrams from some of our contemporaries—such, for instance, as the “*Buckinghamshire Buffoon*” and “*My Name is Stoker Bill*,” from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and, above all, the rondelle on “*The Wild D. T.*” in the *Examiner*. But we shall hope to see all these and many more in Mr. Elliott's next edition. In the meanwhile we heartily thank him for what he has done.

It would be interesting to compare some of the epigrams, which

Mr. Webb has selected for us from Martial,²⁶ with the best of our own English ones, which Mr. Elliott has chosen. Ours would stand in much the same relation to Martial's as Martial's do to the collection which goes under the general name of the Greek Anthology. If, as Mr. Webb says, though we are somewhat inclined to doubt the statement when put in such an unqualified manner, "that of all the Latin poets Martial is one of the least generally known and appreciated," it is because his glories are eclipsed by the Greek Epigrammatists. Mr. Webb's translation varies a good deal in merit. Critics will probably also vary a good deal in their estimate of its value. *Hic spinas colligit, ille rosas.* It is, however, as far as we have observed, always faithful. Here are one or two of his happiest versions. The first shall be on a subject upon which Martial is never tired of writing—baldness. Some one, to hide his loss of hair, had wrapped his head in a woollen muffler, under pretence of having the ear-ache:—

"You wrap your bald head, and pretend
You've got the ear-ache, But, my friend,
Your hair it is, if truth were known,
That aches to think how scant 'tis grown."

Here is another on a poet who, when reciting, wrapped his throat up in a woollen muffler:—

"Why, ere your verses you recite,
Thus muffle up your throat so tight?
'Twould better suit this crowd that hears:
Give us that wool to stuff our ears."

These specimens may, perhaps, induce English readers to go to Mr. Webb's book for themselves.

Mr. Swinburne's work upon Shakspeare²⁷ is most disappointing. Scarcely anywhere—we might almost say nowhere—does Mr. Swinburne assume a judicial attitude. He writes in a white heat of fury. He is either revelling in ecstasies of praise or of vituperation. As Publius Syrus says of a woman, Mr. Swinburne *Aut amat, aut odit; nihil est tertium.* His very dedication to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps does not seem to be written so much out of love to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps as out of hatred to somebody else. Now, we are not going into any discussion of the quarrel between Mr. Swinburne and his opponents. We think that they are both equally to blame. Both have used an amount of vituperation which is, to say the very least, simply a disgrace to literature. The affair, however, opens up a much wider question. When we reflect that the last generation of Shakspearians committed both theft and forgery by wholesale, and that the present generation roundly abuse and calumniate each other on such paltry

²⁶ "Select Epigrams from Martial." For English Readers. Translated by W. T. Webb, M.A., Professor of History and Political Economy, Presidency College, Calcutta. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

²⁷ "A Story of Shakspeare." By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London: Chatto & Windus. 1880.

questions as the spelling of Shakspeare's name and the pronunciation of a word, we are tempted to ask what is the use of the study of Shakspeare? Is this all that you have learnt out of Shakspeare—to thieve, to forge, and to revile one another like a parcel of fish fags? Milton was of opinion that the object of reading and of studying was to improve our moral conduct, but the object of studying Shakspeare would seem to be to deteriorate it. Shakspearians are very much like religious people. In their zeal for their god they forget all his commandments. They are ready to persecute one another over a letter. Every difference of opinion with them is a difference of principle. As to Mr Swinburne's book, all pleasure in reading it is destroyed by the constant sneers and innuendoes with which it abounds. Of course, as in everything which Mr Swinburne writes, traces of genius abound, and here and there really eloquent passages are to be found. Those who have never assented to Pope's mercenary view of Shakspeare, and those also who have for themselves discovered, by comparison with the older work, how Shakspeare's poetry was a labour of love, will be glad to meet with Mr Swinburne's remarks upon "Hamlet." His criticisms upon the "Taming of the Shrew," and especially upon the "Winter's Tale," are also good. But what after all does it come to? Had Mr Swinburne's criticisms been ten times as good as they are, we could willingly have dispensed with them all for another "Atalanta in Calydon," or another "Songs Before Sunrise." Mr Swinburne is essentially a poet, and not a critic. Goethe used to complain that every cobbler wanted to be a poet, but in this case it is the poet who wants to be the cobbler.

After Mr Swinburne's essay on Shakspeare, we may fitly notice Mr Tancock's handy little volume of Marlowe's "Edward the Second."²⁸ We trust that it may be followed by other plays of Marlowe. Mr Dyce's edition of Marlowe is far too unwieldy, whilst the print, which has become clogged up in the recent stereotype editions, is far too small. We wish, however, that Mr Tancock or some other scholar, would give us a selection from Marlowe's works, brought out somewhat in the way that "Specimens of the Earlier English Poets" were brought out, in a convenient form, and clear, handsome type. We have long had the "Beauties of Messinger," and it is high time that we had, in some accessible form, the writings of one of whose "Hero and Leander," Ben Jonson said, 'it was more fit for admiration than parallel.' Of Mr Tancock's edition of "Edward the Second" we can say that it fully holds its own place beside Dr Wright's editions of Shakspeare's Select Plays, and this is no small praise.

Mr. Paton continues his "Hamnet" edition of Shakspeare²⁹ with

²⁸ Marlowe's "Edward the Second" (Clarendon Press Series Old English Drama, Select Plays) Edited by Osborne William Tancock, M.A. Oxford: The Clarendon Press 1879.

²⁹ "The Winter's Tale" (The Hamnet Shakspeare, Part V.) According to the First Folio, Spelling Modernised. With Introduction and Relative Lists By Allen Park Paton. London Hamilton, Adams and Co 1879.

most praiseworthy industry. Whatever we may think about his views upon capital letters in the first folio, one thing is certain, that his introductions to each play are always pleasant reading, and that we are certain to learn something new from them. Further, Mr. Paton sets a most excellent example to all Shakspearian editors and commentators—he is never acrimonious. He has received many hard blows, but he goes straight on his way without ever as much as looking aside. His Introduction to the “*Winter’s Tale*” is quite as interesting as any of those which have preceded it. From it we learn that the Play contains double the number of emphasis-capitals which any other Play does. Further, Mr. Paton thinks that there is good reason for believing that the manuscript used in the press-room was one of those upon which Shakspeare had bestowed especial care, and upon which also the printers had taken especial pains. In his general commentary on the Play, Mr. Paton has some interesting remarks on the words “*primerose*,” and “*barne*.” He also prefers to write “*Mayster*,” “*preuyns*,” and “*reysous*,” for dialectical reasons, but upon this the English Dialect Society may have something to say to him. The question how far the Elizabethan dramatists used genuine provincialisms, or how far they adopted a more stage conventional dialect, largely partaking of West country words and phrases, requires to be thoroughly examined. Without committing ourselves to any views about the emphasis-capitals, we sincerely trust that Mr. Paton will continue his labours, for his edition is one of the most convenient, and best printed, which we have.

We regret that the pressure upon our space will not allow us to give our usual notice of the new volume of the English Dialect Society.³⁰ We must content ourselves with saying that the two reprints, one edited by Mr. Elworthy, and the other by Professor Skeat, are, perhaps, the two best bits of work in this line as yet done by the Society. Professor Skeat asks for some suggestions as to further reprints. We would venture to recommend that the rare “*Devonshire Dialogue*” should be reprinted in the same manner that Mr. Elworthy has edited the “*Exmoor Scolding*,” with notes at the foot of the text, calling attention to all peculiarities, and a full Glossary at the end. In editing “*A Bran New Work*,” by William de Worlat, that is, William of Overthwaite, or, in other words, the Rev. William Hutton, who died in 1811, Professor Skeat brings out the curious fact that the real Glossary must be looked for in the Rev. John Hutton’s “*Tour to the Caves in the Environs of Ingleborough and Settle*,” and not in the Glossary at the end of the book itself.

Dr. Charnock does not pretend to have given us an exhaustive Glossary of the county of Essex.³¹ On the contrary, he tells us that

³⁰ “*Specimens of English Dialects*.” I. Devonshire. An *Exmoor Scolding and Courtship*. Edited by F. T. Elworthy, Esq. II. Westmoreland. *A Bran New Work*. Edited by the Rev. Professor Skeat. London: Trübner and Co. 1879.

³¹ “*A Glossary of the Essex Dialect*.” By Richard Stephen Charnock, Ph.D., F.S.A. London: Trubner & Co. 1880.

he has simply noted down the provincialisms which he has heard during several pedestrian tours through the district. Still, even this contribution is most valuable. There cannot be too many labourers in the field. We trust that Dr. Charnock may be tempted to print other glossaries of provincialisms which he may have noted down in his pedestrian tours through other counties.

The remaining books we must deal with briefly. Mr. MacColl³² gives us an interesting account of the Ober-Amergau Passion Play, which is reprinted from the *Times*. The Honourable Mrs. Henry Chetwynd's³³ description of life, not merely in a German village but in North Germany, is also vividly written; one of her tales is too good to omit. She met with a polyglot sailor on the Elbe, a Dane; upon asking him which language he liked best, his reply was, "I like all languages when they are well spoken, but English is the best of all to be angry in," and certainly the resources of our tongue in cursing, and in Billingsgate generally, are not to be despised.

Amongst reprints we may call especial attention to the new edition of Thackeray's *Ballads*.³⁴ It is emphatically a book for the drawing-room table.

Dr. Andrew Wood's version of Schiller³⁵ calls for no particular notice. It possesses, however, one great recommendation—the German text is printed opposite to the English version, which has the merit of being faithful.

A few children's books remain over from Christmas, which will serve now as Easter presents. Amongst them may be mentioned Miss Herba Stretton's nicely written story "In Prison and Out,"³⁶ and Miss Callwell's "Legends of Olden Times."³⁷ Other interesting books for children are "Edna"³⁸ and "Ysobel's Thimble."³⁹ Lastly come "Chit-Chat"⁴⁰ by "Puck," illustrated by Miss Sibree, who illustrated "Alice," not in Wonderland, but on the stage, and Mrs. Molesworth's "Tapestry Room,"⁴¹ with its woodcuts by Mr. Crane. Mr. Crane is

³² "The Ober-Amergau Passion Play." By the Rev. Malcolm MacColl. London: Rivingtons. 1880.

³³ "Life in a German Village." By the Hon. Mrs. Henry Weyland Chetwynd, Author of "Neighbours and Friends," &c. London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1880.

³⁴ "Ballads." By William Makepeace Thackeray. With Illustrations by the Author, Mrs. Butler, and Dr. Manner, &c. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1880.

³⁵ "The Lay of the Bell." And other Ballads. By Schiller. Translated into English Metre. By Andrew Wood, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo & Co. 1879.

³⁶ "In Prison and Out." By Herba Stretton. With Twelve Illustrations by R. Barnes. London: William Isbiter. 1880.

³⁷ "Legends of Olden Times." By J. M. Callwell. London: Newman & Co. 1880.

³⁸ "Edna. A Tale of the Babylonian Captivity." By Julian St. Clare. London: Charing Cross Publishing Company. 1880.

³⁹ "Ysobel's Thimble." By Minnie Young. London: Newman & Co. 1880.

⁴⁰ "Chit-chat." By Puck. From the Swedish. With twenty-six Vignettes by Mary Sibree. London: Sonnenschein & Allen. 1880.

⁴¹ "The Tapestry Room." By Mrs. Molesworth. Illustrated by Walter Crane. London: Macmillan & Co. 1879.

always best when he has to deal with poetical and humorous subjects—that is to say when his imagination has full play. So in the “Tapestry Room” we find that his best things are the “Brown Bull of Norrawa” with its new Europa, the procession of the comical animals which might have been imported from Nuremburg, and, lastly, the “Story Spinning.” All these are very delightful, full of the true spirit of either poetry or humour.

MISCELLANEA

THE passion for translating Homer seems to be as active as ever. It is not very long since Mr Andrew Lang gave the world his prose version of the *Odyssey*, and, behold, another English version of the sufferings of the woe worn man issues from the press. “If,” as Mr Lang says in the preface to his translation, “the taste and the literary habits of each age demand different qualities in poetry, and therefore a different sort of rendering of Homer,” then “Avia,” whoever he or she may be, fulfils some at least of the requirements of a good translator. The taste and the literary habits, if not of the entire age, at least of the present hour, are mirrored with strange fidelity in every line of this curious production. If some of our firms of fashionable decorators kept on their premises a select staff of literary men and women, whose business it was to create a literature matching with the sage-green curtains, the ebonized wood, the blue-and-white china, the sunflowers and brass fenders, and all the rest of the æsthetic paraphernalia, this translation would represent very fairly the kind of work they would produce. It ought to be known as the “æsthetic” Homer, and the idea of an “æsthetic” Homer might send a flood of humorous fancies into the misty mind of a metaphysician, and bring a smile to the lips of a cynic philosopher. The receipt for “Avia’s” *Odyssey* has evidently been a steady study of Mr William Morris’s “*Sigurd the Volsung*,” and a persistent misapprehension of the spirit of the original poem. The most unreflected and straightforward of poets is rendered in an affected jargon or slang, and a contorted phraseology which is perhaps supposed to simulate the rugged vigour of old English song, and is really a successful specimen of new English euphuism. But while we condemn the defects of this version of the *Odyssey*, we must not shut our eyes to its merits. With all its affectations and nonsense it has a true poetic feeling in it which lends it a grace and beauty and melody that go far to redeem its follies. It is the kind of work that any poetic young man or woman might do who was given Mr Andrew Lang’s quaintly-archaic prose version and Mr Morris’s “*Sigurd*,” and told to make a poetic version of the *Odyssey* out of the compound. But it must be said that without the poetic faculty the work could not have been done, so we safely award to “Avia” the laurel wreath of a true singer whose gifts have been for the time misplaced. Only those who

¹ “The *Odyssey* of Homer done into English Verse” By “Avia” London C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1880.

persist in regarding the tale of Troy from the mediæval point of view, that is, from the point of view of the "*Troilus and Cressida*" of Chaucer and of Shakspeare's play, could regard "Avia's" Odyssey with favour. To begin with, the metre which went so well with the wild Norse story of Sigurd and the Niblung hoard and the Valkyrie sisters, does not seem to lend itself to the Greek story and the melodious Grecian names and to tales of Grecian gods and heroes. Then the phraseology! It would need Master Hugh Evans's indignant strength of expression at all to do justice to it. It is not, perhaps, quite so bad in this respect as Mr. Cayley's Hexametrical Iliad, which made Hector address Priam as "Belsire," but it is bad enough. A fair taste of its quality may be given when we mention that "Avia" renders ἀγρόη by "Folkinote." All the eccentricities and archaisms to which Mr. Morris has given the seal of his sanction are liberally introduced into the work. As an example, however, of the version at its best, we quote the following lines from the Seventh Book, descriptive of the garden of Alcinous:—

"And hard by the doors without was an orchard stretching wide,
Four acres, and round about was a fence upon every side;
And the fat earth fed the root of many a tall tree there
The apple-tree lovely of fruit, the pomegranate-tree, and the pear,
And the fig with its full sweet taste, and the silvery olive's pride.
No blight comes ever to waste their fruit, nor in summer-tide,
Nor yet in the winter it fails, but softly blows evermore
The breath of the western gales that fan the orchard o'er;
Here blossoms are blowing, and there, fruits growing, and there ripe store,
There is pear after pear that mellow, new clusters that aye gather bloom,
Fresh apples succeeding their fellows; new figs in the old figs'-room;
And there is a fruitful plot with vines set row upon row,
Wherein is a warm cleared spot that is parched by the strong sun's glow;
There clusters are drying, but yonder are lying the heaps that grow
Ever higher the while they are flinging the spoil into baskets below.
And yonder again are they treading the winevat, and right before
Setting grapes their blossoms are shedding, and others are darkening o'er.
And there by the last vine row trim garden beds are seen,
Where the flowers through the long year blow, where the herbs for ever are
green.
Two fountains therein are gushing, and this through the garden close
Scattereth all ways rushing, and that to the palace goes,
Passing beneath the gate, and the townsfolk drink thereof.
Such are the gifts that the great gods gave to the king that they love."

Any one who takes the trouble to compare this with the original will see at once how much of the Morris dialect has been grafted on to the Greek stem, and how much that exists in the English has no place in the text. The passage reads like a bit out of the "*Earthly Paradise*" rather than a fragment of Hellenic rhapsody; but, to do it justice, it is exceedingly pretty.

If the translators of Homer are occasionally fantastic, they are not so tiresome as some of the commentators. Mr. Paley on Homer² is

² "On Post Epic, or Imitative Words in Homer." By F. A. Paley, M.A. London: F. Norgate. 1879.

almost, though not quite, as trying a spectacle as Mr Furnival on Shakspeare or Mr Stanley Jevons on Mill, though he is not so bumptious as the latter nor so tedious as the former. To those who feel any keen interest in the question, Mr Paley's new dissertation on the non-antiquity of what we now know as the Homeric Poems may commend itself. How far, however, such discussions advance the literary appreciation of the beauty of the tale of Troy, or make men's ears more truly alive to what Mr Andrew Lang so gracefully calls "the surge and thunder of the Odyssey," we are unable to conceive. If any one starts a New Homer Society Mr Paley should be elected perpetual president.

The appreciative student of Homer will, however, find matter of real value and interest to him in the lengthy Essay on Homeric Greece with which Herr Schomann's first volume on the "Antiquities of Greece" opens.³ Herr Schomann has not the eloquent speech and varied diction which lends so great a charm to Mr Gladstone's Homeric studies, but he is profoundly learned and deeply imbued with the spirit of sober criticism, which gives great weight and importance to his opinions and to the conclusions he draws from his study of the life of the Homeric poems. One point in this Essay seems to call for comment. Herr Schomann states with perfect accuracy that "a custom which among us would probably be censured as in the highest degree immoral, according to which not only female slaves, but even the unmarried daughters of the king, render every kind of ministration to men in the bath, in Homer appears perfectly harmless, and certainly furnishes an argument for the morality rather than the immorality of both sexes." This is perfectly true as regards the majority of instances in which the washing of men by women is mentioned in the Homeric poems, but Herr Schomann makes no mention here of the curiously opposite case in *Odyssey* vi. 217-222, where Odysseus declines the proffered ministrations of the maidens of Nausicaa on the ground that it is not meet for him to be naked before maidens. Herr Schomann's study of the Greek State should be mastered by all who desire a clearer insight into the modes of life, government, and the social conditions of the ancient Grecian world.

Mr Bunbury's long looked for volumes on Ancient Geography will certainly fulfil the expectations that have been formed of them.⁴ The two volumes contain a body of information that is practically exhaustive, and the method on which Mr Bunbury has proceeded with his work is at once the most practical and the most agreeable that could have been adopted. From Hecataeus to Pomponius Mela, respectively the first Greek and Latin writer on geography, from the *Periplus* of the Mediterranean to the projections of Claudius Ptolemaeus, all that the ancient world has left us of its geographical knowledge and mythology is considered with the care of a specialist and the ease of an accom-

³ "Antiquities of Greece. The State." By G. F. Schomann. Translated by E. G. Hardy and J. S. Mann. London: Rivingtons. 1880.

⁴ "A History of Ancient Geography among the Greeks and Romans, from the Earliest Ages till the Fall of the Roman Empire." By E. H. Bunbury. London: John Murray. 1880.

plished man of letters. Those who take up Mr. Bunbury's volume for the sake of instruction will find themselves amused as well as instructed, which cannot be said of many books of so high a scientific importance as this is. The maps of the ancient geographers are of special value.

To our mind the most interesting articles in the collection of essays on Greek authors, entitled "*Hellenica*," are the "*Epicurus*" of Mr. W. Leonard Courtney, and "*The Speeches of Thucydides*" of Professor Jebb.⁵ It would be well for the intelligence of the many who delight in the present day to style themselves Epicureans, but most of whom, as Mr. George Meredith says, belong to the class Epicurus would have kicked out of his garden, to read carefully the first-named essay. There they may learn from Mr. Leonard Courtney—who, by the way, is, we believe, no relation of the clever journalist and political economist of the same name in the House of Commons—what Epicurus as far as we can know really taught and thought, and may rise from the reading considerably instructed. Most of the other papers err on the extreme of being too dry, like Mr. Nettleship's on "*Plato's Theory of Education*," or too frothy, like those of Mr. G. Myers on "*Æschylus*," and F. Myers on "*Greek Oracles*."

Mr. Stevenson has done good service to the study of architecture by his two solid volumes.⁶ "Solid" is perhaps the best term to apply to them, for the information with which they are crammed is conveyed in a style which makes little pretence at literary grace. Its author has aimed at conveying what he knows and what he thinks, in as direct and straightforward a manner as he can, and though he occasionally condescends to be flippant, he never indulges in any of those expressions of thought or imagination which literally light up the pages of Viollet le Duc's architectural works. M. Viollet le Duc wrote like an architect who was also a poet—Mr. Stevenson writes like a practical, intelligent builder. But Mr. Stevenson has plenty of ideas and opinions, and he has the courage of his opinions to no small degree. Though he is evidently a deeply-read student of Ruskin, he does not hesitate to fall foul of that master where he seems to have gone astray in a manner which will seem dreadfully audacious to Mr. Ruskin's devotees. Mr. Stevenson takes the author of the "*Seven Lamps of Architecture*" very sharply, but very justly, to task for his condemnation of the Greek "*fret*" in ornamentation as being convicted of ugliness. In this, as in other instances, Mr. Ruskin has suffered himself to be misled by an unquestioning adherence to the phrases "*Nature*" and "*natural*," and by concluding that whatever did not seem to him to be in accordance with his interpretation of these phrases must of necessity be bad. All who are interested in architecture—and in the present epoch of "*higher culture*" every one professes to be—will find much pleasure and advantage in reading Mr. Stevenson's volumes, and no one about to build a house would do wisely in omitting to glance over the second volume especially, in which house-planning is sensibly

⁵ "*Hellenica*." Edited by Evelyn Abbott. Rivingtons. 1880.

⁶ "*House Architecture*." By J. J. Stevenson. 2 vols. Macmillan. 1880.

discussed and considered in all its bearings. We could wish that some of his remarks on the sham Gothic mania of the hour might be widely read and taken to heart before too much harm is done by the misdirected efforts of well-meaning but ill-informed persons, whose efforts to be artistic often produce lamentable results. If Mr Stevenson's book were carefully studied by persons about to build, we might have less of the regulation "high art" houses, too often planned and executed by quite incompetent workmen, and more of that true art which has a real meaning for everything it does.

Despite its somewhat formidable title—"Introduction to the Science of Language," applied to two bulky volumes⁷—Mr. Sayce's new work is intensely interesting, it might almost be called fascinating. Just now, when the science of language is one of the most fashionable studies, the book will have great attractions for studious youth and pedantic maidenhood, and will doubtless be eagerly devoured by all who wish to appear deeply learned in philology. For any such purpose Mr. Sayce's book is eminently suited; for its clearness of style carries so easily the profundity of its author's erudition that it will prove as intelligible to a school-girl of nineteen as to any Herr Professor of them all. But it must not be supposed that because Mr. Sayce condescends to be clear in language and lucid of thought he is superficial or has produced a book for shams to "cram" out of. It is one of the most scholarly books of the day—a most valuable addition to the literature of philological research. It may be considered as an almost exhaustive exposition of the whole field of speculation or discovery travelled over by philologists up to the present time.

"The English Fragments of Heinrich Heine"⁸ are remarkable for the accuracy with which the great poet perceived the national characteristics of the races which make up the populations of the British Islands. Long before Taine he pricked the foibles of the English race with keen satire, but he was just and could appreciate their merits. His deification of Napoleon and his detestation of Wellington were absurdly extreme, but then Heine always was extreme both in love and in hate. Very admirable are those words in his fragment on London in which he eloquently, passionately declares "you may send a philosopher to London, but for Heaven's sake do not send a poet." Yet, even this is not wholly fair. Such a man as Balzac would have seen in London a poetic as well as a philosophic side. Heine's greatest mistake as a critic was in supposing that Walter Scott had destroyed his former fame by writing his "Life of Napoleon." No bad work cancels good, and only Heine's enthusiastic partisanship of Napoleon can have led him to so strange an error. The "English Fragments" ought to be read by all reading Englishmen, and the present translation, which is well executed, may serve to make them more widely known than they at present are.

⁷ "Introduction to the Science of Language." By A. H. Sayce. London: C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1880.

⁸ "The English Fragments of Heinrich Heine." Translated by Sarah Norris. Edinburgh: Grant and Son. 1880.

In Elizabeth Glaister's (whether Miss or Mrs. we know not) volume on Needlework, there is some sense, and also a good deal of nonsense.⁹ In her observations on Conventionalism in Design she is a little absurd at times, but she obviously means very well, and occasionally succeeds in doing well. The book is, like most of its series, amateurish in tone, and like all amateur work it is bumptious, while the pseudo-artistic cant of the hour crops out in almost every page with amusing assertiveness. But it may prove of some use to the average young lady who indulges in what she is pleased to call "artistic needlework," if she has not gone very far, that is, for the suggestions are rather too obvious to be of much use to any practised worker in silks or crewel.

Mr. Davenport Adams is an indefatigable book-maker of the good old type, who is always ready to write anything at a moment's notice, from a history of Greece to an essay on window-gardens. We have before us two new works by him on very different subjects.¹⁰ One is devoted to "Windsor and the Water-Way Thither." It is chatty and pleasant, filled with a variety of information, and illustrated with some excellent drawings by R. T. Pritchett, and some passable water-colour sketches after F. Jones. People who have nothing better to do may derive from it both amusement and instruction of an agreeable if somewhat evanescent nature. Mr. Adams's other volume is given to the consideration of women's work and worth. It is just the kind of book a kindly-tempered, enthusiastic, tolerably well-read bookmaker would naturally write, and will probably be much liked by the audience for whom it is intended.

Charles Clement's book on the three great masters of Italian art is already too well-known in England to call for detailed notice here.¹¹ We must, however, warmly commend the translation which has been executed with great success. It does what translation always should do, but too rarely does: it makes its author seem thoroughly at home in our English speech.

Mr. J. S. Reid has done well in translating the "Academica" of Cicero.¹² The importance of the post-Aristotelian system of thought is certainly beginning to be felt among scholars, and we imagine that Mr. Reid's volume will be very welcome to that class of students for whom he specially intends it, "those whose special study is philosophy rather than classics, and who, while wishing to learn something of the early history of the subject, have neither the leisure nor the particular acquirements necessary to enable them to read with profit the ancient philosophical writings in the original languages."

Lovers of Plautus will be grateful to Mr. Sonnenschein for his

⁹ "Art at Home Series. Needlework." By Elizabeth Glaister. Macmillan and Co. 1880.

¹⁰ "Windsor Castle and the Water-Way Thither." By W. H. Davenport Adams. London: Marcus Ward and Co. 1880.

"Woman's Work and Worth." By W. H. Davenport Adams. London: James Hogg. 1880.

¹¹ "Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Raphael." By Charles Clement. Translated by Louisa Corkran. London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday. 1880.

¹² "The Academica of Cicero." Translated by J. S. Reid. Macmillan. 1880.

scholarly edition of the "Captivi"¹³ Even those to whom the parasite Ergasilus, with Hegio, with Philocrates and Pægnium are familiars in the company of their literary cosmos, the exhaustive notes and excursus of this edition may reveal new charms as well as revive old pleasures, while to the youthful student first entering upon his acquaintance with the great comic poet they will afford most precious assistance The dissertation on the prosody of the play and the sources of the text are very interesting, and the book is illustrated by a facsimile of portion of an old MS of Plautus The appendix of Bentley's notes is specially important

First among the school books before us must be placed the short "Geography of the British Islands" of Mr and Mrs Green¹⁴ For simplicity, for clearness, for condensation and completeness, it is almost without a rival and the easy flow of its literary style, and the novel intelligence which animates its arrangement, ought to make the name of its authors very dear to the little learners who may have the good fortune to be educated upon it, and not on the dry and dreary old-fashioned text books Mr Bevan's Primer¹⁵ is certainly not old-fashioned or dreary, but it is rather dry when contrasted with the volume we have just mentioned Messrs Macmillan also send us a useful second Greek reader,¹⁶ an excellent edition of Terence's "Phormio," in their admirable classical series, a carefully graduated set of arithmetical examples,¹⁷ and the Queen's College Calendar for 1879-80 Messrs Rivingtons, who appear desirous to rival Messrs Macmillan in the number and quality of their educational publications, are represented by a well arranged first Latin writer,¹⁸ and a capital edition of the first three Books of the Bello Gallico,¹⁹ carefully annotated and illustrated with maps

Under the title of 'The Rationale of Spiritualism' ²¹ a Mr Cook defends spiritualism, and informs his readers that "under its magical touch the things that are now most obscure will be brought into the clearest light, and that it will even solve the riddle of the Sphinx" We are very glad to hear it

The condition of human society at a future period has been so often taken as a theme for literary speculation that it has now no longer any charm of novelty, and must be very well done to be interesting 'Lichomonion' is not well done, and is not

¹³ T. Mucci Plauti Captivi Edited by Edward A. Sonnenschein, M.A. London W. Swan Sonnenschein and Allen 1880

¹⁴ 'Short Geography of the British Islands' By John Reikard and Alice Stopford Green Macmillan 1880

¹⁵ 'Industrial Geography Primers Great Britain and Ireland' By G. P. Bevan London Sonnenschein and Allen 1880

¹⁶ "Second Greek Reader" By A. M. Bell Macmillan and Co 1879

¹⁷ The Phormio of Terence Edited by J. Bond and A. S. Walpole Macmillan 1879

¹⁸ 'Examples in Arithmetic' By S. Peiley Macmillan 1879

¹⁹ "First Latin Writer" By G. L. Bennett Rivingtons 1879

²⁰ "Cæsar de Bello Gallico Books I-III. Edited by J. H. Merryweather and C. C. Tancock Rivingtons 1879

²¹ "The Rationale of Spiritualism" A Paper read before the Chicago Philosophical Society. By Fred E. Cook London E. W. Allen. 1880

interesting."²² Its author supposes himself to be suddenly transported from an atheistic lecture to a period some six hundred years hence, when Materialism is the order of the day, and where a variety of unlikely things take place, and are tediously narrated. The author is a defender of religion, is opposed to the imaginary Materialism he depicts, and supposes himself to wake from his dream just as the terrors of judgment-day are breaking upon a Materialistic world, in which he and a few others are the only virtuous people. The cause of belief against disbelief does not need the advocacy of such sorry stuff as this.

What would not the scholars of the last century have given for such a Latin dictionary as that which the Clarendon Press has reprinted from the American work based on Dr. William Freund's great Latin-German Dictionary?²³ The great advances which philological study has made of late years, and the vastly increased knowledge of ancient life and thought, have given to this dictionary a scholarly completeness which places it in the very front rank among works of reference. It will undoubtedly become a standard authority.

Under the title "*Songs of France*,"²⁴ Messrs. Boosey and Co. have published some sixty popular French songs and romances. It is rather a pity that the collection includes none of the older songs, such as delight the student of national music in the "*Echos du Temps Passé*" of M. J. B. Weckerlin. Apart from this, however, the choice made is very fairly good. We have De Musset's "*Chanson de Fortunio*," with its delightful music, the best perhaps that Offenbach ever wrote; we have the melancholy beauty of Grétry's regret for "*Richard O mon Roi*," every note of which brings with it that royalist feeling which gave way before the fierce music of the *Marseillaise*. We have, of course, Victor Hugo's "*Serenade*" and Gounod's "*Medjé*," with others equally favourite with the music-loving section of the English public.

The publishers of the works of the Poet Laureate conceived a good idea, from a business point of view, in issuing an edition of Tennyson's songs, set to the best music that modern art can furnish.²⁵ The book is exactly of the kind which every young man will give to every young woman, and is sure to be exceeding popular. The name of Mr. Tennyson can always command the occasionally unreasoning enthusiasm of the general public, and the goodly list of musicians who have lent their aid to the undertaking will complete the charm of the Tennyson song-book to the poetic and the musical. Among the names we may note Arthur Sullivan, George Herschel, Joseph Joachim, Joachim Raff, Francis Hlueffer, Franz Liszt, Ch. Gounod, C. V. Stanford, and many others deservedly famous in the musical world.

²² "*Erchomenon ; or, the Republic of Materialism.*" London : Sampson Low. 1879.

²³ "*A Latin Dictionary.*" By C. T. Lewis and Charles Short. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1879.

²⁴ "*The Songs of France.*" Boosey and Co. 1880.

²⁵ "*Tennyson's Songs set to Music.*" Edited by W. G. Cousins. London : C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1880.

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